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OUR OWN FUTURE:
A FORECAST AND A PROGRAMME[1]

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THE subject to the consideration of which I would invite your attention has been dealt with by Kittel[2] and Sellin[3] in Germany and earlier still by our own Professor Montgomery in a Presidential address delivered before this Society.[4] If I venture to discuss the same subject, it is because I have carried the thoughts with me for some time and should like to express them in my own way. The German discussion was precipitated by Friedrich Delitzsch's *'Great Deception'* and Harnack's plea for the casting out of the Old Testament from the Protestant canon of Scriptures, followed by an agitation which proposed to eliminate or at least to reduce to modest proportions the teaching of Hebrew and the Old Testament Scriptures in the theological faculties. Germany, it would seem, is awaking to a situation which is new there; in this country we have had the malady in a chronic form and we have had ample leisure to think about it.

Years ago, a young professor in charge of New Testament Exegesis in a divinity school, showed me his copy of Tischendorf's edition of the New Testament closely packed with exegetical

[1] Presidential address, delivered at the annual meeting of the Society at the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York City, December 27, 1923.

[2] *Die Zukunft der Alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft.* Address delivered in the Old Testament Division of the First German Orientalist Congress at Leipzig, September 29, 1921. Printed in *ZAW*, 39 (1921), 84—99.

[3] *Das Alte Testament und die evangelische Kirche.* Leipzig, 1921.

[4] *Present Tasks of American Biblical Scholarship.* Delivered December 26, 1918. Printed in this JOURNAL, 38 (1919), 1—14.

notes in the finest writing. I am certain that nothing was left untouched: the force of an aorist, the exact meaning of a particle, the reading supported by the best authorities, and the like. But, alas, in the new field of his activities none of the students knew or was required to know Greek. His duty was to interpret the Gospel or Epistle in the English translation, presumably the American Standard Edition. All the good notes were to no purpose; they simply could not be used. Just then a student turned up at the University who had been trained by an eminent scholar known for his studies in the Grammar of New Testament Greek; I advised him to take up the study of Syriac, which he found rather difficult. Since then Hellenists and Semitists have contested the possession of the New Testament domain; one such contest was witnessed at a previous meeting of our Society. One might think that now that Torrey has carried the discussion into Acts, and Burney and Montgomery into the Gospel of John, students would be crowding our lecture rooms during a course in Aramaic. It is no longer the Septuagint student alone who operates with 'translation Greek'. Behind the most uncommon Greek word or idiomatic turn of expression there lurks a Semitic equivalent which it is our business to get at by laborious and painstaking retroversion. The clue is found when the translator errs, when he misconceives, when he is abnormal; when he is normal, when he covers the original, he quite successfully covers it up. There is no reason on earth why a translator should not render one Hebrew or Aramaic word by a multitude of Greek synonyms and, conversely, unite in one Greek word a number of Semitic synonyms. Both phenomena may be witnessed in the English Bible. A glance at any Concordance will reveal how one and the same English word is used for sundry Hebrew and Greek synonyms; and as to foregoing uniformity of phrasing in the English, the Revisers of 1611 are quite explicit on this point: 'That we should express the same notion in the same particular words; as for example, if we translate the Hebrew or Greek word once by *purpose*, never to call it *intent*: if one where *journeying*, never *travelling*; if one where *think*, never *suppose*; if one where *pain*, never *ache*; if one where *joy*, never *gladness*, etc. thus to mince the

matter, we thought to savour more of curiosity than wisdom, and that rather it would breed scorn in the atheist than bring profit to the godly reader.' Just so, to bring profit to the godly reader, and not to facilitate retroversion for latter day students, was the aim of those good men of antiquity, whether it was the Hebrew law and the prophets and the other writings or the Aramaic narratives concerning the new dispensation that they wished to make accessible to those without, Jews or Gentiles. Naturally in the process of translation many an element of the original underwent modification; but this very angle of deflection can be measured only by the aid of the original extant or philologically reconstructed. It ought therefore be clear that to comprehend Torah or Gospel adequately we cannot rest content with substitutes in Greek or in any other language, but must have recourse to the wording in the original tongues, and that can be done only by industrious application to Hebrew and Aramaic and kindred languages.

The trouble, it would appear then, is with our students who are unwilling to study these very languages, and if this unwillingness continues we may anticipate the time when our own usefulness will come to an end. Not that we are thought of as of much use even now. Teaching faculties are at best a necessary evil; what matters is a governing board and a student body and possibly also a library! Jesus said, "Freely ye received, freely give". Or, as the rabbis make Moses to say, "As I was taught freely, so teach ye freely." The world sees to it that we teach for next to nothing and thereby expresses its estimate of our worth. A student in a theological institution once referred to the faculty as but misfit pastors. Students are quite keen on the subject of values; as someone observed, when the other professions are overcrowded, they flock to the schools of divinity, just as they desist when there is room in the other professions or when these pay better. As a matter of fact, our students are largely paid for attending. But, however the path of learning is made smooth for them, they will not go in for heavy work. As undergraduates in the colleges, they have been fed up on 'snap' courses, they have remained strangers to philology and the philological method. I am frequently amused by the notion that

grammar ought to be an elective course, since not all minds take to it. I am rather of the opinion that grammar should be made obligatory upon all of our students. Of course, grammar cannot be an end in itself; it is far more important that one should know Hebrew for example, the Hebrew language. But grammar is a means not only to the end of mastering a language; by its aid preeminently can that philological method be apprehended without which independent judgment is impossible in the higher branches of exegesis and criticism. It is on the subject of independent judgment that we and our students clash. They prefer to sit back while we do the work for them; they expect at our hands results which they may neatly take down in their notebooks, while we would fain convince them that all we have and hold for transmission is a bundle of questions and that for every problem which a new find disposes of there arise fifty new ones to solve. The student will say that it is not his business to become a specialist or expert; that he leaves to his teacher. But there is one specialty that the churches do or should expect of him, an understanding of the thing Religion and more specifically of a given, positive, revealed religion, which, whether committed into the keeping of the Church or embodied in the Scriptures, involves in one form or another the study of documents. But perhaps it is the case that certain denominations have cut themselves loose from their historical antecedents, that the Scriptures are just tolerated as venerable expressions of discarded notions, that the ancient texts when at all used as the foundation of discourses serve only as a peg upon which to hang the claptrap that happens to be in vogue at the moment, and that the modern clergyman, a marvel of versatility and ubiquity, exhausts himself in multitudinous doing by which religion is secularized and piety externalized and conscience immersed into dead works away from the service of the living God. However, it is not our province to cast aspersions on the churches and the clergy, when the fault is perhaps largely our own.

Let us search our hearts collectively. It is unnecessary to recall flippancy and downright coarseness of expression, as when one pokes fun at the Jew God enjoying his roast veal in Abraham's tent and revealing himself to Moses *a posteriori*, or

when another describes Jahveh as an 'uncanny Titan', and a third speaks of him as immorally wicked. Often enough a growth in moral stature is noted, as he rouses himself from slumber in warfare with the Philistines and comes to differentiate himself through his conflicts with the Baals; imparticipative, jealous of his honor, exclusive, intolerant, sternly judicial, he nevertheless develops a strain of tenderness, for he is God and not man and he will not utterly destroy. This God of the Old Testament has his grip on the realities of life: when kingdoms are moved and nations are interlocked in deadly combat, in the hour of dire national distress, the cathedrals of Christendom resound with psalms and prayers which in times of peace are declared to be un-Christian. So at least according to our commentaries. To the Christian conscience the new dispensation is the fulfilment of the old, its flower and fruition; an un-Christian conscience will concede originality to the Gospel; but this originality will be enhanced by illuminating the background rather than by darkening it. We should have learned this lesson from the history of religions, that religious bodies cling to ancient Scriptures when certain details have been outgrown and when the bald literalism has been eclipsed by a spiritualizing interpretation. That progress had been consummated when the Gospel arrived. We do not underestimate the power of a great personality; it has been the besetting sin in our past treatment that personality was resolved into the mere factors of time and place. Much, however, was found prepared; the way had been paved along the lines of internal growth, we need not go far afield in the search for the roots, least of all to 'the prophet of Iran.' It is a one-sided historicism which, over the regress to beginnings, forgets to register the advance in meaning which just as surely came to be and forms a part of the historical process. According to the letter, the Old Testament held in veneration by latter-day Judaism had not changed in jot or tittle; but it was a transfigured body of Scriptures in which the heights dominated the depressions and the lofty expressions of undying hope and faith raised to their own level the notions and incidents of lower planes. A presentation of the Old Testament religion which winds up with the skepticism of Koheleth fails signally in insight.

And, worst of all, neither Jahveh nor his word seem to be able to live down their past. So we have passed on the word to the facile popularizers and through them to the reporters—sometimes we take down copy to them in person—that the Old Testament as seen in the light of today is decidedly not worth while. As to the New Testament, or at least certain parts thereof, we have the word of the Fundamentalist that it has been weighed in the balances of modernism and found wanting. If the Scriptures lack in worthwhileness, why then study them?

For, we must come to realize it, the students of the Scriptures will always be their friends, not those that are hostile to them or even indifferent. But we have profaned the holy, yielding to the unrest which has loosened what was bound and dishallowed what was hallowed. We have furthermore brought our own work into disrepute by indulging in pseudo-science. On the one hand we are beset by a traditionalism which sits tight on the lid, or else by deftly misinterpreting the evidences of archaeology would prop up untenable positions; and on the other hand by a criticism hardened into a tradition and woefully lacking in self-criticism. All scientific questions may be reopened, and the truer solution is not necessarily the straight-line account. Things, I believe, will right themselves. Neither the church nor the synagogue can long continue Scriptureless. After straying in the byways, the ancient paths will once more be trodden. Every age, from its new perspective and angle of vision, must re-interpret for itself the past. And so must every country. We here in America are determined to become self-sufficient in our Biblical studies. Not that we intend to shut ourselves off from contact with other minds. But we have a distinct outlook upon life, itself formed upon the Scriptures, the Old Testament no less than the New. The American conscience will brush away finespun quibblings and, purged from all insinuating motives of the present, apply itself to a renewed apprehension and appraisal of that which abides forever. If we pursue the quest of the historical Jesus or Isaiah, the American public will demand to know what we ourselves have to say. We shall vouch for our findings with all of our own labor and all of our scholarly reputation. If we must needs go abroad, Jerusalem and Bagdad

are quite near. In all gratitude to past stimuli from without, in all earnestness bent upon developing our own strength, 'with malice toward none, with charity for all', with unswerving fidelity to truth and with infinite love for the object of our studies, we shall dedicate ourselves anew to the task in which our fathers found a worthwhile occupation. An American Biblical science, the corporate contribution of American scholarship, mature, competent, veracious, reverent, this is the vision I see arising before my eyes, this the forecast by which I set out to banish our fear for our future, expressed somewhat apocalyptically—but the wise will understand.

But the fulfilment is conditioned by our own determination to mend our ways. The student of the Bible must fetch his raw material from many quarters, there are any number of auxiliary sciences which furnish him with data, geography, history, archaeology, and the like; they all have a bearing on that which is central in his work, but they cannot take its place. For a generation or so we have lost sight of our central occupation. Let us penitently return to it. Criticism has been overdone, the higher and the lower. Investigations as to date and composition may lie fallow for awhile. Nor shall we go on rewriting the ancient documents in such manner that their authors would exclaim, "Well done, but it is not what we wrote!" Rewriting is not at all our business. We may take it for granted that Isaiah knew his Hebrew quite well. Nor did he consult us as to the arrangement of his thoughts. Let us concentrate on exegesis. It is so easy to break up a text into atoms. It is far more difficult to discern relevancy, continuity, coherence. We should model ourselves upon the inimitable Ewald. What made him so eminently successful as a commentator was his sympathetic attitude: he took on for the time being the personality of the author. Personality is unique, elusive of grammar and lexicon, but revealing itself to intuitive absorption, to that love which 'vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not its own . . . but rejoiceth with the truth'. It is our privilege to interpret the greatest of all ages; their thoughts were of the deepest, and we must not be abashed to own ourselves vanquished by obscurity of expression or ob-

scurity of thought. We shall strive, of course, with all power to recreate the lost context, not the context of a paragraph or chapter, but the context of pulsating life in which these men stood and from which their hope and their faith emerged, touching that of their contemporaries at every point, and yet transcending it so as to focus itself upon eternity. All new finds must be welcome; yet the old material has unexplored mines awaiting the sturdy digger below the surface who is unafraid of the grime and the grind. Away with the multitude of our little publications in which we frequently repeat ourselves! Let us address ourselves to monumental works which will require the cooperation of a large number of us and provide useful occupation beyond the present generation. Need I single out such undertakings as a critical edition of the Masoretic Text (which neither Baer nor Ginsburg have provided), or the assembling of the complete material for a study of the ancient versions? And if we are to recover the Semitic original of Gospel word or Gospel phrase, must we not with infinite toil construct Greek-Semitic Indexes? Here is a programme which, though sketched in its merest outlines, is comprehensive enough: 'the people are many, neither is this a work for one day or two, for we have greatly transgressed in this matter.'

PAUL, Q, AND THE JERUSALEM CHURCH

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PERHAPS I should have called my subject "Q as a Principal Source for our Knowledge of the Jerusalem Church," since my main purpose is to raise the question whether the time has not come when we may use the Q material as a major source for our knowledge of the life and thought of that Church in the sixth and seventh decades. The hasty comparison that I can make between the Pauline and Q material is little more than a suggestion of such possible use.

In his *History of the Apostolic Age,* Weizsäcker, speaking of the Evangelic tradition preserved by the primitive Jewish Church and embodied in the Synoptic Gospels, wrote: "This is the finest memorial erected by the primitive Church in its own honor"; and again, "The memorial which the primitive Church thus left of itself may be still employed to furnish an insight into its own life" (Eng. Trans. pp. 34, 35). In the thirty-seven years that have passed since Weizsäcker wrote, our knowledge of the sources of the Synoptic Gospels has advanced materially. So far as I am familiar with the literature, however, there has been no comparable advance in the line that Weizsäcker suggests — the employment of the finest memorial of the primitive Church to furnish an insight into its own life. Most Synoptic study has been directed to the analysis and attempted reconstruction of the sources; if use has been made of the results, it has been largely with reference to the recovery of the teaching of Jesus.

The analysis is by no means completed, we may hope. Professor Cadbury surveyed for us, in the January, 1923,

number of *Harvard Theological Review*, some recent efforts to get back to the sources of the sources. He summed up: "Synoptic study has been excavating the upper strata; we need now to dig down into the older archaeological layers underneath." While in hearty accord with that conclusion, I am led to ask whether we need to wait for the excavation of the lower levels before making more use than has yet been done of our knowledge of the upper stratum.

There is pretty general agreement (justified agreement, is it not?) that the Q material had been gathered in written form before the death of James, and certainly before the outbreak of the war in 66. If so, my query is: May we not use our knowledge of this material with a good deal of assurance in our effort to understand the spirit of the Jerusalem Church, let us say at the time of Paul's last visit; in our consideration of the relation of Peter to the thought and spirit of that Church during the latter years of his life; perhaps even in a reconsideration of the question whether the Epistle of James may possibly have emanated from the Jerusalem environment before the year 66? In a word, may not a survey of the material which we can confidently assign to Q throw light upon many puzzling questions which we might answer if we only had more knowledge of the inner life of the last ten or fifteen years of the Church in Jerusalem?

In order to make such use of this material it does not seem to me absolutely necessary to determine whether Q represents one document or more than one; but I think it is necessary to limit ourselves pretty rigidly to the minimum Q, or Q proper, if we are to get results upon which we can agree. By this I mean, of course, the common matter of Matthew and Luke not found in Mark, with little if anything added. I recognize the probability that the Second or Jerusalem Source included considerably more than this. For myself I specifically include some Marcan logia, having been very slowly convinced. On the other hand it does not seem to me safe definitely to include, as Castor does, certain Lucan material not found in Matthew. I have not been able to follow Burton and his school in believing that most of Luke's

long Perean section once constituted a document used by the author of Matthew. But it does not seem to me necessary to decide all these points before making progress along the line which I have in mind. Whether the material common to Matthew and Luke and not found in Mark once existed in Burton's Galilean and Perean documents or in one writing, if this material was collected and formulated in the Jerusalem Church before 62 or even before 66, it seems to me the most adequate source we have for a knowledge of the inner life of that Church during the ten or fifteen years before the outbreak of the Jewish war.

Passing from these considerations to an illustration drawn from a general comparison of the Pauline and Q material, I may remark that every time I go through the life and letters of Paul, I regret once and again that the Apostle had no book of the life or teachings of Jesus to leave with his newly founded churches. Especially in connection with 1 Thessalonians do I feel this lack. If only Paul could have referred the Macedonian Christians to such a record for their guidance, as well as to his own holy and unblamable life among them! I always remind my undergraduate students that Paul had no copy of the Gospel to leave with the Thessalonians, lest with the uncompromising judgments of youth they form an unfair and unfavorable impression of the Apostle's personality. Woe betide the college teacher who lets his students think that he regards himself as an example! And woe betide the reputation, with them, even of an apostle who does so, except in case of dire necessity.

I do not know how great use Paul would have made of a book of Jesus' deeds or words had he had one — how far he would have carried his determination to know Christ no more after the flesh. The theologians who have built on Paul have commonly seemed much more interested in dogmas about Jesus than in the deeds and words that reveal the person. But I do feel quite sure we should find more references to the facts of the life or the specific teachings, if Paul had had either an *Ur-Marcus* or a Q. If he could, for example, have quoted the saying about the law and the prophets being until

John, it might have been very useful in maintaining his contention for the temporary character of the law. On the other hand the saying that one horn of a letter of the law should not fall, might have given him pause. Surely he would have made larger use of the ethical teachings of the Q material if he had had them. His conceptions harmonize closely with their exalted requirements of absolute devotion to Christ transcending all other obligations, and his scale of values accords well with their placing of justice and mercy above the laws of tithing.

It is difficult to believe that there was any such body of written teaching when Paul spent his fifteen days with Peter or even when he went up to lay before them who were of repute the gospel which he preached, when those who were of repute imparted nothing to him. Perhaps this material may have assumed written form before Paul paid his last visit to Jerusalem, although we find no indication in the imprisonment epistles that he had received a copy of it during his very brief intercourse with the Church before his arrest. We can scarcely doubt, however, that this body of teaching was taking final form in the Judean Church during the period of Gentile missions.

In making a general comparison of Q with Paul's writings, one is struck by the absence of any such conception as that of salvation by faith or of dying with Christ and of being raised with him to a new life. Indeed the death of Jesus with any atoning significance seems to be foreign to the Q material. Despite its condemnation of the Pharisees and the assurance that many will come from distant regions to share the fellowship of the Patriarchs, Q offers no suggestion of any antinomy between Christianity and rigid Judaism.

Viewing the document as indicative of the ideas that were emphasized in preaching and in the instruction of converts at Jerusalem, it appears that, to a considerable extent, Paul and the Jerusalem teachers were theologically moving in different rather than hostile universes of discourse. Each body of writings by itself opens up such a noble vista of lofty ideals, formulated, cherished, and taught, that our regret deepens

because a mutual understanding could not be reached between Paul and Jerusalem, since each had so much of inestimable value for the other. I think that this regret is increased rather than lessened by the important coincidences between Paul and Q which Professor Bacon pointed out in his Oxford lectures—Jesus' relation to the Baptist, the place of faith, and the idea of the Servant in the conception of Sonship.

A comparison of the literary style of Paul and Q is hardly less significant than the content in indicating the separation of the Apostle and the Jerusalem Church. Though the rushing stream of Paul's thought sometimes overflowed its banks and cut for itself a new channel quite other than that in which it had started, and, at other times, the implications of an idea so stirred his emotional nature that he left his argument for rhapsodic flights of poetic apostrophe, still Paul was fundamentally a reasoner. He loved to unfold the implications of his basic conceptions to their issue in a satisfying theory of life or history. In the Q material, the form is usually as different as one can well imagine. The style is that so often noted as characteristic of the Synoptic discourse, but the separation of Q from the rest gives us the familiar characteristics in purest essence. Truths are here set forth as axiomatic or as immediate deductions from common human experience. Even a barren summary of the contents of the writing would indicate its picturesque, concrete methods of inculcating moral and spiritual truths, and its wealth of illustration from homely experience and from nature—giving the cloke to the one who takes the coat, turning the other cheek, the blind guiding the blind, the twig in the brother's eye, grapes from brier bushes, the contrary children who will play neither party nor funeral. Occasionally the concrete pictures are expanded into parables, but those which we can certainly assign to this document are very brief and concise, suggestive rather than elaborated. Truths which seem quite contrary to experience and common belief are stated in the simplest way as self evident facts—Blessed are the hungry, the mourners. Socrates, as reported by Xenophon and Plato, is prosy indeed in comparison, and even Paul with all his fire appears labored when put beside these brief

utterances that, with a single winged word, challenge the deepest searchings of the heart and the highest aspirations of the soul.

In noting these characteristics of thought and expression, we are forced to the conviction that we are not dealing with the literary style of the Apostle Matthew, or whoever the penman may have been. We are back in the inner circle of Jesus' personal followers, where one has recalled this barbed saying, another that, and thus out of the common memory the whole has gradually been built up. This is true, I think, even if the final hand discernible in the composition of the Second Source be that of one who shows some individuality of authorship and literary ability. Peter, James the brother of John, and John himself doubtless had their part in the earlier days of gathering this garnered treasure of memories, though it was left to other hands to give it final shape in the Q document or documents.

In the community where this living tradition of the Supreme Teacher was preserved and finally crystallized in written form, Paul's conception and presentation of the Christian life and fellowship must have seemed something foreign and dangerous in its elaboration. The surprising thing is that the recognised head of the Church which has left this memorial of itself could be persuaded at all that Paul had been entrusted with the Gospel of the uncircumcision.

Whether such inferences concerning Paul and the Jerusalem Church are correct or not, am I right in my feeling that larger use should be made of the separated Q material as a major source for our knowledge of the Jerusalem Church and consequently for a better understanding of such questions as the relations between Paul and Jerusalem—an understanding which may now be based upon written testimony from both sides?

JESUS IN JERUSALEM
A NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY

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THE apparent contradiction between the Synoptic and the Fourth Gospels, in respect of the scene in which they place the major activity of Jesus' ministry, has long been a matter of interest. From the familiar harmonistic arrangements of a three-years' ministry to the recent discrediting of Johannine chronology many have been the attempts to explain the divergent conceptions of Jesus' activities in Jerusalem. Spitta's attempt (*Streitfragen der Geschichte Jesu*) to draw from the Gospel of Luke a synoptic narrative of Judean ministry is of value chiefly as a critical curiosity; but many others have found Synoptic hints to justify the Johannine setting of the scene. Most recently Stanton has written (*The Gospels as Historical Documents*, vol. III, p. 230 ff.) as follows:—

> "As a matter of fact, while the absence of all particulars from the Synoptic Gospels has created doubt as to any ministry of Jesus in Jerusalem before those last days when he came there to die, they supply evidence of not a little weight, partly in sayings which they put into the mouth of Jesus, partly in indications in their narratives, that there must at some time have been such a ministry . . .
>
> The supposition, therefore, that Jesus exercised a ministry in Jerusalem before that visit at which he was put to death is required by allusions in the Synoptic Gospels themselves, and also in order to understand the final crisis as they describe it."

Stanton therefore leans toward the Johannine chronology; but I should like to suggest that perhaps the value of the Johannine representation is rather to correct some current misapprehensions regarding the real nature of the Synoptic account of Jesus' activities in Jerusalem. With that suggestion, we may proceed to inquire whether the Synoptists themselves do not hint at a more extensive ministry in Jerusalem than the traditional "Passion-Week" would seem to allow.

I. First of all, review briefly the outstanding references to such a ministry, of which Stanton enumerates three. The first is Luke 13 34 (= Mt. 23 37): "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, that killeth the prophets, and stoneth them that are sent unto her! *how often* would I have gathered thy children together!" Since it comes from the inchoate mass of Luke's Great Interpolation this verse furnishes no secure testimony to any particular period of Jesus' ministry; but it is clear that the adverb ποσάκις bears unmistakeable witness to his activity in Jerusalem. (The assignment of these words to a lost book of "Wisdom" would seem to be the desperate recourse of those who refuse to accept this chronological testimony, and would be admissible only if there were no further evidence pointing in the same direction.) Again, the words of Jesus at his arrest, as given by Mark 14 49 (= Mt. 26 55; Lk. 22 53): "I was daily with you in the temple, teaching, and ye took me not," must indicate a longer period of ministry in Jerusalem than the two days which the common interpretation of the Synoptics grants. The whole intent of the remark runs directly counter to any such compression of the adverb καθ' ἡμέραν, or even of the imperfect tense of the verb. In this connection, a third saying of Jesus is of interest, though less conclusive—namely, the words of Jesus' lamentation over the city in Luke 19 44 beginning: "If thou hadst known in this day, even thou, the things which belong unto peace!" and closing: "because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation." Here the use of the term ἐπισκοπή would seem to indicate a definite appeal to the city, of broader scope than that represented merely by the Triumphal Entry and the Cleansing of the Temple. (The aorist ἔγνως need not occasion difficulty, for it seems to represent, at the close of the series of future

tenses, a future perfect, and need not refer to events actually already past.)

II. These three references, I think, are sufficient to raise the question what further evidence there may be in the Synoptic Gospels for a ministry by Jesus in Jerusalem; and we may turn now to a discussion of the several sources in detail.

1. First, the gospel of Mark. I have just referred to the outstanding hint of Mark 14 49: "I was daily with you in the temple, teaching, and ye took me not." Note, now, that this is but one of several similar hints suggesting an extended period of ministry in Jerusalem. We read Mark 11 19: "And every evening he went forth out of the city;" 12 35: "And Jesus answered and said (impf., ἔλεγεν) as he was teaching in the temple;" 12 38: "And the common people used to hear him gladly. And in his teaching he used to say"—(I think the frequentative rendering of the imperfects, ἤκουεν, ἔλεγεν, is justified here by the intrusive temporal phrase ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ). To these phrases add the definite attempt in Mark 12 12–13 to indicate a change of scene: "And they left him and went away. And they send unto him certain of the Pharisees and of the Herodians." Here the first clause brings the action to a definite close, and the second takes up a new incident unrelated to the preceding—certainly this would better suit a ministry of some length than a single day's controversies.

Now note further that in the entire passage, Mark 11 27—13 3, which is generally reckoned as the "day of controversy," there are ten distinct paragraphs. No two of these are anywhere definitely linked together in point of time: on the other hand, there are at least two definite indications of change of scene (Mark 12 12; 12 35) which I have just pointed out. This is in striking contrast to the swift rush of the narrative of Mark 14 and 15, into which it is impossible to break at any point.

Any one of these indications might perhaps be explained away; but, taken all together, I am convinced that they are sufficient to prove that the second evangelist conceived of the work of Jesus in Jerusalem, from the Triumphal Entry to the Passion, as extending over a considerable period.

2. The materials of Luke's Great Interpolation are, of course, undated and will give us no clear evidence. The Address to Jerusalem has already been mentioned; but certain others seem also to reflect the Jerusalem environment. There are not only the scene in the house of Mary and Martha, (Luke 10 38–42), but also the parable of the Good Samaritan, with its setting on the road down from Jerusalem (Lk. 10 30), the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (Lk. 18 10) who "went up into the *temple* to pray," and even the suggestion of the Temple priesthood in the words to the elder brother in the parable of the Prodigal Son (Lk. 15 31), "Son, thou art *ever with me*." Notice further that the address to Jerusalem in this section of Luke (13 34) is located by Matthew at the *close* of the long controversial discourse (Mt. 23 37), as though he knew of no earlier ministry—indeed there is no reason why he should.

3. The point which I most desire to emphasize, however, is the representation of that section of the Third Gospel which deals directly with Jesus' appearance in Jerusalem—that is, Luke 19–22. This points even more clearly than Mark to a considerable period of teaching in the city. Note the following passages:—

Lk. 19 47: "And he was teaching daily in the temple."

Lk. 20 1: "And it came to pass, on one of the days, as he was teaching the people in the temple, and preaching the gospel"—

Lk. 21 37–38: "And every day he was teaching (ἦν διδάσκων) in the temple, and every night he went out and lodged (ηὐλίζετο) in the mount that is called Olivet. And all the people came early in the morning to him (ὤρθριζεν) in the temple to hear him."

(The pericope *de adultera* [Jn. 8 1–2] gives a similar representation.)

Lk. 22 39: "And he came out, and went as his custom was, unto the mount of Olives."

Lk. 23 5 (the testimony of the accusers): "saying, He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judea, and beginning from Galilee, even unto this place" (thus equating Jerusalem activity with Galilean).

With these statements should be included the implication of the lament over Jerusalem in her "day of visitation" (Lk. 19 44) already alluded to. And as in Mark, so here also, there is considerable want of connection between various sections of the discourse, and failure to give them definitely the same setting.

Now the importance of this last group of testimony depends upon a theory which I have advanced elsewhere, that in the latter part of chapter 19, in chapter 21, and in most of chapters 22—24, the evangelist drew primarily upon a source independent of Mark, and at least the equal of the Second Gospel in historical value. It is noteworthy that of the chronological hints just cited, all but the second stand in close proximity to, and apparently in definite connection with, these non-Markan materials, and therefore ought not to be dismissed as purely editorial expansions of Mark by Luke. It is fair to assume, then, that a third gospel source also gave support to the conception of a longer Jerusalem ministry.

To sum up: each of the three great sources for this period of Jesus' ministry—Mark, the source of the Great Interpolation in Luke, and Luke's special Passion source—bears testimony, both in its narrative and in words of Jesus which it records, to a more or less extended period of teaching by Jesus in Jerusalem.

III. To this evidence a few general considerations may be added. First, it is hardly conceivable that Jesus, with his deep piety, should not have yearned for the city around whose Temple clustered all the faith to which he was heir. Even thus the Gospels represent him, from youth to passion.

In the second place, it is difficult to understand how Jerusalem could have become the capital of early Christianity, had not Jesus exercised a ministry there. A nucleus of disciples in Jerusalem is needed to explain a number of things. What else could overcome their hatred of the city which slew their Master? What else could have restrained them from such a flight as the Gospel of Peter depicts? What else would render probable such successes as the early chapters of Acts indicate? And what, save a past association of Jesus with the scenes of Jerusalem, could bring to them within its boundaries the faith that

Jesus was risen? They would have seen him first in the familiar haunts with which he was associated in their minds. Even the fidelity of the Arimathean Joseph is a bit of evidence for the period of Jesus' ministry in Jerusalem.

A third consideration is that of the opposition which led to Jesus' death. Is it likely that a *single* day of controversy would have been sufficient to inspire the plot against him? He appears in Jerusalem a Galilean peasant teacher, with a local reputation. The Triumphal Entry, indeed, might be sufficient to explain a sudden act of suppression on the part of an outraged Roman imperialism—but the Gospels nowhere give us any indication that the Roman authorities ever took serious notice of Messianic claims regarding Jesus. The Cleansing of the Temple might have inspired hasty action by the Temple police; but, standing alone, it is by no means an adequate explanation of the cold determined hatred of Jesus by the priesthood which the Gospels depict: such a passion develops but slowly. Nor is Jesus' own bitter denunciation of scribes and Pharisees easily justified without supposing a considerable period through which he strove constantly, first with their cynical hardness, and then with their cold malice.

IV. All these considerations, then, lead to a single conclusion: that we must give to the closing ministry in Jerusalem a longer period than we had ordinarily supposed.

Whence, then, is the familiar conception of the "Passion Week" derived? The period is to be found only in the Fourth Gospel, and has there, (so Loisy) a symbolic nature. But the idea has been imported into the synoptic scheme by the same route as many other misconceptions, the representations of the First Gospel. Matthew, who, in line with his general policy of integration, has quite frankly condensed the Cursing of the Fig-Tree and the Cleansing of the Temple, has also compressed the rest of the Markan narrative by means of definite marks of time and sequence into even less than a week—six days, in fact—and, as has so often been the case elsewhere, has here also prejudiced our approach to Mark. But Mark himself indicates a longer period and a more leisurely ministry.

Just how to reconstruct this Jerusalem ministry is, of course, problematical. We may suppose that Jesus came to Jerusalem in the late winter or early spring, when the last-year's figs were beginning to ripen. (So Holtzmann, *Life of Jesus, E. T.*, 412; cf. Mk. 11 13). Possibly it may have been a month before the Passover, perhaps in time for the feast of Purim. The Triumphal Entry, staged by his disciples (so Mk. 11 7; Lk. 19 37; only Matthew mentions "crowds"), and followed by the Cleansing of the Temple the next day formed a dramatic introduction to his work. For the teaching of the days which followed we may perhaps turn not only to the narratives of this period which the Gospels give us, but also to the unclassified materials of the Great Interpolation in Luke, some of which may well reflect this last phase of Jesus' work. Some of the Johannine materials might also be attracted hither, though the Johannine narrative as a whole could hardly be accepted, nor the Johannine chronology. But these questions must remain problems for the time. Sufficient now to have shown that, according to the representations of the sources of the Synoptic Gospels themselves, Jesus did make Jerusalem the center for one not inconsiderable period of his ministry, and that we may identify that ministry with the sojourn in Jerusalem which was terminated by his death.

NOTES ON THE FOURTH GOSPEL

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I. "WE" IN 1 14; 3 11 AND 4 22

MUCH may be written about the personal and demonstrative pronouns in the Fourth Gospel, such as the cryptic ἐκεῖνος of 19 35. In the Prologue, when "the Logos became flesh and dwelt among *us* (ἐν ἡμῖν) and *we* beheld its glory," who are the *we* intended? Rendel Harris (*Prologue*, p. 33) says the believing Jews are meant. Loisy says, "The word *we* refers to the generation contemporary with the author, especially to the circle of the disciples .... The evangelist speaks as an eyewitness of the life of Jesus, and the persons whom he associates with himself must be in the same position" (p. 187). So traditional comment generally has taken the words as the natural expression of John, one of Jesus' own personal circle. But the author's intent has surely no concern with chronology; still less has he in mind such followers of Jesus as are Jews rather than Gentiles. Whether of the first century or of the second, of the circumcision or of the uncircumcision, his "we" are simply Christians, especially the true spiritual Christians of the "Johannine" type, the "mystics," as Merx calls them, among whom the Logos tabernacled, who beheld (as "the world" did not) his glory, who, in the closely attached sixteenth verse, received from the *pleroma* of his grace and truth one grace upon another.

This same body of Christian "we" appears again in passages which have always been exegetical problems, 3 11 and 4 22. In 3 11, "What we know we speak and what we have seen we testify, and our witness ye receive not" (ὃ οἴδαμεν λαλοῦμεν καὶ ὃ ἑωράκαμεν μαρτυροῦμεν καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἡμῶν οὐ λαμβάνετε), clearly

we have "we Christians" over against "you Jews." Nicodemus and Jesus are the representatives or spokesmen of the two groups, as they confront one another in second century Asia Minor. The second person pronoun goes on in the plural in the next verse, "If I told you (ὑμῖν) the earthly things and ye believe (πιστεύετε) not, how if I tell you (ὑμῖν) the heavenly things will you believe (πιστεύσετε)?" There is no possibility of rendering verse 11, as Bernard Weiss or Professor Riggs, for example, would do, "John the Baptist and I speak from experience." Weizsäcker (*Apostolisches Zeitalter,* p. 548) saw long ago that here not the Master, but the disciples of the later day, must be speaking. The case is still clearer in 4 22, "Neither in this mountain nor in Jerusalem shall ye worship (προσκυνήσετε) the Father. Ye worship (ὑμεῖς προσκυνεῖτε) what ye know not (οὐκ οἴδατε), we worship what we know (ἡμεῖς προσκυνοῦμεν ὃ οἴδαμεν), for salvation is of the Jews." Here, too, we have "we Christians" in pronouncement against a non-Christian world. The Samaritan woman who is for the moment the representative of the latter is not sharply individualized. A Jewish woman would have done quite as well, or a pagan like one of the Athenians to whom Paul spoke on Mars' Hill. Her initial question, based on the opposition of Jew and Samaritan, is turned by Jesus so deftly that Jew and Samaritan are grouped on one side, over against Christian on the other. The evangelist knows the historic antagonism of Jew and Samaritan, and pays it his respects in a word of the woman (4 9, where the phrase "for Jews have no dealings with Samaritans" is surely interpolated scribal comment), but it plays no part in the development of the incident from Jesus' side. Indeed, the evangelist takes especial pains to indicate that it has no meaning for Jesus at all. He must needs pass through Samaria; his disciples go into a Samaritan village to buy food; he asks drink of a Samaritan woman, to whom he proceeds to give his highest teaching; her Messianic expectation is couched in quite the usual Jewish form, "I know that Messiah cometh, he that is called Christ. When he is come" etc.; his disciples wonder that he is talking with a woman (not that he talks with a Samaritan); the Samaritan villagers, in response to her query, "Can this be the Christ?"

come to Jesus, believe on him and recognize him as indeed the Saviour of the world, and he accepts the hospitality of their village for two days. In all this the historical antagonism of Jew to Samaritan is completely transcended. Jesus is certainly in no sense playing the rôle of a Jew, and the Samaritans are but a type, as the Jews commonly are, of the unbelieving world into which the Christian gospel comes and finds some scanty response. That these folk are Samaritans rather than Jews plays no part in the pragmatism of the passage, here or later. Therefore "ye," who worship that which ye know not, are "ye Samaritans and Jews and outsiders generally"; while "we," who worship what we know, are Christians, not Jews, not Samaritans. We worship neither in this mountain nor in Jerusalem. And that makes it certain that the clause "for salvation is of the Jews," at the end of 4 22, is, like its analogue, "for Jews have no dealings with Samaritans," in 4 9, a scribal interpolation, and this time an erroneous one. So, on various grounds, have argued Arnold Meyer, Merx, Spitta, Kreyenbühl and others. The clause assumes that Jesus is here identifying himself with the Jews, in the "we" of "we worship." That is the last thing the Fourth Gospel Jesus could ever do; for this writer the term "Jew" is invariably a term of reproach for the hostile company that stands over against Jesus and his gospel. If the evangelist or his Jesus had conceivably wished to make a statement of this kind, identifying the Logos Son of God with the racial source of the historic man of Galilee, the term used would never have been "the Jews," but "Israel," which is regularly substituted when Judaism or one of its representatives is spoken of with approbation or even without censure. Imagine Nathanael being called "*a Jew* indeed in whom there is no guile," or saluting Jesus as "Son of God, king of *the Jews*" (1 47–49)! Furthermore the clause "for salvation is of the Jews" is logically not in point in the context. It does not in the least ground the precedent statement "we worship that which we know," in which, as in the whole context, the point is not σωτηρία (a word nowhere else found in the Fourth Gospel) but προσκύνησις, worship.

With the omission of this interpolated clause, then, we have again the proud Christian challenge to a non-Christian populace,

"Ye worship what ye know not; we worship what we know." It is thus the perfect parallel to 3 11, "We speak that which we know and testify of that which we have seen," and to the words of the Prologue, "The Logos became incarnate and tabernacled among *us* [or shall we not say: *in us*?] and *we* beheld its glory [though the darkness comprehended it not] and of its fulness *we* all received." Here the true Church speaks.

II. 1 43 AND ITS CONTEXT

The statement of 1 43, "On the morrow he was minded (ἠθέλησεν) to go forth into Galilee, and he findeth (εὑρίσκει) Philip and Jesus saith unto him, Follow me," has long been a puzzle on account of its awkward phrasing. *Who* was minded to go to Galilee? Who finds Philip? If Jesus, then the next clause, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, is very awkward. The subject of the preceding verbs clearly ought to be another than Jesus. Professor Bacon (*Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate* pp. 202—204; *Expositor*, Jan. 1922 p. 45) has argued that an original section describing the call of the sons of Zebedee has been here suppressed by an editor, the original subject of ἠθέλησεν and εὑρίσκει being then a name in that section, presumably John. But if any subject is to carry over the initial τῇ ἐπαύριον from a preceding section, can it not most easily be the last word of the present preceding section, the word just before τῇ ἐπαύριον, only the third word before ἠθέλησεν, namely Πέτρος? It is Peter who finds Philip. This immediately introduces into the context that sort of scheme and balance so attractive to the evangelist. Andrew finds Peter, Peter finds Philip, Philip finds Nathanael. Each man found in turn finds the next—a neat arrangement utterly ruined if we make Jesus or John or any other than Peter the subject here. Verse 44, also, becomes intelligible on this supposition, and in turn explains verse 43. Philip was from Bethsaida, the town of Andrew who found Peter and of Peter who found him. In other words the three *finders* of this three-fold episode belong to the same town and are grouped here in a single sentence otherwise pointless, with Andrew preceding Peter as he precedes him in the serial finding.

Then the fact that Peter, like his two colleagues, is from Bethsaida in Galilee, serves as a motive for the otherwise wholly unmotived statement that he wanted to go to Galilee. He was starting for home. Before setting out, he finds his fellow-townsman and brings him to Jesus.

III. "I GO NOT UP TO THIS FEAST"

One of the most difficult passages of the Fourth Gospel is 7 8, in which Jesus says to his unbelieving brothers, "Go ye up unto the feast. I go not up unto this feast." (*ὑμεῖς ἀνάβητε εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν, ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀναβαίνω εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν ταύτην.*) Yet two verses later, when his brothers were gone up to the feast, then went he also up, not publicly, but as it were in secret. It does not read well. We do not wonder that early scribes sometimes, in view of verse 9 ("and having said these things to them, he abode in Galilee"), substituted for the intolerable *οὐκ* the relief of *οὔπω*, which could be supplied from the next clause. Our only wonder is that anyone can believe that the easy *οὔπω* was original and was altered by scribes into the impossible *οὐκ*, which from the earliest times has made the phrase a sore point. The third-century neo-platonic critic of Christianity, Porphyry, was not the first, nor was Schopenhauer the last to find here evidence of a lamentable inconsistency on the part of the Christians' Master. The struggles and evasions of the commentators on the passage form a remarkable exhibit in the history of exegesis. And yet each new commentator must add another attempted explanation to the list. The evangelist, it must be admitted, is not afraid of contradictions, as witness his denial in 4 2 of his previous three-fold statement that Jesus was baptizing. And yet we should probably assume that in his own mind the contradictions are only on the surface, incident to his literary method, a matter of his phrasing rather than of his intent. If we look more closely here we may let *οὐκ* stand and still escape the charge of absolute contradiction. What Jesus says is, "Do you go up *εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν*. I go not up *εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν ταύτην*." The repetition of "to the feast" indicates that the *purpose* of the journey is essential to the meaning. Is not this after all the

point? The brothers went up *to the feast*; they left in time, and as good, orthodox, pious Jews reached the holy city and began to participate in the rites and observances of the sacred occasion. That is what they went for. Jesus had no intention of going *to the feast*; he waited therefore in Galilee until the feast was well under way, thereby establishing his independence of any obligation or purpose to attend the feast. Only when the festival was half over did he appear in Jerusalem, not to engage in any way whatever in the celebration, but only to take advantage of the great throngs there gathered, to speak his message. Notice the three-fold repetition of the phrase about the feast: You go up to the feast; I'm not going up to this feast; his brothers went up to the feast. Then, later, Jesus himself also *went up* (*τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέβη*, verse 10), with very significant omission of the *εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν*. So (verse 11) the Jews were looking for him *ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ* and he was not there. But he did go up *incognito* to the city, and taught. He would not travel with the companies of pilgrims, nor go at the appointed festal time, for *he was not going to the feast.*

What we find here, moreover, is characteristic of all the references to the feasts in the Fourth Gospel. Jesus always goes up to Jerusalem *at the feast-times*, but never *to the feasts.* He finds on these occasions large gatherings of people whom he can address, it is a favorable opportunity for him to be heard, but it is never suggested or hinted that he took any part whatever in the festal observance itself. We could not imagine the Fourth Gospel Jesus piously eating the Passover supper, following its prescribed ritual, though he goes to Jerusalem *at the Passover.* So far from showing him a loyal Jew, as some traditional commentators have supposed, these feasts only furnish another opportunity of marking Jesus' complete detachment from every requirement of the Jewish religion. Upon every such occasion in the gospel, he might say to his fellows, "You go up to the feast; I'm not going up to this feast," and yet go up, when it is late enough to demonstrate that his object is not the ceremonial one. In Jerusalem at the feasts, he never goes to Jerusalem to the feasts.

THE ORIGIN OF THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE SYNOPTISTS AND THE FOURTH GOSPEL AS TO THE DATE AND CHARACTER OF CHRIST'S LAST SUPPER WITH HIS DISCIPLES

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ALL students of the New Testament are aware that the Synoptic Gospels explicitly state that the last supper of Jesus with his Disciples was the Jewish Passover, celebrated on the evening of Nisan 14, which, as the Jewish day began at sun-down, was counted as Nisan 15th (see Mark 14 12 ff.; Luke 22 7 and 15; Mt. 26 17 ff.), while the Fourth Gospel as explicitly implies that the last supper was not a Passover and that it was eaten on the previous evening (see John 13 29 and 18 28). Scholars are also well aware that this difference played an important part in a controversy at the end of the second century as to when and how Easter should be celebrated, known as the Quartodeciman controversy. It is not the purpose of the present paper to go into the nature of this controversy; that has been elaborately discussed by the late James Drummond in his article "The Paschal Controversy" in *The American Journal of Theology,* Vol. I, and by Professor Bacon in his *Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate,* ch. XVI. Bacon has clearly shown by quoting the letter of Irenaeus to Victor of Rome, preserved by Eusebius (EH, XXIV), that the discussion concerned not only the keeping of a festival which celebrated Christ's Resurrection, but also the keeping of a fast which preceded it. Bacon concluded, as several other scholars have also done, that the Fourth Gospel has here preserved

the older and more historical tradition. The reason for this conclusion is succinctly stated by F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock in Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels,* I, 415, as follows: "The cumulative evidence of St. John, St. Paul, and the early Fathers, joined with the incredibility of Jesus having been arrested, tried, and executed on the great Sabbath of the Jewish year, and the statement of the Synoptists that the day was *Paraskeue,* seem to turn the scale in favor of Nisan 14 as the day of the Crucifixion."

It has long seemed to the present writer that this view is, for the following reasons, untenable: 1. It plainly contradicts the text of the Synoptic Gospels, which state that the Supper was a Passover. If, as I believe, the Synoptic tradition goes back through Mark to Peter, it is hardly probable that he was mistaken as to the date and the character of the last Supper which he ate with his Master on the eve of the Crucifixion. 2. The use of *Paraskeue* by the Synoptists involves them in no inconsistency, since both Mark and Luke state that it was the "preparation" for the *Sabbath* that was referred to, and not the preparation for the Passover (Mark 15 42; Luke 23 54). It is an assumption based on later Jewish custom that *Paraskeue* was intended to refer to preparation for the Passover, and that we know more about it than St. Peter did. The assumption seems to the present writer gratuitous. 3. The inference that reverence for the Passover would prevent the Sanhedrin from arresting, trying, and crucifying Jesus on Passover-day is based entirely on later Jewish practice as reflected in the Talmud. Professor Margolis has warned some of us that it is not safe to reason from the Talmud to the time of Jesus, for the Judaism of the time of Jesus was by no means identical with that of the Talmud. It is probable that the New Testament is a better authority than the Talmud for those Jewish practices which it mentions. 4. When we recall that the High Priest at the time of Jesus' condemnation was a Sadducee, that he was one of a family that made large profits from the market for sacrificial animals carried on in the Temple-court, that Jesus had a few days before interrupted the business of that market at its most profitable

season, and that, as a Sadducee, the High Priest, who was also President of the Sanhedrin, would not have the scruples of a Pharisee in accomplishing the removal of an enemy on a holy day, there remains really no ground for denying that the last Supper was a Passover, except the statements of the Gospel of John, which was written sixty or seventy years later. It does not seem, therefore, a scientifically historical procedure to discard the authority of the Synoptists, especially as the statements of John with reference to the date, and the early practice to which Irenaeus testifies in his letter to Victor, can be naturally and satisfactorily accounted for in another way.

The Christian Church in Jerusalem was not separated from the Synagogue until the great war of 66—70. In the Acts of the Apostles we find the Christians of Jerusalem worshipping in the Temple as Jews with other Jews. Now we learn from Irenaeus that a part of the Quartodeciman controversy turned on the date of a fast which was observed in memory of Christ's suffering at his Crucifixion. In the time of Irenaeus in those places where Easter was always celebrated on a Sunday, the fast was observed on the preceding Friday, but in Asia there was another practice which Irenaeus declared went back to primitive times. Those who followed this fasted in memory of Christ's Crucifixion on the 14th of Nisan, and some, as the author of the Fourth Gospel, believed in consequence that the Crucifixion had actually occurred on the 14th.

It is the object of this paper to suggest a very simple explanation of the rise of the practice to which Irenaeus testifies, and of the consequent misunderstanding in the Fourth Gospel. The explanation is this: The primitive Church at Jerusalem consisted of orthodox Jews who were at the same time loyal Christians. As Christians they wished to fast in memory of the Master's sufferings; as Jews they wished to keep the Passover. It was, however, physically impossible to feast and fast at the same time. They accordingly anticipated the fast by a day, making it, perhaps, a part of the fast of Esther which other Jews were observing, so that as faithful Jews they could celebrate the Passover with others. The practice was followed by orthodox Jews in Ephesus and in the course of sixty or

seventy years gave rise to the supposition that the crucifixion had taken place on Nisan 14. This simple and natural supposition explains all the facts without calling in question the veracity of our oldest sources, and is, I believe, the true explanation. It seems impossible on the theory that the Fourth Gospel has here preserved the historical facts to account for the misunderstanding of those facts by the Synoptic writers.

SOME NOTES ON THE GOSPEL-HARMONY OF ZACHARIAS CHRYSOPOLITANUS

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DR. Plooij's recent discovery of a Dutch Harmony of the Gospels of the 12th or 13th century, translated from a lost Latin Harmony of an earlier type than the Codex Fuldensis, will set us all examining the existing Latin Harmonies of the Gospels as well as those in other languages which appear to be translated from the Latin. We have been too much in the habit of assuming that Victor of Capua, and his lovely Ms. (the Codex Fuldensis) was the last word in regard to Tatian, as far as Western Europe is concerned; and we used the Fuldensis to give us the approximate order of Tatian's Gospel, by comparing it with the Arabic Version of the Harmony, which also had a Tatianic origin. How constantly in Western Catalogues one came across the statement that a Ms. contained the Four Gospels in the form of a Vulgate Harmony with the preface of Victor of Capua, and assumed that there was nothing more to be done with it, for its Vulgate could hardly be purer than Victor's, and if it began with John 1 1 ("In principio erat verbum") it could be labelled as Tatian's and left at that. And now it seems that a renewed search has to be made in order that we may find out earlier texts or at least earlier readings than those of Victor of Capua, and so get nearer to the lost Latin Harmony of Tatian, as Dr. Plooij has done with his Liège Ms.

In the little preface which I wrote for Dr. Plooij to his announcement of *A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron*, I pointed out that there were two special types of Gospel Harmony

belonging to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which would require to be studied. One is the British type, which passes under the name of Clement of Llanthony; it is almost unknown in Continental Libraries: the other bears the name of Zacharias Chrysopolitanus, (Zachary of Besançon); it is almost unknown in English Libraries. It is of this latter that I want to say a few simple words, which may be useful to those who are impelled, by interest or necessity, to occupy themselves with the tedious study of the arrangement of the Four Gospels in a single sequence, and with the consequent production of a primitive *Life of Christ*. Everyone who begins such a critical task will of course make himself thoroughly familiar with the leading features in Tatian's arrangements. He will have landmarks to guide him. Of these the first and foremost is that the Harmony begins with John 1 1. ("In the beginning was the Word"), and any Harmony which begins in that way has a high probability of belonging to the Tatianic group. Nor is this probability seriously lessened if the Harmony should show the Prologue to Luke either before or after the first verses of the Prologue to John. The fact that it sometimes precedes and sometimes follows arouses at once a suspicion which can frequently be raised to a demonstration that it is a later addition to the text.

Probably the next direction in which to look for landmarks would be the position of the early chapters of John in the sequence of the reconstructed gospel. Where does the text put the Cleansing of the Temple, the Marriage at Cana, the Interview with Nicodemus, or the Woman of Samaria? It was to be expected that Tatian, who makes Matthew his chief authority, should put the Cleansing of the Temple after the Triumphal Entry; but it was not so imperative that the non-Synoptic matters referred to in John 2, 3, and 4 should be dislocated from the beginning of the Gospel, and scattered over the remaining sections, so that if we were to search for them in the Liège Harmony, we should find the Marriage at Cana in the 57th section, following the Sermon on the Mount and the evangelical instructions in Mt. 10, the Discourse with Nicodemus at the 163rd section, the Woman of Samaria at the 115th section. The position of these sections will indicate to us whether we

are engaged upon a Harmony which goes back to the original work of Tatian.

We must not be surprised, however, if in the earlier pages of the Harmonies that have come down to us we find unexpected variations in the order, and some divergence from the Tatianic arrangement. This is largely due to the influence of St. Augustine's tract on *The Consent of the Evangelists*, in which he turns Harmonist on his own account, and attempts to reconstruct portions of a specimen Harmony for the faithful. The reaction from the *De Consensu* upon the *Diatessaron* is one of the main difficulties in an intelligent study of Gospel Harmonisation. Vogels, who has written a very interesting tract on the *De Consensu*[1]—has seen clearly the connection between Augustine and the mediaeval Harmonies, but apparently he failed to recognise that the earliest mediaeval Harmonies were themselves much earlier than Augustine and actually based on Tatian. The following passages will show what we mean:

p. 136. "The first Gospel Harmony of the middle ages which has come down to us is that of Zachary of Chrysopolis (composed about 1150)———St. Augustine was not the only cause of the apparent arbitrariness and lack of order in the mediaeval Harmonies. A good part of the blame lies upon the shoulders of another work, to wit, the Gospel Harmony———which Victor of Capua held to be the *Diatessaron of Tatian*."

That is something like laying the blame for an unsatisfactory Harmony by Tatian upon the back of Tatian himself; for it will be seen, upon examination, that this Harmony of Zachary is only another case of direct descent from Tatian! Tatian is the disturbed, not the disturber. Let us then take a look at the Harmony of Zachary and see what we can learn from it. The text will be found in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* tom. 186.

In the first place then, it is a Vulgate Harmony. In the next place, it prefixes the Lucan Prologue, after which it goes on with

Caput Primum.

In principio erat verbum etc. (John 1 1–5).

[1] *St. Augustin's Schrift De Consensu Evangelistarum* (Freiburg im Breisgau. 1908).

We notice the agreement with the Codex Fuldensis of Victor, which also begins with the Lucan Prologue, but betrays it to be an addition by the table of prefixed capitulations in which we read:

PRAEFATIO.

1. In principio verbum, deus apud deum, per quem facta sunt omnia.

When we make a further comparison of the chapter divisions in Zachary, with those in the Fuldensis, we can have no doubt that they are the same system. Zachary has taken his text from one of the Victor Mss. As far as that text goes, it is wrong to date it in 1150 A. D., and to treat it as a mediaeval work. The commentary may be Zachary's: the text is certainly not his; he is in direct dependence upon Victor of Capua and his antecedents.

Here is another proof of dependence: Zachary prefixes three prefaces to his work, explanatory of the method in which a Harmony of the Gospels should be compiled. The third of these prefaces is largely made up out of the preface which Victor of Capua prefixes to the Codex Fuldensis. Not only so, but in one most important respect Zachary goes behind Victor and is earlier in date. For toward the close of his preface, when he has explained the way in which Eusebius arranged the sections of Ammonius of Alexandria under ten tables, he adds the remark that the separate evangelists can also be recognised by their initial letters, 'per R litteram Marcum, per M Mattheum, per A aquilam summum evangelistam, Joannem, per L vero Lucam.' It will be seen that Matthew should have come first, and been marked with an initial M, then Mark should follow, and as M is no longer available nor does MA define the writer, the next consonant R is selected. For John, whom he regards as the greatest evangelist, the initial I is replaced by the first letter of *Aquila*, to show that John is the eagle in the tetrad of living creatures in Ezekiel. So the Liège Harmony begins by saying that 'Sente Yan———ghelijcet den vligenden are.' This will sound very unimportant: but when we turn to the Arabic Harmony, which Ciasca edited in 1888 from two Mss. in the Vatican, we find an introductory note to the Harmonized text, in which it is explained as follows: that 'Tatian the Greek collected the

Gospel called the Diatessaron— — —from the four Evangelists, to wit, Matthew the elect, *whose sign is M*, Mark the chosen, *whose sign is R*, Luke the beloved (physician) *whose sign is K*, and John the beloved (disciple) *whose sign is H*.' Here we have the same method of notation, with the difference that Luke is denoted by his second consonant, as was the case with Mark, and something similar occurs for John. Obviously there must be some connection between Zachary's method of marking the evangelists and that of the author of the Arabic Harmony; this can only be due to the use of common material; in other words it is Tatian's method of denoting the separate evangelists which has come down to us in Latin and in Arabic. We are again at an earlier level than that of the Codex Fuldensis, as Dr. Plooij showed to be the case also with the Liège Harmony.

Let us examine a little closer the parallels between the text of Zachary and that of Victor. We were alluding above to the place occupied by the Marriage at Cana. In the Codex Fuldensis it is introduced thus:

> XLVI. Et die tertio nuptiae factae sunt in Chanam galileae;

In Zachary it is as follows:

> Caput XLV. Et factae sunt nuptiae in Cana galileae.

Which of these is right? We turn to the capitulations in the beginning of the Fuldensis, and we find

> XLV. Ubi ihesus in Chanan Galileae aqua vinum fecit.

Then the chapter division is right in Zachary. A more important question arises with regard to 'the third day.' This cannot be correct in a Harmony which has displaced the incident from the beginning of the Gospel. It was certainly not in Tatian's text, nor does Zachary insert the words, though his text is closely conformed to the Vulgate. The Liège Harmony says 'Upon a day,' and it is quite possible that this may be the original form. Certainly Victor's form is not the primitive.

It will be seen that a careful study of a supposed mediaeval Harmony like this of Zachary will often throw great light upon the structure of Tatian's own work, and the early forms in

which it circulated; but there is another direction in which we may get fresh illumination: granted that the text is that of the Vulgate, there is a series of comments attached to the text, which will often betray or suggest an earlier Latin text than the Vulgate to which they are attached. The importance of this will be seen most clearly by one or two examples.

In John 8 58 we have the following comment upon Jesus' words: 'Before Abraham was, I am.'

> 'non ait; *fui*, sed, *sum*, quia divinitas tempus non habet.'

It might be thought, at the first reading, that this was only a casual remark of an expositor, but it is at least lawful to ask whether any text ever read what our commentator says we ought not to read. When we ask the question we find that the Liège Harmony (c. 178) actually says,

> 'over waer seggic u eer Abraham *so was ic*;'

that the Lewis Syriac reads 'I was' and not 'I am;' and that Ephrem, in his commentary upon the *Diatessaron* (ed. Mösinger 197) says, 'antequam Abraham erat, *ego jam fui*.'

We must not say too positively that this was the reading in Zachary's copy, but we may say that it is a genuine reading of the *Diatessaron* both in Latin and in Syriac. As regards Zachary's comment, it probably came from Bede, for Bede says:

> '*Ante* enim praeteriti temporis est, *sum* praesentis; et quia praeteritum et futurum divinitas non habet, sed semper esse habet, non ait, Ante Abraham *ego fui*, sed ante Abraham *ego sum*;'

but where did Bede find this Diatessaron reading? Here is another case of a similar type, where we again suspect an Old-Latin and Diatessaron reading, but are not able, as in the former instance, to complete the proof.

In John 7 34 our Lord tells the Jews that 'where I am, thither ye cannot come.' Upon this Zachary comments:

> (c. 129) 'Non dixit; *ubi ero*: sed, *ubi sum*: quia sic venit divinitas ad nos, ut de caelo non recederet — — — Deus autem implet omnia, et ubique est — — — Non dixit; *non poteritis*, ne desperarent: sed, *non potestis*, dum tales estis.'

We turn again to the Liège Harmony (c. 174), and we find in the text

daer ic syn sal (i. e. ubi ero)

and

en suldi nit mogen comen:
(i. e. non poteritis venire)

that is, the very readings to which Zachary objects. They are, evidently, readings of the Old Latin, but the proof of their being Diatessaron readings is not yet complete.

In Luke 19 41 we have the account of our Lord's weeping over Jerusalem, and saying "If thou hadst known, even thou, in this thy day the things that belong to thy peace!" The sentence is incomplete, it is of the nature of a prolonged interjection, a kind of sob that goes with the Redeemer's tears. The Harmonists, however, attempt to complete the sentence, (they should have known better), by explaining what would have happened if Jerusalem had known. To this end they appear to have inserted the words 'wouldst have wept' after 'even thou,' so as to read,

'If thou hadst known, thou too wouldst have wept.'

That this was once the Harmonised text may be seen in several ways. Zachary makes three separate attempts at a comment on the passage, and each time he brings in the word 'fleres.'

> (c. 116) 'Litteram sic lege, *Si cognovisses — — — etiam tu*, subaudis *fleres — — — Et quidem in hac tua die — — — quae ad pacem tuam*, subaudis *fleres — — — Flevit, dicens quia si cognovisses etiam tu mecum — — — ad pacem quae tibi est*, subaudis *fleres*.'

> Now turn to the Liège Harmony (p. 159), and we find Kennestu also wale wat di nakende is alse ic doe, *du soudst oc weenen*:

and here Bede comes again to our aid with the remark

Quia si cognovisses et tu, subaudis fleveras.

The Latin Harmonists appear to have had either *fleres* or *fleveras* in their texts; whether the reading goes back to the earliest times, it would be rash to speculate.

But here is a case where we can go right back to Tatian, and where we suspect that the readings were in Zachary's copy, before the complete dominance of the Vulgate.

Where our Lord is talking to the Samaritan woman, the disciples appear on the scene, with the provisions that they have bought in the city, and are surprised to find their Teacher engaged in conversation with a woman. 'Nemo tamen dixit, Quid quaeris? aut quid loqueris cum ea.' Upon which Zachary observes:

> (c. 87) Non ausi sunt interrogare discipuli mulierem, *Quid quaeris*, aut Dominum, *quid cum ea loqueris*?

Here the questions in the Gospel are separated, the first half being addressed to the woman, the second to our Lord. This expansion is not a mere piece of subtlety on the part of a mediaeval commentator. The Liège Harmony (p. 115) has in its text

> 'Nochtan en seide harre nienegheen *toten wive*, wat suks tu, noch *tote hem*, wat spreks tu jegen hare.'

When we turn to the Lewis text, we find the Syriac says nearly the same thing:

> 'They did not indeed say to him (? to her), What soughtest thou? or What wast thou saying to her?'

A microscopic change in the text will bring us very near to the Liège reading.

So we suspect that the latter reading is *quam proxime* the text of Tatian.

Enough has been said by way of introduction to this interesting Harmony.

The next stage is to make a corresponding enquiry into the nature of the Harmony of Clement of Llanthony, a work which has a peculiar interest for English scholars, as being the original text upon which Wiclif worked. We shall probably find that it also throws light upon the method of composition employed by Tatian himself.

Who, then, was Zachary of Chrysopolis?

We have been studying a commentary upon the Four Gospels, treated as one consecutive story, which is ascribed to a writer otherwise unknown, who is by students of ecclesiastical history referred to the twelfth century and the town of Besançon: with less general agreement, we may say that he was a bishop. As an author he is representative of the movement, which arose in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, for the popularisation of Biblical study in general, and of the Life of Christ in particular. Every one of these *Diatessara* is a life of Christ, and the multiplication of them puts the thirteenth century in some senses into parallelism with the nineteenth: and one naturally enquires whether anything further can be determined with regard to the school of thought that is represented in the new movement for Biblical study. If we were in the second century, instead of the twelfth, and were engaged upon a genuine and primitive copy of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, a very slight hint would enable us to track out Encratite touches in the story: the modification of the diet of St. John the Baptist to milk and honey, the explanation of the shortness of the wine supply at Cana, the reduction of the flesh-meat diet in the banquet of the King who makes a marriage for his son, would all suggest to us that the compiler of the One-in-Four was an ascetic; we could also infer from the brevity of the married life of Hannah the prophetess, for whom seven days of incomplete connubial bliss were sufficient, or the transfer of the dogma that 'for this cause a man shall leave etc.' from the voice of God to that of Adam, that the writer was, at least, a quasi-celibate. Thus internal evidence of the text would help us to the identification of the author and his views. We might be certain also, with a higher degree of assurance, that if Tatian had accompanied his text with a running commentary, the commentary would have betrayed Encratism even more clearly than the text; for the text is to some extent sacrosanct, while the commentator is free: one can say what one likes, and be what one is, in the notes.

Now if this is true of the first and greatest of Gospel Harmonies, it will be true of later attempts at the co-ordination of

the Four Gospels. The hand of the writer will be detected in the script, not so much now in the text itself, which is fenced in by Jerome and his clan, but in the commentary, where the new authors are free to range through the whole of their monastic libraries, and pick out what they consider to be useful for personal edification or the purposes of propaganda.

Zachary, for instance, has at his disposal very little Greek, and a good array of Latin authors. He does occasionally quote Chrysostom, probably in a Latin translation of some of that father's works; but his main supply comes from Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome and Bede, with occasional dips into other writers; of these Augustine is the principal source, either at first hand, and usually by actual reference to tract or treatise, or through an abbreviator who goes by the name of Albinus. Through Bede, who knows some Greek, he sometimes gets a Greek reading or interpretation; through Jerome, who knows Hebrew as well as Greek, he gets some bits of Hebrew lore, and some of the best known of Jerome's quotations from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. All of this might seem to be colourless enough, and not likely, to betray any tendency of thought, or the leanings towards any school of the writer's day. When, however, we read the commentary of Zachary through, we are surprised at the resultant impression made upon us; a real person, with decided opinions of his own, is looking over the shoulders of the elect authors whose pockets he has been picking.

The first thing we observe is his anti-Roman and anti-Papal attitude. A good Catholic, quoting Augustine, would never of his own motion and accord, produce the sentiments of Augustine on the Primacy of Peter. Here, for instance, is a note on John 1 42 which is said to come from Augustine:

> (c. 16). 'Vocatur autem Petrus ob robur mentis, quia solidissimae *petrae Christo* adhaesit. Et notandum quod hic Petrus nomen acceperit, non ubi ait illi Jesus, Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam.'

He has in his mind the statement in 1 Cor. 10 that *'the rock was Christ.'* Accordingly on the very next page where Jacob's

ladder is explained as the fulfilment of John 1 51, the writer tells us that Jacob *anointed the stone* on which he had slept, and the *Stone* is to be understood as Christ. No doubt this is primitive doctrine and goes back to the earliest collection of *Testimonies* from the Old Testament. He refers to the same identification in his comments on the circumcision of Jesus, where the parallel is made in the ancient manner with the flint knives of Joshua (Jesus) and says:

> (c. 7). 'Petrinis autem cultris circumcidit Josue intraturos terram repromissionis, *quia petra erat Christus.*'

When he comes to the temptation of our Lord, and the suggestion that, if he throw himself down, he will not dash his foot against *a stone*, he must needs quote, irrationally indeed, from Jerome on the 91st Psalm: where the believer is said to be

> (c. 15) 'Angelicis manibus vallatus, ad lapidem (*id est Christum*) non offendit pedem suam, qui *lapis* est offensionis *et petra* scandali.'

There must be some tendency to be recognised in this repeated allusion to Christ as the Stone. It comes in so gratuitously at times: for instance, when the sick man at Bethesda is told to take up his bed, the writer explains the matter allegorically as being equivalent to an injunction to bear one another's burdens. 'Do not be troubled that a senseless thing can be used to teach us the love of our neighbours,

> (c. 88) 'quandoquidem *Dominus lapis dictus est.*'

But let us come to the famous passage in Mt. 16 18: 'Thou art Peter.' Zachary quotes ostensibly from Jerome as follows:

> 'Merito accepit hoc nomen Petrus, qui *in petram Christum* credebat, et secundum metaphoram dicitur ei: Aedificabo Ecclesiam meam *super hanc petram*, hoc est *super hoc firmamentum fidei.* Vel ita: (Beda in homil.) Super hanc petram quam confessus es, id est, *super me ipsum.*'

Whatever may be the sources of his comments, it is clear that they are not Catholic nor Roman: at a later date we should say, this is a Protestant interpretation.

Zachary returns to the same theme in John 21, where he quotes from Augustine to the effect that our Lord loved John more than Peter: he explains that Peter is named from the rock, not the Rock from Peter;

> (c. 180) 'non a Petro petra, sed Petrus a petra nomen accepit. — — — Ideoque, ait Dominus, super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, *Super hanc petram,* scilicet quam confessus est Petrus, dicens: Tu es Christus etc. *Petra enim erat Christus.* Super fundamentum etiam ipse Petrus aedificatus est.'

The statement is somewhat modified by the reference to the doctrine of the Keys, but in any case this repeated affirmation of *Petra est Christus* against *Tu es Petrus* betrays a tendency of an anti-Roman character. An amusing instance is the dove in Canticles that makes her nest in the holes of the rocks; *Petra Christus est.*

In the next place we observe that the writer occupies a very uncatholic attitude towards sacraments. He comes very near to a Lutheran position when he discusses the Baptism of our Lord, and baptism generally: he refers to Gregory in the fourth book on Job:

> (c. 14) 'Quod apud nos valet aqua baptismi, hoc egit apud veteres vel pro parvulis *sola fides.*'

He objects to the doctrine that the daily bread of the Lord's prayer is the Communion, and doubts if it be material bread at all; consequently he goes back to Tertullian and the second century, when the prayer was read in the form 'Give us this day for bread the Word of God from Heaven.' This is said to be taken from Jerome; the quotations, if such, are striking enough:

> (c. 34) 'Restat igitur ut panem quotidianum intelligamus spiritualem, praecepta scilicet divina.'

If any one does not like this interpretation,

> 'quotidianum panem simul petamus et necessarium corpori et sacratum, *visibile et invisibile Verbum Dei*'.

After that we are not surprised to find him quoting Augustine's famous saying 'Crede et manducasti.'

> (c. 156) 'Unde Augustinus: Quid paras dentes et ventrem. Crede et manducasti. Realis vero et sacramentalis comestio junguntur — — — *Buccella panis est portio fidei*, quam ponit Deus in ore cordis.'

In regard to baptism the Catholic doctrine of the impropriety of re-baptism is emphasised strongly: even laymen or women may baptize:

> (c. 64) 'A quocunque detur ministro nihil refert. Minister enim ministrat, Christus baptizat. Unde illud: *Hic est qui baptizat.* Quapropter sive a clericis, sive a laicis, seu etiam a mulieribus necessitate imminente detur, non tamen reiteratur.'
>
> (c. 154) 'Erravit Petrus — — — cum se totum lavandum Deo obtulit. Quem Deus correxit, ostendens semel baptizatum, non esse rebaptizandum.'

He will even quote Beda as to the non-necessity of the outward sign of a sacrament, provided there is no contempt of religion intended:

> (c. 119) '(Beda). Quantum itaque valeat etiam sine visibilis baptismi sacramento, quod ait Apostolus: *Corde creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem.*'

In dealing with the subject of confession, Zachary points out that it is not a primitive custom

> (c. 99) 'Lacrymas Petri lego, confessionem non invenio. — — — Confessionis institutio nondum promulgata fuerat in primitiva Ecclesia. — — — Credere cogimur Apostolos baptizatos fuisse, quod quando vel quomodo factum sit, non legimus. — — — *Lacrymae poenitentium, apud Deum pro baptismate reputantur.*'

He quotes Augustine in favour of the general validity of heretical sacraments:

> (c. 95) 'Catholica ecclesia non improbat in haereticis sacramenta communia, in quibus nobiscum sunt, sed divisiones a nobis et sententias veritati adversas.'

As to the authority of the priesthood, what are we to think of his quoting Jerome on the power of loosing and binding, to the following effect:

> (c. 190) 'Istud locum episcopi et presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Pharisaeorum superciliis assumunt cum apud Deum *non sententia sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quaeratur.*'

Probably the foregoing extracts will suffice to shew the mind of the writer. He is a Catholic, of course, but of a very liberal school of interpretation: and what he is individually, may fairly be the description of the movement which he represents. Many of the sentiments to which we have drawn attention, are the very same as occur in the early Protestant writers, and are an anticipation of Protestantism itself, both as regards soteriology, and as regards ecclesiastical discipline. We can easily understand how in England a similar movement became the origin of the Wiclif teaching and propaganda. Zachary of Chrysopolis was a reformer before the Reformation. His quotations betray him.

ZU TEXT UND AUSLEGUNG DES BUCHES AMOS

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WENN ich es hiermit wage, die Ergebnisse meiner langjährigen Beschäftigung mit dem Buche des Propheten Amos der Öffentlichkeit vorzulegen, so geschieht das in der Erinnerung an den großen Gewinn, den ich selbst den „Versuchen zu Amos" eines G. Hoffmann (ZATW 1883), den „Noten" J. Wellhausens zu den Kleinen Propheten, den „Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bibel" von A. B. Ehrlich verdanke, um nur einige Beispiele solcher Veröffentlichungen aus den letzten Jahrzehnten zu nennen. Daß meine Beiträge soviel umfangreicher ausgefallen sind als alle diese, wird sich hoffentlich durch die unerläßliche Auseinandersetzung mit einem sehr umfassenden Schrifttum aus neuester Zeit rechtfertigen, so wenig ich mir Vollständigkeit in der Berücksichtigung meiner Vorgänger zur Pflicht gemacht habe. Daß mir die ausländische Literatur namentlich des letzten Jahrzehnts nur sehr unvollständig zu Gebote stand, habe ich oft zu bedauern Ursache gefunden. Ich gebe eben, was ich habe; ich muß bitten, damit freundlich fürlieb zu nehmen, und hoffen, daß es Anderen Stoff zu glücklicherer Weiterarbeit bieten möge.

In einer Beziehung werde ich von vornherein hinter den Erwartungen zurückbleiben, die vielleicht die meisten meiner Leser als unerläßlich betrachten: ich werde den metrischen Maßstab an den behandelten Wortlaut kaum jemals anlegen, nicht, was die Zahl der Hebungen in der Zeile, noch der Zeilen im parallelen Verse, am wenigsten, was das Verhältnis der „Strophen" zueinander angeht. Wie ich zu diesen Fragen stehe, insbesondere auch, was für Forderungen man an die dichterische Rede der

Propheten meines Erachtens zu stellen berechtigt ist, habe ich 1901 in meinem Aufsatz „Poetry (Hebrew)“ in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible ausgesprochen, und ich habe seitdem keinen Grund gefunden, meine Ansichten wesentlich zu ändern. Zahllose schlagende Beispiele beweisen mir immer wieder, daß die mitgebrachten metrischen Voraussetzungen unsre besten Arbeiter dazu führen, den ehrwürdigen Texten, die auszulegen wir berufen sind, aufs unbarmherzigste mitzuspielen, und wenn dann diese Ausleger, selbst bei den gleichen metrischen Anschauungen, oft genug ebenso viele grundverschiedene metrische Gebilde zutage fördern, so kann ich vorläufig nur in einer Behandlung der Texte ohne Rücksicht auf metrische Voraussetzungen, oder doch nur unter ganz vorsichtiger Zuhülfenahme solcher Gesichtspunkte neben andren entscheidenden, das Heil für unsre Beschäftigung mit der Heiligen Schrift Alten Testaments erblicken. An Beispielen für die Berechtigung solchen Verfahrens werde ich es, wo die Gelegenheit sich bietet, nicht fehlen lassen.

I. DER EINGANG DES BUCHES

Von der Überschrift in 1 1 habe ich 1897 und 1914 ausführlich gehandelt;[1] ich brauche deshalb an das dort Gesagte hier nur zu erinnern und Weiteres daran anzuknüpfen. Daß der Relativsatz אשר היה בנקדים erst später auf Grund von 7 10 ff. eingeschoben ist, scheint seit meinem ersten Aufsatz allgemein angenommen zu sein.[2] Wie es bei dieser Einsicht noch möglich bleiben soll zu übersetzen „welcher zu den Schafzüchtern (oder ‚Herdenbesitzern‘) von Tekoa gehörte“, d. h. מתקוע zu בנקדים zu ziehen (so Sellin und Guthe a. a. O., vgl. auch Greßmann[2])

[1] *Semitic Studies in memory* of Rev. Dr. Alexander Kohut, Berlin 1897, p. 106—110; *Studien usw., Julius Wellhausen zum 70. Geburtstage*, 1914, S. 65—77, vgl. besonders S. 76 f.

[2] Genannt seien Hans Schmidt, *Der Prophet Amos*, 1917; Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 1922; Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten*, 3. Aufl., 1922; Guthe bei Kautzsch, *Die Heilige Schrift des A. T.'s*, 4. Aufl. 1923, bei dem freilich nicht klar wird, ob er auch מתקוע noch für eingeschoben hält. Endlich vergleiche man Peiser in seinem Aufsatz שְׁנָתַיִם לִפְנֵי הָרַעַשׁ (*ZATW* 1916), S. 222.

statt zu עמוס, also „des Amos von Tekoa", ist schwer zu verstehn, zumal es nirgends auch nur mit einem Worte gerechtfertigt wird. — Irrig oder wenigstens mißverständlich ist die allgemein übliche Übersetzung „Worte des Amos" statt „Die Worte des Amos", kraft der Determinierung durch den Eigennamen, so gut wie משלי שלמה Prov. 1 1 „Die Sprüche Salomos" heißt. Es handelt sich nicht um eine so oder so bestimmte Auswahl aus einem größeren zur Verfügung stehenden Bestande, sondern um den ganzen Umfang, den die Überlieferung darbot oder die Redaktoren als Bestandteil der Heiligen Schriften der Nachwelt weitergeben wollten. — Fast beschämend für den Ausleger ist es, feststellen zu müssen, daß, soweit unsere Kenntnis des althebräischen Sprachgebrauchs reicht, V. 1, bis auf die Zeitbestimmung, zwei ganz verschiedene Übersetzungen zuläßt, nämlich „Die Worte des Amos von Teḳôaʿ, die er schaute über (oder ‚gegen') Israel" und „Die Begebenheiten mit A. v. T., der da schaute (d. h. Offenbarungen empfing, als Prophet auftrat) usw." Ich habe mich 1914 für das zweite Verständnis als das ursprüngliche entschieden, weil, was Amos verkündigt, nicht seine Worte sind, sondern das Wort Jahwes, jene Bezeichnung also geradezu entstellend und herabwürdigend klingt, wenn man nicht tüftelnd übersetzen will „die er geschaut hatte", d. h. daß er nachträglich in seine Worte gekleidet hätte, was er vorher durch Offenbarung empfangen hatte.[3] Aber eine Möglichkeit der Rechtfertigung für „Die Worte des Amos" habe ich damit übersehen. Amasja, der Priester von Betel, meldet dem Könige (7 10) von Amos: „Das Land vermag nicht auszuhalten alle seine Worte (את־כל־דבריו)". Sollte etwa das דברי עמוס buchstäblich von dorther in demselben Sinne entlehnt sein? Die Bezeichnung wäre dann freilich dem Gegner des Propheten aus dem Munde genommen, der offenbar Wert darauf legen mußte, daß, was Amos sagte, nur seine eigenen Worte seien, nicht das Wort Jahwes, das den Priester ebenfalls verpflichtet und ihn gehindert hätte, gegen ihn einzuschreiten. Ein so mechanisches, so sklavisches Verhältnis zu 7 10 ff. muß ich doch für unwahrscheinlich

[3] Jedenfalls empfiehlt es sich nicht, wie Sellin tut, die erste Hälfte der ersten Übersetzung mit der zweiten der andren zu verbinden: „Die Worte des Amos, der da schaute".

halten. Auf der andren Seite kann man nicht stark genug betonen, daß dem דברי עמוס nur das einzige דברי ירמיהו in der späteren Fassung[4] der Jeremia-Überschrift bei MT zur Seite steht, und daß Amos und Jeremia die beiden einzigen Prophetenbücher sind, die neben prophetischer Rede auch Abschnitte zur Lebensbeschreibung des Propheten enthalten, durch die der Gebrauch von דברים im Sinne von 1 Kön. 11 41 usw., „Begebenheiten unter Salomo, Geschichte Salomo's" gerechtfertigt wird. Der Gebrauch dieser Wendung würde doppelt begreiflich sein, wenn ursprünglich der Bericht über Amos und seine prophetische Tätigkeit unmittelbar auf die Überschrift gefolgt wäre, wie ich diese Annahme 1914 aufgestellt und zu begründen versucht habe. Ich muß das heute noch für die wahrscheinlichste Lösung halten.[5] — Von der ausführlichen Zeitbestimmung ist mindestens das Eigenartigste der Schluß, „zwei Jahre vor dem Erdbeben". Daß damit die prophetische Wirksamkeit des Amos nur auf ein einziges Jahr beschränkt wird, kann in keiner Weise auffallen, entspricht vielmehr allem, was wir aus 7 10 ff. schließen dürfen. Die Bezeugung eines starken Erdbebens unter Uzzia in Sach. 14 5 darf nicht deshalb unterschätzt werden, weil sie angesichts der späten Abfassung des Stücks allenfalls aus Amos 1 1 geschöpft sein könnte. Denn damit gerade wäre der Angabe an unsrer Stelle ein verhältnismäßig hohes Alter gesichert. Hoffmanns Versuch, durch verwickelte Schlußfolgerungen umgekehrt die Worte in Am. 1 1 aus Sach. 14 5 abzuleiten, überzeugt in keiner Weise. Aber sehr wohl können auch beide Stellen unabhängig voneinander sein. Kaum dürfte sich in der Erinnerung der Völker etwas andres so festsetzen und so lange erhalten wie ein ungewöhnlich starkes Erdbeben — man denke an das von Lissabon oder das von Messina — und nun vollends in dem zähen Gedächtnis der Völker des Orients. Daß ein solches Erdbeben sprichwörtlich wird, wie es Sach. 14 5 gebraucht wird, kann

[4] Vgl. K. Budde, „Die Überschrift des Buches Jeremia", Internationaler Orientalisten-Kongreß zu Hamburg, 1902, Verhandlungen, S. 235 ff., und „Über das erste Kapitel des Buches Jeremia", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XL, 1921, I, p. 123 ff.

[5] Hier ordnet den Abschnitt 7 10 ff. Greßmann, 1. Aufl., S. 329, 2. Aufl., S. 330, ein.

keinen Augenblick überraschen. Aber örtlich oder zeitlich muß es dann erkennbar festgelegt sein, und das geschieht hier durch den Zusatz „unter König Uzzia". Damit ist von den beiden Königsangaben in V. 1 die erste, und nur sie, für den alten Bestand der Überschrift gesichert. Es geht nicht an, mit Nowack beide für jünger als שנתים לפני־הרעש zu erklären, weil „das Erdbeben" ohne nähere Bestimmung zu einer Zeitangabe nicht dienen kann. Anderseits kann das Erdbeben auch kaum als das „unter Uzzia und unter Jerobeam" im Gedächtnis des Volks geblieben sein, und hat man zwischen beiden die Wahl, so entscheidet nicht nur Sach. 14 5 für den judäischen König, sondern die Ergänzung Jerobeams erklärt sich auch spielend leicht aus Kap. 7 9 ff. Überdies ist das Buch in Juda redigiert worden und wird daher auch nach dem judäischen König datiert worden sein. Daß auch V. 2 für das Alter der Jahresangabe in V. 1 Zeugnis ablegt, wird sich sofort ergeben. Das hier gemeinte Erdbeben mit dem in 4 11 angezogenen gleichzusetzen, verbietet sich von selbst, da es ja zwei Jahre später fällt als des Amos Auftreten, das von 4 11 aber bereits der Vergangenheit angehört; an die bloß möglichen von 8 8; 9 5 zu erinnern, hat keinen Wert; das in 9 1 angesagte mag man darin erkennen und die Erfüllung dieses letzten Gesichts darin suchen.

1 2. Von diesem Verse habe ich 1910 (ZATW XXX, S. 42 ff.) gehandelt und nachzuweisen gesucht, daß der erste Halbvers, buchstäblich gleichlautend mit Jo. 4 16 a α, mit seinem ויאמר, „und zwar sagte er", einfach jene Stelle anführt. Der Sinn ist also: „Was Amos damals gesagt hat, findet man in Jo. 4 16 von den angeführten Worten an",[6] also das dort folgende Erdbeben einschließend. Der Verweis knüpft somit unmittelbar an die soeben behandelten letzten Worte von V. 1 an: Amos hat zwei Jahre vor dem Erdbeben unter König Uzzia eben dieses Erdbeben vorhergesagt, und sein Ausspruch darüber findet sich im Zwölfprophetenbuche wenige Verse vorher, freilich jetzt unter eines anderen Propheten Namen. Der einzige Wert dieser schriftgelehrten Musterleistung besteht darin, daß sie die

[6] Für die Anführungsformel habe ich in der Wellhausen-Festschrift 1914 auf 1 Kön. 22 28 verwiesen, wo obendrein auch das Mißverständnis kaum weniger handgreiflich ist als hier.

Zeitbestimmung „zwei Jahre vor dem Erdbeben“ als recht früh schon vorhanden verbürgt. Auch zur Geschichte der Exegese liefert sie noch einen kleinen Beitrag, da sie auf dem Verständnis der beiden ersten Worte von V. 1 fußt, das ich oben abgelehnt habe. „Die Worte des Amos von Tekoa, die er schaute usw. Und zwar sagte er:“ so ist ohne jeden Zweifel der Zusammenhang aufgefaßt und gemeint. Merkwürdig, daß man sich nicht dadurch allein schon hat warnen lassen, 2a ernst zu nehmen. Denn, ob nun „Die Worte des Amos“ oder „Die Begebenheiten mit Amos“: in jedem Falle will doch die Überschrift das Buch als solches, seinen ganzen Zusammenhang oder, wenn man die zweite Auffassung pressen will, wenigstens einen Hauptbestandteil davon einführen, nicht aber den einzelnen Spruch in V. 2, wie das jetzt der Fall ist.[7] Mein Verständnis des Verses, das ich noch heute unverändert vertreten muß, ist seitdem von zwei Seiten entschieden bestritten worden, von Bertholet in der Bonwetsch-Festschrift 1918, S. 1 ff., und von Sellin in seinem Kommentar.[8] Beide verstehn den ganzen Vers als geschlossenes Ganzes, beide sprechen wie ich mit Duhm וַיִּבַּשׁ statt וַיֶּבֶשׁ. Nach Bertholet (S. 11) ist 1 2 „Ausdruck des Erlebnisses, durch das der Prophet von der Herde ‚weggenommen‘ wurde; ein furchtbares von Jerusalem und dem Zion her aufsteigendes Gewitter ist das Ereignis, das für ihn die Entscheidung brachte“. Warum sagt uns das nicht Amos selbst; warum lesen wir nicht statt des überlieferten Wortlauts etwa: „Jahwe brüllte vom Zion her und erhob aus Jerusalem seine Stimme, und ich vernahm aus dem Donner seinen Ruf ‚Geh, predige gegen mein Volk Israel‘!“ (7 15)? Er berichtet doch sonst, was er erlebt hat, mit seinem Ich (7 1–9; 8 1; 9 1), spricht von seiner Berufung offen zum Priester Amasja, hatte also keinen absehbaren Grund, durch den nun gebotenen Wortlaut von 2b eigens von der Wirkung dieses Gewitters, die für ihn so

[7] Man beachte, wie ganz anders die Dinge bei dem וַיֹּאמֶר von Hos. 1 2 liegen.

[8] Hans Schmidt, *Der Prophet Amos*, 1917, Ludwig Köhler, *Amos*, 1917 und 1920, Guthe a. a. O., äußern sich nicht darüber. Greßmann², 1921, hat seine Ansicht dahin geändert, daß der Vers hier und Joel 4 16 wohl herrenloses Gut sei, das ursprünglich am Rande beigeschrieben war.

entscheidend war, auf eine völlig andre abzulenken. Und wie hat er festzustellen vermocht, daß dieses Gewitter, das er im Aufsteigen jenseits des von Tekoa aus sichtbaren Betlehem, in einer Entfernung von etwa 15 Kilometer, beobachtete, das er dann „sich nordwärts entladen sieht“ (S. 12), daß dieses Gewitter gerade am Karmel, in noch viel weiterer Entfernung, eine so furchtbare Wirkung ausübt, „seinen Schmuck durch die elementare Gewalt in Schande verkehrt“ (S. 5)? Daß die „Auen der Hirten“, von denen zuerst die Rede ist, nicht örtlich festgelegt sind, spricht auch nicht eben für eine so greifbare und gegenwärtige Auffassung dieses Gewitters. Dafür, daß die Tempora, Imperfectum und Perfectum consecutivum, solche perfektische Deutung zulassen, mußten doch ganz andre Beweisstellen angeführt werden als Jes. 6 2 (S. 9), wo deutlich eine dauernde Handlung, ein Zustand geschildert wird; jedenfalls könnten sie in einer so knappen, völlig für sich stehenden Aussage gar nicht mißverständlicher gewählt sein. Und endlich, wie Zion und Jerusalem eingeführt werden, das klingt doch durchaus eschatologisch, als Mittelpunkt und Herd der Endentscheidung, jedenfalls als Sitz und Wohnung Jahwes (vgl. Bertholet, S. 6 f.), nicht aber als bloße Bezeichnung der Himmelsrichtung von Tekoa aus. Ich muß also Bertholets Auffassung in jeder Beziehung für einen Fehlgriff halten, auf alle Fälle ist sie so subjektiv, daß er schwerlich Nachfolge finden wird. Das scheint freilich heute schon widerlegt zu sein, da Sellin (S. 162) „das persönliche Erlebnis in einem solchen Gewitter, das seine Berufungsstunde umschloß“, zu billigen scheint, wie er denn Bertholet daneben noch aus dem Eigenen die Beobachtung beisteuert, „daß für die um Tekoa wohnenden Judäer die Gewitter vielfach gerade von dem im Norden gelegenen Zion aufzusteigen schienen“. Ich habe das bei Bertholet vergeblich gesucht. Aber jedenfalls muß man sich sehr wundern, daß Sellin diese Billigung aussprechen kann, während er selbst V. 2 übersetzt „Wenn Jahwe vom Zion her brüllt usw., So trauern usw.“, also das Gewitter nicht als ein einzelnes und gegenwärtiges, den Vers vielmehr als eine allgemein gültige Aussage über die „Wirkung der Manifestation Jahwes im Gewitter“ (S. 161) faßt. „Er ist, vielleicht aus anderem Zusammenhang, nicht unpassend [!] als

Motto an die einleitende Stelle gesetzt, weil er einerseits . . . . gut als Illustration zu dem רָעַשׁ in V. 1 dienen konnte, vgl. 9 5, andererseits die Worte als Einleitung zu dem Völkergericht, das in V. 3 ff. folgte, nicht ungeeignet [!] erschienen". Also die alte Mottoerklärung; man merkt der Fassung an — ich habe das ein paarmal durch! hervorgehoben — wie unbehaglich Sellin selbst sich dabei fühlt, und vielleicht hat ihn das bewogen, daneben die völlig andersartige Deutung Bertholets ebenfalls zu billigen. Auch daß er zu V. 3 ff. und Kap. 2 so stark das unmittelbare Eingreifen Jahwes durch Gewitter und Erdbeben betont, dürfte mit dem Festhalten an V. 2 und dieser Deutung des Verses zusammenhängen. Man fragt sich freilich vergeblich, wie Ausrottung und Verbannung von Volk und Herrschern in 1 5, 8, 14 f.; 2 1 f. durch das Gewitter herbeigeführt werden soll, und wie man 2 13–15 als die Ansage eines Erdbebens erklären kann, zumal dies letztere in 4 11 als vergebliche Mahnung zur Buße erledigt ist. Gegen Sellin wie gegen Bertholet entscheidet vollends die Unmöglichkeit des ואבלו נאות הרעים bei ihrer Fassung. Es muß und soll, da mit וְיֵבֵשׁ statt וְיָבֵשׁ das Welken der Auen aufgegeben ist, bedeuten, daß die Auen von Hirten und Herden verlassen werden, so daß sie, verwaist gleichsam, ihnen nachtrauern. Das ist gewiß richtig; aber wie gelingt es dem Gewitter, diese Wirkung hervorzubringen? Selbst wenn der Blitz mitten in eine der Herden einschlüge, sie würde wohl für den Augenblick auseinanderfahren, aber darum doch die Weide nicht verlassen. Wohin denn — etwa in den Stall?! Und brauchte und hätte sie eine Zuflucht, die sie aufsuchen könnte, würde sie nicht nach einer Stunde wieder herbeigetrieben werden und von neuem zu grasen beginnen, so daß der Weide zum Trauern gar keine Zeit bliebe? Nein, verwaist werden die Auen nur, wenn der Feind die Hirten erschlagen, die Herde als Schlachtvieh für das Heer fortgetrieben hat. Sellin hat also wenig Ursache, die Geschlossenheit des Verses bei seiner Deutung zu rühmen und meine Auffassung als falsche Interpretation abzulehnen (S. 162). Seine zweite Hälfte begreift sich in der Tat, wenn man sie für sich betrachtet, nur als „in der Luft schwebender Torso", wenn man sie im Zusammenhang mit dem Folgenden verstehn will, als letztes Glied, der einzige erhalten gebliebene Rest, einer

allgemeinen Ansage des Gerichts in Gestalt des Krieges, der von einem übermächtigen Feinde nach Vorderasien getragen wird. Er wird die Auen um Hirten und Herden trauern machen und den Karmel (wie alle andren Waldgebirge) durch den Holzknecht (Jes. 14 8) schänden lassen.

II. DAS GERICHT ÜBER DIE VÖLKER

V. 3–5. Schon 1914 habe ich dem Letztgesagten entsprechend festgestellt, daß das in jedem Spruche wiederholte לא אשיבנו vollbefriedigend nur erklärt werden kann „ich werde ihn“ — den angesagten auswärtigen Feind, nach andren prophetischen Stellen etwa den מַצִּיק — „nicht abwehren“, sondern eben durch ihn meinen Strafwillen vollziehen; denn so müssen das ושלחתי und ושברתי des ersten Spruchs und die entsprechenden der folgenden gedeutet werden. So verfährt Jahwe wegen der, überall in unbestimmter, etwas größerer oder geringerer Zahl verübten, Frevel; von ihnen braucht jedesmal nur einer aufgeführt zu werden, weil er zur Begründung des Strafgerichts genügt.[9] Für Damaskus wird die grausame Kriegführung im Ostjordangebiete — so, im weitesten Sinne, wird הגלעד verstanden werden müssen, jedenfalls haben die Syrerkriege zuerst und am schwersten dessen nördliche Landschaften betroffen — zum Strafgrund. Dreschen und Dreschschlitten sind dabei durchaus bildlich zu verstehn, wie Jes. 41 15; Mi. 4 13; Hab. 3 12; der „eiserne Dreschschlitten“ bedeutet eine Steigerung der angewandten Gewalt (vgl. zu dieser auch Jes. 28 27), wie Mi. 4 13 Hörner und Hufe zu Eisen und Erz werden sollen. Irgendwelcher Textänderung bedarf es nicht; vor der Einschiebung von כל־ארץ, ארץ, הרי oder הר vor הגלעד warnt V. 13; dem דוש sein Objekt zu nehmen durch die volle Zeile וְשׂוֹם כֵּעָפָר הגלעד (P. Haupt, siehe unten) ist eine Verschlechterung; auch Martis Umstellung, את־הגלעד vor בחרצות, schwächt nur den Nachdruck,

[9] Ich brauche auf Peiser's Übersetzung „Auf Drei: die Sünden Damaskus'; auf Vier: ich will es nicht wenden“ (*ZATW* 1916, S. 219) nur zu verweisen; darauf eingehn kann ich nicht, weil ich es nicht verstehe und der Verfasser uns nicht gesagt hat, was er sich bei diesem „Zahlenorakel“ dachte.

mit dem das grausame Werkzeug vorangestellt wird. Besondere Beachtung verdient LXX τὰς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσας τῶν ἐν Γαλαάδ, weil damit, wahrscheinlich schon für ihre Vorlage, Angleichung an V. 13 bewiesen wird. Wir werden sehen, daß diese Neigung anderwärts noch tiefer eingegriffen hat. Metrische Feinheiten nach diesem oder jenem vorausgesetzten Versbau in der ganz ungezwungenen, nur von selbst zumeist in parallelen Zeilen sich abspielenden Rede zu suchen, ist ganz unangebrachte Mühe. — V. 4. Daß die Strafansage regelmäßig mit dem Feuerschleudern oder -zünden beginnt, wenn nicht gar allein darin besteht (V. 4, 7, 10, 12, 14; 2 2, 5), hat sicherlich im Wesen Jahwes, in seiner Eigenschaft als Gewittergott, seinen Grund; es soll mit dem ersten Worte gleich ihn als den letzten und füglich einzigen Urheber des Strafgerichts festlegen. Aber trotzdem führt es nicht den Blitz als das eigentliche Mittel des Strafgerichts ein, sondern fügt sich ganz ungezwungen in die kriegerischen Handlungen des feindlichen Heeres, denen die Zerstörung durch das Feuer die Krone aufsetzt. Daß das Gericht mit der Zerstörung der Königspaläste beginnt, erinnert an Jes. 2; schon Jesajas Vorläufer Amos zielt besonders auf den Hochmut des Menschen, auf seine Überhebung vor dem gewaltigen Gotte ab. — V. 5 בְּרַחֵי statt בריח zu lesen, steht nach LXX μόχλους frei, ohne daß etwas darauf ankäme. יוֹשֵׁב hier und V. 8 einfach als „die Bewohner“ zu fassen, ist doch neben תומך שבט und angesichts der Seitenstücke 2 3 und 1 15 nicht zulässig. Auch wäre die Aussage ohne Zweifel auf ganz Aram auszudehnen, und man fragt sich dann, wie dessen Volk noch in die Verbannung geführt werden soll, wenn alle seine Bewohner ausgerottet worden sind. So wird man doch auf das öfter vertretene Verständnis „der da sitzt“ oder „thront“ zurückkommen müssen, wofür Jes. 10 13 den besten Beleg bietet, aber auch Ps. 55 20; 2 4 zu vergleichen sind. Mit Ehrlich שׁוֹפֵט (2 3) zu lesen, dürfte nicht nötig sein. — Zu den beiden Orts- oder Ländernamen weiß ich nichts Neues beizutragen. Wenig empfiehlt sich rein appellativische Fassung, „Tal Trug“, „Burg Wonne“ als Beinamen von Damaskus (Hans Schmidt, S. 36), schon wegen V. 8; aber recht wohl mögen gerade diese Beispiele gewählt, auch vielleicht die Namen ein wenig zugepaßt sein, um die Begriffe אוֹן und עֵדֶן als solche wirken zu

lassen. Ob die Gebiete selbständig neben Damaskus stehn, oder als ihm unterworfen eingeführt werden, wird sich vielleicht entscheiden lassen, wenn sie überzeugend festgelegt sind. Jedenfalls gehören sie in das weite aramäische Gebiet, auch als selbständige Staaten könnten sie leicht Damaskus gegen Israel Heeresfolge geleistet haben. — Ein neues ethnologisches Rätsel bietet Ḳîr, das Land, wohin das Volk Arams soll fortgeführt werden. Die willkommenste Lösung bietet P. Haupt,[10] daß Ḳîr gleichbedeutend sei mit Ur der Chaldäer, also = Uru in Babylonien am unteren Euphrat. Denn sicher wissen wir aus Am. 9 7, daß Amos Ḳîr als die Heimat Arams kannte, oder doch als den Ort, wo es ehedem geweilt, von wo Jahwe es in seine gegenwärtigen Sitze „heraufgeführt" hatte. Ist Ḳîr nun = Ur, so stimmt er darin mit der Überlieferung der Genesis überein (11 28, 31).[11] Haupts Vorschlag ist von verblüffender Einfachheit. Er setzt den heutigen arabischen Namen des alten Uru, Muḳajjar = „das mit Asphalt erbaute", für קיר ein, in 9 7 also מִמְּקַיָּר für מִקִּיר, an unsrer Stelle מִקַּיָּרָה für קִירָה, ebenfalls nur durch Wiederholung des vorausgehenden מ. Das müßte dann ein zweiter Name der Stadt gewesen sein, etwa bei den Aramäern selbst gebräuchlich. Wem das zu glauben zu schwer falle, der möge Ḳîr für die assyrische Form des Stadtnamens halten. Ich muß frei geben, ob man sich zu dem einen oder andren entschließen kann; nur scheint es mir schwer, den Namen in dieser Bedeutung ohne jede nähere Bestimmung hinzunehmen. Ehrlich hält es für unwahrscheinlich, daß Amos für Aram geradezu das Land der Verbannung vorausgesagt haben sollte, während er bei Israel 2 13–16 nicht einmal den Feind mit Namen bezeichne, meint auch, es könne nicht Jahwes Absicht sein, Aram ebendahin zurückzuführen, von wo er es nach 9 7 befreit habe. Er will deshalb, mit ebenfalls sehr leichter Änderung, מִקְרֵיהֶ lesen, = „aus ihren Städten", oder „aus ihrer Heimat", oder „sodaß es kein Staat mehr ist". Die Unsicherheit der Übersetzung

[10] "Ur of the Chaldees", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. XXXVI, 1917, p. 93 ff.

[11] Vgl. mein Buch *„Die Biblische Urgeschichte"*, 1883, S. 418—420 für den Nachweis, daß die Nachricht aus J stammt, und einst auch Naḥôr, den Stammvater der Aramäer (Gn. 22 20 ff.), eingeschlossen haben muß.

allein zeigt, wie wenig das befriedigt. Anderseits ist gerade dies der Sinn des Satzes, daß das Volk Arams zu seiner Strafe wieder dahin zurückgeführt werden soll, woher Jahwe es aus Gnaden in seinen jetzigen Wohnsitz geführt hat, vgl. dazu 2 Kön. 19 28 (Jes. 37 29), wo Sanherib ähnliches angedroht wird. Anstoß ist nur daran zu nehmen, daß das nicht ausdrücklich gesagt ist, eben weil Amos in 9 7 die Herkunft der Aramäer aus Ḳîr als bekannt voraussetzt und verwendet. Ich muß deshalb annehmen, daß hinter קירה ein Glied dieses Inhalts ausgefallen ist, am leichtesten אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלֹתִים מִשָּׁם. Sollte Haupts Erklärung für Ḳîr zutreffen, so wäre damit auch für sie eine Schwierigkeit aus dem Wege geräumt, die oben berührt wurde. Ohne jede Begründung, selbst ohne jeden metrischen Vorteil, liest Haupt a. a. O. S. 95 וְהָגְלוּ für וְגָלוּ. — Das nachdrücklich abschließende אמר יהוה zu streichen — so Hans Schmidt und Guthe bei Kautzsch[4] — liegt gar kein Anlaß vor als metrische Vorurteile. Diese Schlußformel, die sich bei allen vollständigen Sprüchen (V. 9, 15; 2 3) findet, ist in solcher Verwendung, als Wiederaufnahme der Eingangsformel, so eigenartig, daß sich nicht erklären läßt, wie sie nachträglich so regelmäßig sollte hinzugefügt sein, und wieder so unregelmäßig, da sie V. 10, 12; 2 4 fehlt, wo auch sonst der Abschluß nicht vollständig ist. Viel eher darf man daran denken, die Formel überall durch das אדני von V. 9 zu vervollständigen (so Sievers-Guthe und Nowack[3]); daß LXX es dort nicht bietet, ist kein Grund dagegen, weil von dem *κύριος* Κύριος der griechischen Wiedergabe mit oder ohne Absicht leicht das erste Wort ausfallen konnte. Ob nicht hier und an manchen andren Stellen אֲדֹנָי „mein Herr" zu sprechen ist, mag gefragt werden.

V. 6–11. Die Echtheit der drei nächsten Sprüche ist angefochten. Am stärksten die des letzten, gegen Edom; ich weiß unter den heutigen nur Greßmann, Hans Schmidt und Köhler zu nennen, die keine Bedenken dagegen äußern. Sehr viele sprechen auch den gegen Tyrus Amos ab, und denen, die über den ersten, gegen Philistäa, ebenso urteilen, hat sich neuerlich noch Nowack beigesellt. Die Sache läßt, ehe wir an die Einzelnheiten herantreten, schon eine grundsätzliche Besprechung zu. Es kann gewiß keinem Zweifel unterliegen und

ist ja in der Sache, der Ankündigung und sicheren Erwartung eines Vorstoßes der assyrischen Weltmacht nach Vorderasien, begründet, daß Amos dem Gericht rings um Israel her eine möglichst weite Ausdehnung anzusagen, daß er möglichst alle umwohnenden Völker darein einzuschließen Auftrag hat. So unbedingt und unparteiisch Jahwes Gerechtigkeit sich in dem Gerichte offenbart — wie vor allem der Spruch gegen Moab beweist — so steht doch Israel dabei im Vordergrund, und die Wirkung der ganzen Rede ist darauf berechnet, zunächst dem Verlangen der israelitischen Hörer nach Bestrafung ihrer Feinde in vollem Maße Genüge zu tun. Damit erklärt es sich leicht, daß der stärkste Feind, das damaszenische Syrien, gegen das seit 200 Jahren die Front Israels in steter Sorge gerichtet war, die erste Stelle einnimmt. Und der Feind, der Israel immer wieder in den ungedeckten Rücken fiel, Philistäa mit seinen starken, kriegstüchtigen Städten, sollte übergangen sein? Das ist ganz unmöglich. Der einzige Vers 9 11 bei Amos' Nachfolger und Schüler Jesaja genügt, das zu beweisen. Oder müßte Amos die Philister übergehn, weil er bei ihnen keine Verschuldung aufzuweisen vermöchte? Auch daran ist gar nicht zu denken. Rührt der Spruch V. 6–8 von späterer Hand her, so hat er einen andren, echten ersetzt, und auch dessen Stelle müßte die gleiche gewesen sein, nach dem Erbfeind in der Front der im Rücken Israels. Den Schluß macht Israels rechte Flanke, wo wieder in Ammon und Moab alte, unermüdliche Feinde aufgeführt werden. Und daneben sollte die linke Flanke offen gelassen sein, die durch Phönizien ausgefüllt wird? Wiederum mindestens sehr unwahrscheinlich, trotzdem Israels Verhältnis zu diesem Nachbar ein wesentlich anderes war. Auch die Stelle, die V. 9 und 10 einnehmen, an den Nachbar in Philistäa eng angeschlossen, um dann von der linken Flanke aus durch Diagonale ebenso die rechte Flanke zu erreichen, wie von der Front den Rücken, ist durchaus die gewiesene. Wieder wird man sagen dürfen, daß ein Spruch gegen Phönizien, das obendrein bei jedem Kriegszug des Zweistromgebiets gegen die Mittelmeerländer unweigerlich in Mitleidenschaft gezogen wurde, vorausgesetzt und gefordert werden muß, und gerade an dieser Stelle. Anders steht es mit Edom. Es hat mit Nordisrael keine gemeinsame Grenze, liegt

vielmehr hinter Juda, gegen das Amos keine Vollmacht erhalten hat, und kann auch deshalb außer Betracht bleiben, weil es gerade zu dieser Zeit keinen selbständigen Staat bildete, sondern Juda unterworfen war. Auf echten Amossprüchen gegen Philistäa und Phönizien dagegen ist durchaus zu bestehn, und es fragt sich nur, ob sie etwa durch Schäden und Überarbeitung bis zur Unkenntlichkeit entstellt, wenn nicht gar durch ganz neue Fassungen ersetzt sind, oder ob sie sich aus dem erhaltenen Wortlaut herausschälen und annähernd herstellen lassen. Noch eins darf festgestellt werden, ehe wir an das Einzelne herantreten. Man hat neben andrem auch den Eindruck von Wiederholungen aus den echten Sprüchen und deren sklavischer Nachahmung für die Unechtheit geltend gemacht, gewiß mit Recht, wo dergleichen über die erlaubten Grenzen hinaus sich nachweisen läßt. Aber dabei bleibt es doch, daß wir es mit einer Rede zu tun haben, der wörtliche Wiederholung, das unerbittliche Einhämmern des stets gleichen Zusammenhangs zwischen Ursache und Wirkung, im Blute liegt und geradezu ihre Eigenart ausmacht. Was in Am. 4 6 ff. und Jes. 9 7 ff. der Kehrvers zeigt, das liegt hier in der bis auf den wechselnden Landesnamen völlig stehenden Einleitung offen zutage, aber auch die Durchführung der Strafe wird nach aller Möglichkeit in denselben Wendungen gehalten, vgl. nur V. 4, 14; 2 3. Das Einzige, was jedesmal neu sein muß, ist der Strafanlaß, der unter vielen allein angeführte Frevel. Wo darin sklavische Abhängigkeit sich bemerkbar macht, hat man Grund zum Verdacht und wird untersuchen müssen, ob es sich um eine andre Hand oder um Verderbnis des ursprünglichen Wortlauts handelt.

V. 6–8. Der entscheidende Grund, diese Verse Amos abzusprechen, war für Marti, daß von der philistäischen Pentapolis Gath nicht erwähnt ist und er daraus glaubt schließen zu dürfen, daß es zur Zeit des Verfassers nicht mehr bestand. Da nun Gath von Sargon im Jahre 711 erobert wurde — nicht zerstört, wie Marti sagt, im Gegenteil neu besiedelt, vgl. Greßmann und Ungnad, Altorient. Texte und Bilder I, S. 118 — so lebte der Verfasser des Spruchs später als Amos. Dieser Beweis *e silentio* ist doch äußerst unsicher. Der Grund für das Fehlen Gaths kann auch ein ganz anderer sein, vor allem seine geringe

Bedeutung. Auch in dem ersten Spruch gegen Damaskus sind längst nicht alle in Betracht kommenden Gebiete aufgezählt, und in dem gegen Moab längst nicht alle moabitischen Städte. Mit den drei Städten am Meere konnte Gath entfernt nicht wetteifern. Und umgekehrt konnte, da die Stadt weiter bestand (s. oben), auch ein Späterer sie sehr wohl aufführen. Ich halte vielmehr für wahrscheinlich, daß auch ʿEḳron erst nachträglich eingeschoben ist, nicht nur, weil, nachdem mit der Einführung der Herrscher bei Ašdod und Aškalon schon zu Einzelheiten übergegangen ist, das Verfahren gegen eine neue Stadt als solche abschwächend nachhinkt (vgl. V. 5a), sondern auch, weil das השיב יד על eine gar zu allgemeine und sonst nicht eben frühe Wendung ist. Der Spruch ist bloß mit den drei mächtigen Städten an der See, ohne 8bα, kraftvoller und wirksamer; alle neben ihnen übergangenen schließt שארית פלשתים von selber ein.[12] Dagegen verliert er an Kraft, wenn man den ganzen V. 8 streicht, wie Guthe a. a. O. dazu neigt; gerade die Gleichförmigkeit mit V. 5 spricht entschieden für die Echtheit seines Hauptbestandes. — Nun aber das Entscheidende, der Gegenstand der Anklage. Es handelt sich wie bei Damaskus um ein Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit, um grausame Kriegführung. Daß man dabei Gefangene fortführt, sei es als Sklaven, sei es zur Ansiedelung auf neuem Boden, ist Kriegsrecht, allgemeiner, unbeanstandeter Brauch;[13] eine volle Bewohnerschaft aber restlos fortzuführen — so wird גלות שלמה mit Recht neuerdings allgemein gedeutet[14] — das ist Sakrileg, weil damit eine Stätte, der der Gott des Landes Leben geschenkt, und wo ihm Dienst gezollt wurde, stillgelegt und ausgemerzt wird.[15] Damit ist das

[12] שְׁרִי für שארית ist eine Verschlechterung.

[13] Das ist der Menschenraub bis auf den heutigen Tag in Vorderasien und ganz Afrika geblieben. Es mag bei dieser Gelegenheit betont werden, wie wenig Anlaß deshalb vorliegt, mit Marti „das einzige Eigentümliche, was V. 6-10 an sich haben, die Deportation", als aus Jo. 4 6 entlehnt zu betrachten, wo der Wortlaut zudem nicht die entfernteste Ähnlichkeit aufweist.

[14] Man mag vergleichen, wie umgekehrt in 2 Sam. 24 die Volkszählung als Sakrileg empfunden wird, weil man dem Gotte nachrechnet und gleichsam vorschreiben will, wie vielen er das Leben gönnt.

[15] Nur Haupt will שלמה „eine friedliche" sprechen, bedarf aber dann

Verbrechen vollständig gekennzeichnet; von wo und wohin die Gefangenenschar geschleppt wurde, kann die Strafbarkeit nicht mehren noch mindern; doch darf man auch hier als das Selbstverständliche und darum nicht erst Erwähnte voraussetzen, daß es sich um eine israelitische Bevölkerung handelt, und auch sachlich kommt das bei Philistäa im Grunde allein in Betracht. Aber um so mehr schießt das להסגיר לאדום über und dient damit nur, das Gewicht der eigentlichen Anklage על הגלותם גלות שלמה abzuschwächen. Man vergleiche auch V. 3b, wo die Anklage sich ebenfalls in einem einzigen Gliede erschöpft. Da nun gerade diese Worte, die hier den Eindruck des Zusatzes machen, bei der nächsten Anklage in V. 9 wiederkehren, da sie dort viel fester wurzeln, weil על־הסגירם die grundlegende Stelle einnimmt und לאדום das unentbehrliche entferntere Objekt dazu bildet, so liegt es nahe, sie in V. 6 von dort abzuleiten und hier ein ähnliches Verfahren der Angleichung anzunehmen, wie wir es bei V. 3 in der Vorlage der LXX sicher festgestellt haben.[16] Ich streiche deshalb die beiden Worte als Auffüllung aus der ähnlichen Stelle in V. 9. — Daß Sellin in V. 7 בחומת vor עזה metri causa streichen muß — ebenso in V. 14 vor רבה — ist nur ein Beweis für die Enge und darum Unrichtigkeit seines metrischen Systems. Und doch arbeitet er mit Mischmetra.

V. 9, 10. Soll der Spruch ursprünglich sein oder doch auf einer echten Wurzel ruhen, so muß das Verfahren der Angleichung zwischen ihm und dem vorhergehenden ein wechselseitiges, d. h. die Anklage hier ebenso von dorther beeinflußt sein, wie dort aus V. 9. Und zwar muß die Angleichung hier in dem Worte שְׁלֵמָה gesucht werden, weil mit ihm die Anklage durchaus dieselbe wird wie in V. 6. Das bestätigt sich sofort,

einer Textänderung für גלות, wovon noch zu reden sein wird. Für שְׁלֵמָה verweist man mit Recht auf den nach LXX hergestellten Wortlaut von Jer. 13 19.

16 Ein solches Verhältnis der Angleichung zwischen V. 6 und V. 9 hat schon Haupt angenommen, nur daß er deren Sitz in dem gleichen Worte גלות vermutet, für das er in V. 6 ganz frei משלחת einsetzt: „for they captured a peaceful (שלמה) mission". Auch bei ihm wirkt das Bestreben, den beiden Stücken nebeneinander Raum zu schaffen, wenn er auch beide aus dem makkabäischen Zeitalter ableitet.

wenn wir aus der nächsten Zeile, V. 9 bβ, ersehen, daß die sittlich-religiöse Wertung des Frevels von Tyrus keineswegs in der Ausrottung des Lebens, der Schaffung einer עֲזוּבָה (Jes. 6 12; 17 9; Jer. 4 29; Zeph. 2 4) beruht, sondern in dem Bruch eines Bruderbundes, der zweifellos mit jeder Fortführung eintrat, nicht erst mit der einer vollen Bewohnerschaft. Dieser Bruderbund hat viel Kopfzerbrechen verursacht, besonders seitdem Wellhausen die Möglichkeit angedeutet hat, daß der Bruderbund der Zeile ולא זכרו ברית אחים, wenn „die Drohung gegen Tyrus ein späterer Einsatz wäre, auf das Verhältnis von Israel und Edom bezogen werden könnte". Als äußerste Ausläufer in der Verfolgung dieser Anregung darf ich wohl anführen, daß Haupt die Zeile einfach in V. 11 an Stelle der schwierigen Worte ושחת רחמיו einfügt (ohne besondere Rechtfertigung), während Sellin meint, „den Vorwurf dahin verstehn zu müssen, daß Tyrus sich nicht um den Bruderbund zwischen Juda und Edom gekümmert habe, widrigenfalls es nicht einen Bruder an den anderen hätte als Sklaven verkaufen können". Sollten nicht in dieser Auslegung, die Sellin wohl von H. Ewald übernommen hat, die sittlichen Anforderungen selbst eines Amos überschätzt werden; dürften die Phönizier es nicht Edom überlassen, seine Pflichten vermöge des Bruderbundes mit Israel richtig einzuschätzen und angebotene israelitische Sklaven deshalb zurückzuweisen? Es wäre besser gewesen, wenn man den Gedanken an Edom von Anfang an als unzutreffend abgelehnt hätte. Das Alte Testament weiß nichts von einem Bruderbunde, den Israel und Edom miteinander geschlossen hätten, es kennt vielmehr die beiden als leibliche Brüder, ja als ein Zwillingspaar, und daß Brüder noch erst einen Bund miteinander zu schließen hätten, um als solche zu gelten und Bruderpflichten auf sich zu nehmen, ist in der ganzen Welt unerhört.[17] Solange man also neben der Überlieferung von Gen. 25 19 ff. nicht eine andere über das Verhältnis zwischen Israel und Edom im Alten Testamente nachzuweisen imstande ist, sind diese beiden unter den

[17] Man vergleiche nur die Bundschließung zwischen Laban und Jakob in Gen. 31 — V. 54 ist לְאַחָיו auf Laban und die Seinen zu beziehen, besser einfach לְאָחִיו zu sprechen — mit der Begegnung zwischen Jakob und Esau = Edom in Gn. 33.

von Amos genannten die einzigen Völker, auf die sich unsere Aussage unbedingt nicht beziehen kann. Das Gleiche gilt von der ebenfalls wiederholt erwogenen Möglichkeit, den Satz auf das Verhalten von Tyrus zu andren phönizischen Städten zu beziehen; denn auch da würde es sich um Brüder handeln, nicht um ein erst durch Vertrag geschaffenes Bruderverhältnis. Es gibt eben keinen andren Ausweg, als zu dem alten Verständnis zurückzukehren, das Hitzig 1838 vertreten hat, zu dem Kamphausen bei Bunsen sich durch ein paar lakonische Zitate bekennt: daß der Bruderbund, „von den seit langem bestehenden freundlichen Verhältnissen zwischen Juda [auch Israel] und Tyrus aufzufassen sei (2 Sam. 5 11; 1 Kön. 5 13 [lies so!], vgl. 9 13)". Da Sellin auch Ewalds Grund für die Abweisung dieses Verständnisses sich aneignet, daß „die freundschaftlichen Beziehungen zwischen David und Salomo und von der andern Seite den Tyrischen Königen nie dahin führten, daß diese Völker als Brüder gelten konnten",[18] so hätte er wenigstens sagen sollen, wie er das mit 1 Kön. 5 26 in Einklang bringen will, wo es von Ḥiram und Salomo ausdrücklich heißt „sie schlossen einen Bund miteinander," und mit 1 Kön. 9 13, wo Ḥiram Salomo mit „mein Bruder" anredet.[19] Meint er wirklich neben dieser persönlichen Freundschaft, die sich doch auch in großen wirtschaftlichen und politischen Leistungen und Gegenleistungen äußerte, einen Volkswillen, gleichsam eine israelitische Republik, vertreten zu können, die durch dies alles nicht gebunden gewesen wäre? Und haben wir dann für die folgende Zeit bis auf Amos in den Geschichtsbüchern kein andres Zeugnis für das gegenseitige Verhältnis von Phönizien und Israel als 1 Kön. 16 31, die Eheschließung des Erbprinzen Ahab mit der tyrischen Königstochter Izebel, so liegt das angesichts des inhaltslosen Rahmens, der uns für diese Zeit allein zu Gebote steht, doch einfach daran, daß nicht ein einziger Krieg, kein erhebliches Mißverständnis, zwischen den beiden Völkern zu berichten war. Wir werden umgekehrt diese höchst eigenartige, in der Zeit der

[18] Sellin „Da weder zwischen Hiram und David-Salomo noch zur Zeit Ahabs ein ‚Bruderbund' der Völker geschlossen war".

[19] Wie das Bruderverhältnis mit der Bundesschließung ohne weiteres gegeben ist, zeigt am besten 1 Kön. 20 32-34.

fremdenfeidlichen Überarbeiter und Redaktoren unerfindbare Aussage eines Amos von dem Bruderbunde zwischen Tyrus und Israel als willkommene Ergänzung unserer geschichtlichen Kenntnisse zu begrüßen haben. Phönizien stand sicher andauernd mit Nordisrael auf freundschaftlichen Fuße, es war ebenso sein Erbfreund wie Damaskus sein Erbfeind, zumal ohne diesen einen Freund im Rücken der über ein Jahrhundert dauernde Krieg mit Syrien gar nicht hätte geführt werden können. Die wirkliche Schwierigkeit unserer Stelle finde ich nirgends hervorgehoben. Wie immer man den andren Bundschließenden neben Tyrus bestimmen möge, er muß doch vorher genannt sein, ehe Tyrus wegen der Vernachlässigung seiner Bundespflichten gerügt werden kann. Haben wir nun in der vorhergehenden Zeile שלמה als Angleichung an V. 6 erkannt, nimmt es genau die Stelle ein, wo wir die Nennung des verletzten Bundesbruders erwarten müssen, so gibt sich ganz von selbst als Lösung der Schwierigkeit, daß wir יִשְׂרָאֵל oder vielleicht deutlicher und ebenso leicht מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל als die ursprüngliche Lesung für שלמה herzustellen haben. Vielleicht hat bei der Änderung die Abneigung, Tyrus-Phönizien als Israels Bruder anzuerkennen, schon verhältnismäßig früh mitgewirkt.[20] Eine weitere Schwierigkeit bietet das לאדום: es klingt nicht eben wahrscheinlich, daß Phönizien die israelitischen Gefangenen gerade an Edom ausgeliefert hätte, wenn man es auch nicht mit Hans Schmidt geradezu als ungereimt bezeichnen will. Aber das Wort einfach zu streichen, wie er es tut, geht auch nicht an, weil הסגיר durchaus seine Ergänzung verlangt. Was ich längst als die wahrscheinliche Lösung aufgezeichnet hatte, hat Haupt der Öffentlichkeit geboten: man wird לָאֲרָם statt לֶאֱדוֹם herzustellen haben, was so und umgekehrt nicht nur für diese Stelle gilt. So verbessert jetzt auch Greßmann. Vielleicht ist לאדום zuerst für die Angleichung in V. 6 mit Bewußtsein geschaffen und dann von dort nach V. 9 zurückgetragen worden. — Für das Verständnis

[20] Haupt läßt hier גלות שלמה unverändert und versteht „a peaceful colony", d. h. die in Tyrus angesiedelten Israeliten, wofür man der Sache nach 1 Kön. 20 34 vergleichen mag. Aber daß גָּלוּת auch freiwillig Ausgewanderte bezeichnen könnte, dafür bleibt Haupt doch den Beweis schuldig.

der Anklage mag noch hervorgehoben werden, daß hier gar nicht von einer kriegerischen Handlung Phöniziens die Rede ist, von Menschenraub, den es selbst auf israelitischem Gebiete verübt hätte, sondern nur von dem Weitergeben der Gefangenen, die andre fortgeführt, von Zwischenhandel mit Menschenware.[21] Amos' Hörer werden gewußt haben, um was es sich handelte. — Der Spruch ist sichtlich unvollständig; es fehlt die Weiterführung des Gerichts über den Brand der Paläste hinaus, wie sie in V. 5 und 8 und ebenso in 14b, 15 und 2 2b, 3 vorliegt, endlich auch die abschließende Formel אמר [אדני] יהוה. Es muß angenommen werden, daß diese Bestandteile irgendwie verloren gegangen sind. Sind sie einmal absichtlich in einer Handschrift ausgelöscht, um für den Einschub V. 10f. Raum zu schaffen, oder waren sie durch Textschaden verschwunden, so daß der leere Raum zur Ausfüllung der Lücke herausforderte? Das eine oder andere anzunehmen, liegt jedenfalls nahe.

V. 11, 12. Die Möglichkeit, daß der Spruch gegen Edom späteren Ursprungs sein kann, wie sie oben (S. 13f.) kurz vertreten wurde, wird zur Gewißheit durch die Fassung der Anklage. Was hier Edom Israel gegenüber vorgeworfen wird, vor allem das Nachtragen alter Unbilden durch eine schier endlose Dauer, läßt sich aus des Amos Zeit durchaus nicht verstehn, begreift sich aber um so besser aus der Zeit von 600 abwärts, wo es sich mit der stehenden Anklage durch das ganze israelitische Schrifttum hin (Jer. 25 15 ff.; 49 7 ff.; Ob. 10 ff.; Hes. 25 10 ff.; 35 10 ff.; 36 5; Jes. 34; Ps. 137 7; Thr. 4 21) deckt. Der Spruch ist zwar lebendig gefaßt und läßt schriftstellerisch kaum etwas zu wünschen übrig, teilt aber mit dem gegen Juda (2 4f.) die Allgemeinheit der Anklage: es „ist keine einzelne flagrante Missetat, dergleichen man drei oder vier aufzählen könnte, und paßt also nicht zu der auch hier wiederkehrenden Einleitungsformel".[22] — Will man das falsche Tempus וְשִׁחֵת nicht aus einer späten Abfassungszeit erklären, was immerhin vor dem

[21] Gustav Nachtigals Reisebericht „Saharâ und Sudân" bietet immer neue Belege für solchen Zwischenhandel mit aufgestapelter Menschenware, und auch an Gewissensfällen ähnlicher Art fehlt es darunter durchaus nicht.

[22] Wellhausen zu 2 4f. Vgl. auch seine Fußnote zu 2 5.

richtigen Tempus ויטרף seine Bedenken hat, so dürfte לְשַׁחַת die leichteste Verbesserung sein. An רחמיו zu glauben, fällt mir schwer, zumal Erbarmen doch erst da sein muß, um erstickt [?] zu werden. Ich glaube, daß LXX mit *μήτραν* (so A und Q) auf dem richtigen Wege war, insofern רֶחֶם אִמּוֹ für רחמיו herzustellen sein wird, wovor, falls שַׁחַת das richtige Verbum ist, noch ein בן zu ergänzen wäre לְשַׁחַת בֶּן־רֶחֶם אִמּוֹ. — Sicher hat Olshausen richtig וַיִּטֹּר für ויטרף hergestellt; indessen wird אפו Subjekt bleiben, da נטר „nachtragen" der Ergänzung nicht bedarf. Dadurch wird dasselbe für עברתו wahrscheinlich, und שמרה wäre dann שָׁמְרָה zu sprechen (Jer. 3 5); doch könnte auch in der Parallele Edom Subjekt werden, wie die überlieferte Punktierung deutet. Olshausens שָׁמַר לָנֶצַח möchte sich dann um des Tonfalls willen empfehlen; aber das *εἰς* der LXX legt kein Zeugnis dafür ab, weil es im Griechischen unentbehrlich ist, und der bloße Akkusativ נצח findet sich wiederholt. — Der Spruch ist unvollständig, wie der vorhergehende. Vielleicht hat der Raum bei der ersten Einfügung nicht gereicht. Fand man den Spruch gegen Tyrus bereits unvollständig vor, so mag auch dessen Beispiel befolgt worden sein.

V. 13–15. Sellin streicht „wegen des Rhythmus" בני vor עמון unter Verweisung auf 2 1 — er meint wohl das מואב dort, ohne בני — ohne zu bedenken, daß die Ammoniter stets (bis auf Ps. 83 8, da 1 Sam. 11 11 durch LXX fortfällt) בני עמון, die Moabiter stets (bis auf 2 Chr. 20 1) nur מואב heißen. Das ist ein kleines Denkzeichen für eine willkürliche und unbeweisbare Metrik, die nicht einmal den Eigennamen in einer unabänderlich festliegenden Form in Frieden lassen kann. Ähnliches gilt von seiner Streichung des בחומת in V. 14, vgl. oben zu V. 6–8. — Die Erweiterung des Gebietes als Zweck für die Aufschlitzung der Schwangeren Gileads scheint keinem der neueren Ausleger Bedenken zu machen. Ich möchte doch an Valetons Vermutung בְּצֻרוֹת „die festen Städte" für הרות erinnern und an die Häufigkeit der Wendung בקע עיר für die Erstürmung einer befestigten Stadt, das eigentliche Bresche-legen. Natürlich sind darein alle Greuel eingeschlossen, die damit notwendig Hand in Hand gehn. Indessen müßte die Verderbnis הרות, die ja sehr nahe lag, alt sein, weil sie der

Textgestalt der LXX kraft V. 3 bereits vorgelegen hat. — In בסער ביום סופה sieht Sellin den Beweis dafür, daß es sich um einen übernatürlichen Vernichtungskrieg handle, ohne zu sagen, was er von der vorhergehenden Zeile denkt. Man könnte neben ihr doch höchstens annehmen, daß am Tage der darin angesagten Entscheidungsschlacht zugleich ein Gewitter losbräche; aber das würde Amos schwerlich weissagen. Harper wollte die Zeile streichen, um genaues Gleichgewicht mit dem Moabspruch 2 1–3 herzustellen; Nowack pflichtet lieber Sievers bei, der die beiden Zeilen von 14 b ausscheidet, wesentlich aus metrischen Gründen. Immer wieder der Moloch des eingebildeten Metrums; hier verschlingt er die malerischsten und wirksamsten Zeilen des ganzen Spruchs, von denen nichts späterer Erfindung zugeschrieben werden darf. Erwägenswert ist nur, ob man כְּסַעַר für בסער einsetzen will, so daß aus dem Bild ein Vergleich würde. Nötig scheint mir das nicht. — Für V. 15 schließe ich mich ganz an Wellhausen an.

2 1–3. Zu der Anklage in V. 1 hatte ich mir längst מַלְכֵי statt מלך als sachlich wahrscheinlicher vermerkt: das Erbbegräbnis der Könige von Edom wäre dann erbrochen und die Gebeine mit der Absicht der Schändung verbrannt. So jetzt Sellin. Das befriedigt so vollkommen, daß zu weitergehenden Änderungen — vgl. die Liste bei Harper — durchaus kein Anlaß ist. — In 2 b hilft am gründlichsten die Änderung von Meinhold und Marti בְּקִיר מואב und dann אַרְמְנֹתֶיהָ statt ארמנות הקריות.[23] Will man הקריות beibehalten, so ist vorher besser an בְּעָר מואב zu denken; doch kann man sich daran stoßen, daß das in die eine Stadt geschleuderte Feuer die Paläste einer andren verzehren soll. Dieses Bedenken fällt fort, wenn man במואב als Muster für בתימן 1 12 und ביהודה 2 5 unverändert beibehält. — In 2 b wäre für ומת בשָׁאון מואב mindestens ומת מואב בשאון zu erwarten, und immer bliebe dann noch das „Sterben“ des Volks, vollends vor den Aussagen von V. 3, höchst auffällig. Nach Jer. 48 5, vgl. Num. 24 17, wird man durchaus שְׁאוֹן מואב, „das Toben Moabs“ zu sprechen und zu verstehn haben und

[23] Wenn man nicht vollends mit Sievers-Guthe בְּחוֹמַת הַקְּרִיוֹת für במואב einsetzen will.

muß dann in den vorausgehenden Buchstaben ומתב eine Verderbnis suchen, wofür allenfalls וְתַם, besser vielleicht וְשָׁבַת oder וְנִשְׁבַּת herzustellen wäre. — ובקול (Hirscht nach LXX) ist keine Verbesserung. — In V. 3 könnte man die beiden Femininsuffixe als Zeugen für Meinholds Herstellung von V. 2a anführen. Sie beizubehalten, statt mit Wellhausen Maskulinsuffixe dafür einzusetzen, wird wesentlich erleichtert, wenn durch שְׁאוֹן מואב das Subjekt Moab in V. 2 beseitigt wird.

V. 4, 5. Für den Spruch gegen Juda bleibt es bei Wellhausen's Entscheidung, daß er erst von späterer Hand eingeschoben ist, und bei den Gründen dafür, denen er bereits 1870/71 ihre klassische Fassung gab. Dieser Nachtrag begreift sich in der Zeit nach 586 sehr leicht; er findet seine Seitenstücke überall, vgl. Dtn. 28 ff.; 1 Kön. 8; 2 Kön. 17; Hos. 2 1 f. Ein Zeichen von gutem Verständnis ist es schon, daß der Abschnitt vor Israel, nicht erst am Ende eingeschoben ist. Kritische Arbeit daran lohnt sich nicht; der Abschnitt dürfte so, wie er überliefert ist, von erster Hand stammen. Sievers-Guthe schalten 4 bβ (von ויתעום an) als Zusatz aus; Nowack[3] stimmt dem zu, weil diese beiden Zeilen „von dem metrischen Bau der andren abweichen“ und „eine rein prosaische Erklärung der vorhergehenden Zeilen“ bilden. Aber Ansprüche an dichterische Kraft und metrische Kunst sind wohl nirgends weniger angebracht als bei diesem Einschub, und immerhin dürften die Worte ויתעום כזביהם in dem ganzen Umfang noch am ersten dichterische Sprache verraten. Hans Schmidt will mit derselben Streichung den Spruch für Amos retten; aber unter den bloßen Formeln, die dann allein übrig bleiben, genügt תורת יהוה וחקיו immer noch als Beweis für deuteronomistische Herkunft, und die dritte Person für Jahwe in diesen Worten verrät nach wie vor unweigerlich die fremde Hand. Daß die beiden gestrichenen Zeilen „metrisch überschießen“, ist angesichts der großen Kürze des Restes schwer zu begreifen. Was die Sache angeht, so hat Amos laut 7 10 ff. einen Auftrag gegen sein Vaterland Juda nicht erhalten; auch kann der Völkersturm, den er ansagt, recht wohl haltmachen, ehe er Juda trifft, wie das in der Tat der nächste, der Feldzug Tiglat-Pilesars, tat. Wie mit Juda auch Edom fortfällt, ist oben schon berührt worden.

V. 6–8. Gleich zu Anfang ist die Parallele zwischen צדיק und אביון stark zu betonen. צדיק nach 8 6 durch דַּלִּים zu ersetzen, geht nicht an wegen des Plurals neben אביון, und weil dies Wort gleich in V. 7 wiederkehrt. Eher wäre mit Duhm an צָעִיר zu denken; doch bedarf es auch dessen nicht. — בעבור einfach mit dem ב pretii von בכסף wechseln zu lassen (Wellh.), verstärkt noch die Hyperbel, die in jedem Falle vorliegt, auch wenn man es mit „wegen" wiedergibt = „weil er ein Paar Sandalen nicht bezahlen kann".[24] Ich halte dies letztere für wahrscheinlicher, schon weil sonst auf den Verkäufer der Schein einer Genügsamkeit fällt, der die Anklage eher abschwächt, jedenfalls von dem Hauptgedanken ablenkt. Das gilt selbst, wenn man das „um ein Paar Schuhe" als sprichwörtliche Redensart faßt. — Die nachgewiesene Neigung zu stark hyperbolischen Wendungen ist, wie ich glaube, für die sehr umstrittene erste Zeile von V. 7 in Anrechnung zu bringen. Der Satz läßt sich, so wie er überliefert ist, gar nicht anders übersetzen wie: „sie, die da schnappen (lechzen, gieren) nach den Erdkrumen auf dem Kopfe der Geringen"; על mag man als אֶל־ verstehn (Pred. 1 5) oder es als aus andrer Erklärung stammend streichen, so daß der gewöhnliche Akkusativ übrig bleibt; ארץ könnte müßige Epexegese sein. Dann hätten wir eine einfache Zeile von vier Hebungen. Nun fragt sich, ob dieser Satz einen verständigen Sinn gibt, was Wellhausen kurzweg leugnet. Erde streut der Trauernde auf seinen Kopf; dazu muß er sich, auch wenn er nichts davon sein eigen nennt, ein Geringstes von dem Stoffe aneignen, dessen Masse als Grundbesitz Reichtum und Macht der Vornehmen und Herrschenden ausmacht. Selbst dies Mindestmaß aber gönnen ihm die nicht, die „Haus an Haus rücken, Acker an Acker fügen" (Jes. 5 8): auch wenn sie das letzte Streifchen Land, das sein Eigentum war, sich angeeignet haben, ist ihre Habsucht noch nicht befriedigt; ihr Neid schielt selbst nach den Krümchen Erde, die er braucht, um seiner Trauerpflicht zu genügen. Das ist ungeheure Übertreibung, ganz gewiß, ebenso, wie wenn man

[24] Unzulässig ist es, an besonders kostbare, reich verzierte Schuhe zu denken, die einen Sklaven wert wären. Daß es sich um den Preis für die Bestechlichkeit des Richters handelte, wie viele annehmen, halte ich für unwahrscheinlich.

im Deutschen sagt „Man gönnt ihm das Weiße im Auge nicht"; aber es ist verständlich und wirksam, und daß Amos starke Hyperbeln liebt, haben wir soeben erfahren. Ich vermag deshalb nicht abzusehen, warum man sich bei diesem Verständnis nicht beruhigt, sondern die denkbar verschiedensten, durchgängig unbefriedigenden Änderungsvorschläge macht. Daß die Übersetzungen einstimmig nach dem aramäischen שוף „zermalmen, niedertreten" verstehn, ist leicht zu begreifen; das zweite Tatwort καὶ ἐκονδύλιζον mußte LXX wohl ergänzen, weil das „Treten auf den Erdstaub auf dem Kopfe der Geringen" baren Unsinn ergab. Aber es bleibt dabei, daß שוף an keiner einzigen Stelle ausreichend sicher diese Bedeutung hat, und selbst שוף in Gn. 3 15, der einzigen gesicherten Stelle für diesen Nebenstamm, beidemal nicht „zertreten" heißt, sondern „schnappen, trachten nach", daß es keine ausgeführte Handlung bezeichnet, sondern einen gewohnheitsmäßigen conatus bei dem Menschen wie bei der Schlange. — Die zweite Zeile, ודרך ענוים ימו erregt mit Recht Anstoß. Von den vorgeschlagenen Herstellungen ist die leichteste ומְהֵרֵךְ nach Hi. 24 4. Auch dem Sinne nach schließt sie sich gut an: nicht nur als Besitzer, sondern selbst als Weggenossen will man die Geringen nicht neben sich leiden. Bedenken erregt nur das Voranstehn des Objekts; sollten die Worte ימו ענוים erst umgestellt sein, nachdem das מ von דרך verloren gegangen war? Statt ענוים muß man entweder, wie manche tun, עֲנִיִּים lesen oder das Wort hier ebenso verstehn. — Daß 7 b zu V. 8 gehört, nicht zu 6, 7 a, hat schon Wellhausen hervorgehoben; die Versabteilung ist schlecht. Aber sie zu ändern genügt nicht. Nicht vor V. 8 gehört 7 b, sondern seine richtige Stelle ist dahinter. V. 8 hängt dadurch eng mit 6 b, 7 a zusammen, daß er zwei weitere Verbrechen der Habsucht und Vergewaltigung bringt; aber sie gehn Hand in Hand mit der Versündigung unmittelbar gegen Jahwe, dem Sakrileg, weil sie an heiliger Stätte begangen werden. Dies allein, ohne Gewalttat gegen den Mitmenschen, bleibt übrig in 7 b, der deshalb am Ende der ganzen Reihe stehn muß, wie denn auch in der anschaulichen Schilderung das, was er geißelt, erst nach dem Opfermahl und reichlichem Weingenuß sich angeschlossen haben wird. Auch schließt die starke Betonung des Sakrilegs in 7 b β den Abschnitt

vortrefflich ab und gilt für den vorangegangenen V. 8 mit, wenn auch שם קדשו geradezu auf den Amtsnamen der Dirne קְדֵשָׁה hinweist.[25] Eben die Zufallsumstellung von 7 b wird seine schlechte Verbindung mit 7 a herbeigeführt haben. — 8 a scheint mir am leichtesten und besten durch Oorts Vorschlag ובגדים geheilt zu werden. Natürlich breiten sie die Decken auf den Boden, um sich beim Opfermahl darauf zu lagern.

V. 9–12. Doppelt gut und nachdrücklich knüpft das ואנכי, das Jahwes Verhalten im Gegensatz zu dem Israels einführt, an 7 b an. Durch diese Gegenüberstellung erhält die Anklage gegen Israel im Unterschiede von der gegen die übrigen Völker alle die besondere Färbung des Undanks, ebenso wie Jesaja in der Weinbergsparabel K. 5 1–7 Israels Sünde darein zusammenfaßt. Diese Steigerung trifft nicht nur den Nagel auf den Kopf, sie ist auch in diesem Zusammenhang durchaus notwendig, weil Israel nicht lediglich mit den heidnischen Völkern über einen Kamm geschoren werden kann noch darf. Unbegreiflich ist es daher, wie Sievers-Guthe und Nowack[3] die Verse 9–12 ausschalten und unter einen andren Nenner bringen konnten; zu 3 1 f. wird darüber weiter zu reden sein. — V. 9. Nach vielen Handschriften mag man מפניכם lesen; aber ebenso gut kann diese Lesart erst später zur Anpassung an V. 10 ff. hier eingeführt sein. Besser läßt man mit LXX מפניהם stehn; es knüpft gut an V. 5–8 an, und erst in der Fortsetzung wird die Rede andringlicher, so daß der Richter den Angeklagten anredet. Den zweiten Halbvers metri causa zu streichen (Sievers-Guthe und Nowack[3]), heißt wieder dem Verse seine beste Kraft und Schönheit rauben. — V. 10. Natürlich kann Amos in der Aufzählung der Wohltaten Jahwes ebenso gut von der Gegenwart zurückschreiten, wie umgekehrt. Ist das also kein Grund den Vers zu

[25] Daß Marti, Sievers, Guthe, Nowack[3] die kurzen Zeilen אצל כל-מזבח und בית אלהיהם streichen können, zeigt nur, welche Opfer man dem Moloch Metrum zu bringen bereit ist. Daß, was ihnen vorhergeht, nicht nur im Heiligtum, sondern auch anderswo verboten ist (Marti), kann Amos nicht hindern, die besondere Frechheit der Versündigung zu betonen, und allein die greifbare Anschaulichkeit der so gebotenen Schilderung rechtfertigt es und sollte warnen, ihm die Zeilen abzusprechen. ביתי statt בית אלהיהם ist voll gerechtfertigt, weil es diese zweite Seite der Versündigung, das Sakrileg, kennzeichnet.

streichen — Marti, Hans Schmidt —, so ist auch Martis Meinung, daß es Amos „auf den Widerspruch zwischen der Ausrottung der Amoriter durch Jahwe und der Annahme amoritischer Art durch die Israeliten ankam", gesucht, da nichts im Vorhergehenden solche besondere Zuspitzung der Anklage verrät. Auch ist der Vers nicht prosaischer als es dieser Gegenstand mit sich bringt, und die drei את beweisen nichts, weil das zweimalige אתכם unvermeidlich war; dem dritten entspricht das in V. 9. Will man vor dem Verse etwas als Zusatz streichen, so ist es nicht (mit Marti usw.) ארבעים שנה, das das Maß der Fürsorge Jahwes in erwünschter Weise unterstreicht, sondern das letzte Glied, das überflüssig auf V. 10 zurücklenkt. — V. 11. Um ihren Siebener zu gewinnen, setzen Sievers-G. und Nowack[3] b vor a; die ersteren scheinen kein Hindernis darin zu sehen, daß dann des Siebeners beide Zweierpaare dem Sinne nach zu V. 10 gehören. Nowack fühlt diese Schwierigkeit; aber seine Übersetzung „Ist es nicht so, ihr Kinder Israel, daß ich aus euren Söhnen Propheten erweckt habe, usw.", ist ganz unmöglich. Eine wirkliche Verbesserung scheint mir Baumann vorgeschlagen zu haben, indem er 11 b hinter V. 12 versetzte, was Nowack[2] und Meinhold billigten. Dann heißt es „könnt ihr diese Sünde gegen den heiligen Geist — gegen Jahwes Einwohnen in Propheten und Nasiräern — etwa leugnen?" Das Flickwort אֲפוֹ hinter אף (Duhm m. c.) würde nur den Nachdruck schwächen; noch schlimmer wirkt in derselben Richtung וְשִׁכָּר hinter יין in V. 12 (Sievers-G., Nowack[3] m. c.). Zu der ersten Anklage in V. 12 bietet sich das gottgebotene Seitenstück in Jer. 35; wie furchtbar in Amos' Schätzung die zweite ist, beweist 7 16 f. Daß man die äußerst wertvollen und unerfindbaren Verse 11 und 12 streichen kann — Hans Schmidt — gehört wieder zu den unbegreiflichen Dingen. Auch V. 11 soll (wie V. 10) in weiterem Sinne Dublette von V. 9 sein? Und Amos habe so von Propheten nicht schreiben können? Er, der die zweite Anklage selbst mit Amaṣja erlebte und so fürchterlich strafte, der in 3 3–8 die Unwiderstehlichkeit der Berufung zum Propheten beweist? Und das Nasiräatsgelübde soll er als eine äußerliche gottesdienstliche Handlung betrachtet und — so sollen wir doch wohl verstehn — in die Ablehnung 5 21 ff.

eingeschlossen haben? Wir haben keine Perlen zum Fortwerfen übrig. — Daß V. 11 die Aufzählung der Wohltaten, die Jahwe Israel erwiesen hat, fortsetzen soll, liegt auf der flachen Hand; auch eine Steigerung ist noch damit beabsichtigt, weil Propheten und Nasiräer die persönliche Gegenwart Jahwes inmitten seines Volkes kraft ihrer Beseelung mit dem Geiste Jahwes verbürgen.

V. 13–16. Ungern vermißt man vor dieser Strafansage das gewohnte לָכֵן; denn הִנֵּה ist nicht, wie Sellin meint, ihre Einleitung — ebensowenig wie 6 11, 14; 9 9, wo vielmehr כִּי vorausgeht — sondern bildet mit dem Partizipium das *futurum instans*. Aber zu beachten ist, daß in allen vorhergehenden Sprüchen das לכן ebenfalls fehlt und die Strafe bloß mit dem *perfectum consecutivum* eingeleitet ist. Sicher gewollt ist das הנה אנכי statt eines kurzen הִנְנִי, als Aufnahme der nachdrücklichen Aussage von V. 9 und 10 und als erneuter Gegensatz gegen Israels Handeln in V. 12. — Das Mittel des Strafvollzugs ist hier ebensowenig ausdrücklich genannt, wie bei allen vorhergehenden Sprüchen; es ist überall nur in dem לא אשיבנו des Eingangs angedeutet, das denn ursprünglich klar auf den auswärtigen Feind wird bezogen gewesen sein. Daß es sich um diesen handelt und nicht, wie Sellin auslegt, um unmittelbares Eingreifen Jahwes, einen Gottesschrecken in Gestalt eines Erdbebens, geht aus jedem Satze hervor. Es wäre ein wunderlicher Einfall des Propheten, die Wirkung eines Erdbebens gerade auf ein Heer im Felde zu schildern, während sie überall und zu allen Zeiten erst in den Städten, durch Einsturz und Feuersbrunst, sich voll entfaltet, man sich dagegen im Freien verhältnismäßig sicher fühlt. Und was die Verschiedenheit der Truppengattungen und ihre Bewaffnung damit sollte zu tun haben, ist ebensowenig abzusehen. Es muß vielmehr dasselbe Gericht gemeint sein, das alle Völker ringsum trifft, und das ist eben die Vernichtung durch Krieg, durch den auswärtigen Feind. Aber während bei allen übrigen Sprüchen das gewaltsame Verfahren des Feindes in Brand und Zerstörung, Totschlag und Fortführung positiv geschildert wird, redet unsre Ansage nur negativ, von der Lähmung der Widerstandskraft, von der Unmöglichkeit des Entrinnens. Alle eigentlichen Schrecken des Krieges für das Land selbst, seine Wohnstätten und deren wehrlose Insassen,

bleiben im Rückhalt und türmen sich stillschweigend erst nach dem Ablauf des ganzen Stückes auf; Amos überläßt es dem Hörer, sie sich auszumalen. — V. 13. Diese Eigenart der Schilderung muß für die Lösung des Rätsels dieses Verses und insbesondere für die Deutung des ἅπαξ λεγόμενον מעיק entscheidend in Betracht kommen. In V. 14–16 handelt es sich nicht um ein Pressen oder Quetschen (עוק = צוק), nicht um ein Schwanken oder Taumeln (מַפִּיק für מעיק), nicht um ein Kreischen, Krachen oder gar nur Knistern,[26] sondern um ein Hemmen und Stocken. Deshalb ist allen übrigen Versuchen weit vorzuziehen die Ableitung Wetzsteins (ZATW III, 1883, S. 278 f.) von ar. عاق (عوق), das im Altarabischen wie heute in Palästina und Syrien in der Bedeutung „zurückhalten, hemmen, verhindern, verzögern" ohne jeden Vergleich reicher bezeugt ist als das „Rabengekrächz", das der Deutung Hoffmanns und Sellins zugrunde liegt. Da עגלה nur das Dreschrad von Jes. 28 27 f. sein kann, der Erntewagen ganz außer Betracht bleiben muß, hat daher Wetzsteins Übersetzung alle Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich: „Ich werde es unter euch zum Stocken bringen, wie das Dreschrad[27] stockt (d. h. sich nicht mehr umdreht), das sich mit Halmen verstopft hat". Richtig vergleicht Wetzstein als Gegensatz תַּרְחִיב צַעֲדִי תַּחְתָּי Ps. 18 37, ohne daß es nötig wäre צַעֲדִי hinter מעיק einzufügen, vgl. הפכתי ohne Objekt in 4 11. Vortrefflich paßt bei dieser Deutung der *dativus incommodi* לָהּ. Ob man das zweite תעיק als תּוּעַק lesen soll, mag erwogen werden. — V. 14–16. Die Verse 14 und 15 sind falsch abgeteilt; 14 b bildet mit 15 a α einen parallelen Vers. Der Text ist durchgängig schlecht erhalten, besonders durch allerlei nachlässige Angleichungen entstellt. Von dem „Schnellen" redet erst 15 a β, in V. 14 ist er noch nicht am Platze, zumal er seine Rettung nicht in einem Zufluchtsort, sondern in der Entfernung von der Gefahr sucht. Man lese deshalb in V. 14 a מְדַל „dem Schwachen", den richtigen Gegensatz zu חזק, vgl. 2 Sam. 3 1. In 15 a spricht man mit Recht allgemein יִמָּלֵט, in 15 b wird יַצִּיל נפשו herzustellen

[26] So Sellin für das Erdbeben. Wie Amos das Erdbeben einführt, zeigt 4 11: הנה אנכי הפכתי mit dem dort folgenden Vergleich stände zu erwarten.

[27] Jede der runden, sich um eine Achse drehenden, scharfen Scheiben.

sein. Aber auch in 14 b kann es bei לא ימלט נפשו nicht sein Bewenden haben; denn sein Leben zu retten ist nicht die Aufgabe des Hopliten, und hier handelt es sich, wie das parallele Glied 15 a α zeigt, noch nicht um Flucht, wie in 15 a β b, sondern um Nichtstandhalten. Man möchte der graphischen Leichtigkeit wegen an תָּמוּט רַגְלוֹ denken, wenn nicht alle übrigen Aussagen in V. 14 f. negativ wären. So mag לֹא תָכוֹן רַגְלוֹ als eine Möglichkeit in Betracht kommen. — Der Wortlaut von V. 16 ist an sich nicht zu beanstanden, wenn auch a, „Der Beherzteste unter den Gewappneten", keinen vollständigen Satz, sondern nur das Subjekt zu b bildet. Die Wiedergabe der LXX *καὶ ὁ κραταιὸς οὐ μὴ εὑρήσει τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἐν δυναστείαις* kann ebensogut auf Dittographie aus ואמיץ zurückgehn, wie MT auf Haplographie aus ואמיץ לא ימצא. Aber für beides bildet die Aufeinanderfolge der ähnlichen Worte die Voraussetzung; die Herstellung ואמיץ לבו לא יִמָּצֵא (Winckler, Marti, Sievers-G., Nowack[3]) ist deshalb abzulehnen. Möglich bleibt ואמיץ לא יִמְצָא לבו nach 2 Sam. 7 27, und so entscheidet sich Sellin. Aber bei beiden Änderungen müßte בגבורים fallen, weil die Hopliten seit 14 b schon keine feste Größe mehr bilden; daraus mit Sellin וְהַגִּבּוֹר[28] als neues Subjekt für b zu gewinnen, unter Streichung von ביום ההוא, mag angehn. Alles in allem scheint mir der unveränderte Wortlaut von MT den Vorzug zu verdienen, schon darum, weil ein positiver Satz mit der in a gebotenen höchsten Steigerung die lange Aufzählung am besten abschließt. — Kürzungen des Wortlauts, wie sie wiederholt vorgeschlagen sind, empfehlen sich nicht. Die Aufzählung muß möglichst erschöpfend sein: weder Zuflucht, noch Widerstand; weder schwere, noch leichte Bewaffnung; weder eigene Schnelligkeit noch die des Rosses; waffenlose Flucht selbst des Beherztesten.

3 1, 2. Daß hinter V. 2 ein tiefer Einschnitt liegt, V. 3–8 ein neues, nach rückwärts und vorwärts ganz selbständiges Stück bilden, darüber sind fast alle Ausleger einig. Nur Marti und Harper wollen V. 3 von dem folgenden Stücke lösen und ihn an V. 1 f. anschließen, der erstere, um ihn dann für eine Glosse zu

[28] Sellin bietet וְגִבּוֹר, vermutlich als graphische Erleichterung, aber doch ganz unmöglich.

erklären. Es wird sich weiterhin zeigen, wie unmöglich das ist. Mit V. 1 setzt die mittelalterliche Kapiteleinteilung einen neuen Anfang, gewiß in vollem Einverständnis mit der Redaktion von MT, die in dem dreifachen שמעו [את־] הדבר הזה K. 3 1; 4 1; 5 1 sicherlich dergleichen beabsichtigt. Mit Recht hat schon Wellhausen darauf hingewiesen, daß diese Abteilung nicht ohne weiteres hinzunehmen ist, daß sie vielmehr schon bei 4 1 den Abschnitt 4 1–3 vom Vorhergehenden ablöst, der unbedingt noch an 3 9–15 sich anschließt. Selbst die Ursprünglichkeit der Einleitungsformel genau in dieser Gestalt ist keineswegs überall gesichert. Auch hier wird also das Recht dieser Abteilung erst zu untersuchen sein, was bisher nirgends geschehen ist. Gehn wir aber zunächst von ihr aus, so liegt hier ein Jahwespruch vor, der, nach der nachdrücklichen Einführung in V. 1, nur aus dem einzigen Vierzeiler V. 2 besteht, ein Spruch freilich von ganz ungewöhnlicher Tragweite, den größten Schritt in sich schließend, den Israels Schriftprophetie überhaupt getan hat. „3 1, 2", sagt Wellhausen, „ist wie ein Thema vorangestellt, es hätte auch dem ganzen Buche als Motto dienen können. Denn Amos faßt hier kurz den ganzen Inhalt seiner Prophetie zusammen; alles, was er sonst sagt, ist ein Kommentar zu diesen Worten". Man hat sich weit überwiegend in diesen merkwürdigen Aphorismus gefügt; erst neuerdings, unter Mitwirkung metrischer Triebkräfte, hat man versucht, ihm abzuhelfen.[29] Sievers-Guthe fanden dasselbe Maß (7 : 3) in 2 9–13 und schlossen daher 3 2; 2 9–13 als einheitliches Stück zusammen.[30] Auch Nowack[3] hat sich davon überzeugen lassen und verteidigt den so gewonnenen Zusammenhang. Aber das ist verlorene Mühe. So vortrefflich 2 9–13 zu 2 6–8 paßt, die Aufzählung der Wohltaten Jahwes nach den Missetaten Israels mit dem Ergebnis des schwärzesten

[29] Das gilt auch für Löhr (1901), der aus 3 1—4 3; 8 4-14; 9 1 (von ואחרית an) -4a einen großen strophischen Aufbau macht. V. 3-8 „begegnen ihm dem Zweifel, welchen die V. 2b gezogene Konsequenz im Volke hervorruft" (S. 11). Er zeigt nicht, inwiefern das der Fall ist.

[30] Ihre metrische Wertung von 3 2 scheint mir sehr bedenklich. Der Siebener soll mit אפקד schließen! Ich setze drei Teilstriche: hinter ידעתי, האדמה und עליכם; von den vier Zeilen sind mir mindestens die drei ersten Dreier, aber auch die vierte kann mit zwei Tonsilben für עונתיכם so gelesen werden.

Undanks, so unmöglich ist der Anschluß an 3 2. „Die Verse 2 9ff.", sagt Nowack, „legen durch den Hinweis auf die Geschichte Jahwes liebende Fürsorge" — gemeint ist kraft desselben Ausdrucks 3 2a — „für Israel dar". Ja, aber völlig post festum! In 3 2b hat Jahwe das gerüttelt volle Maß der Heimsuchungen für die Zukunft angekündigt, und nun soll er — fast wehleidig — auf seine Wohltaten in der Vergangenheit ausführlich zurückverweisen und damit den ganzen Eindruck der furchtbaren Ankündigung zuschanden machen? „Und ich habe doch" übersetzt auch Nowack das ואנכי von 2 9; soll Jahwe seinen Widerspruch mit sich selbst feststellen und so den entrüsteten Israeliten das Wort erteilen? Mit dem רק אתכם ידעתי וגו׳ in 2a hat Jahwe seine Wohltaten auf den höchsten möglichen Ausdruck gebracht, und das soll noch der nachhinkenden Ausführung in 2 9ff. bedürftig sein? Und das את כל־עונתיכם soll noch den Nachtrag 2 12 brauchen? Vollends muß auch V. 13 noch von dem folgenden Absatz abgerissen werden, um doch der Drohung von 3 2b das letzte Wort zu geben, freilich traurig abgeschwächt in die Gestalt eines freischwebenden Vergleichs. Es ist ein wahrer Jammer, wie hier die großartigsten Zusammenhänge und Wirkungen einem eingebildeten Metrum zuliebe in Stücke geschlagen und vernichtet werden. — Ganz anders hat Sellin dasselbe Ziel verfolgt. Sehr richtig sagt er einleitungsweise (S. 174): „Nach der feierlichen Einführungsformel erwartet man nicht, daß das Gotteswort mit V. 2 schon wieder sein Ende findet, vielmehr erwartet man bestimmt, sei es vor, sei es hinter ihm, eine weitere Ausführung und Begründung des kühnen Wortes, das alle Illusionen des Volkes zerschlägt". Er glaubt die Fortsetzung in 9 7–10 gefunden zu haben, oder vielmehr die Hülle, die den allein echten V. 2 ursprünglich eingeschlossen hat, so daß 9 7 ihm voraufging, 9 8 nachfolgte. Um das möglich zu machen, faßt er 2a als Frage, und der Zusammenhang lautet um so — ich gebe Sellins eigene Übersetzung: „Seid ihr mir nicht wie die Kuschiten / ihr Kinder Israel? Hab ich nicht Israel heraufgeführt / aus dem Lande Ägypten, Wie die Philister aus Kaphtor / und die Aramäer aus Qîr? Kenne ich denn nur euch unter allen Geschlechtern der Erde? Darum suche ich an euch heim alle eure Missetaten". Kein Wort verliert Sellin über die

Logik des so gefaßten V. 2, insbesondere über den Sinn des „Darum", das seine beiden Zeilen verbindet. Weil Jahwe nicht nur Israel kennt, sondern auch andre Völker, weil es ihm wie die Kuschiten, also doch wohl mit ihnen gleichwertig ist, deshalb sucht er an Israel alle seine Missetaten heim? Das kann doch nur heißen, daß er das auch jenen gegenüber tut und damit Israel jenen vollkommen gleich behandelt. Der wundervolle Schluß: je größer die empfangenen Wohltaten, um so größer die Pflichten, um so schwerer die Strafe bei ihrer Verletzung ist — wie es scheint ohne jedes Bedauern — aufgegeben. Und nun das Einzelne. Warum steht nicht in 2b vor עליכם das גַּם, das die Gleichsetzung deutlich machen würde? Und wäre nicht bei dieser Auslegung die richtige Reihenfolge 3 2a; 9 7b; 9 7a; 3 2b? Und was gibt Sellin das Recht, 3 2a als Frage zu fassen, warum fehlt hier das Fragewort, das sich vor 9 7a und 7b nicht vermissen läßt? Es ist traurig, Zeuge davon zu sein, was der große Prophet unter den Händen seines Auslegers zu leiden hat. Oder sollte gar der Wunsch, ihn gegen den Vorwurf des Selbstwiderspruchs zu schützen — Sellin deutet S. 174 diese Möglichkeit bei der bisherigen Deutung an — den Anlaß zu seiner neuen Deutung geboten haben? Die Sorge dafür dürfen wir ruhig dem Propheten, bzw. seinem Gotte überlassen. Ihm muß wohl das ידע von 3 2 mehr bedeutet haben als alle Fürsorge, die er für andre Völker getragen hat. Ihm muß es auch freistehn, der neuen Wahrheit einmal die Fassung zu geben, daß Israel ihm nicht mehr gelte als die Kuschiten, das andre Mal sie dahin zu steigern, daß er mit Israel seines Undanks wegen strenger verfahren werde als mit allen andren Völkern. Auch Sellins Versuch, 3 1f. eine Fortsetzung zu geben, ist gründlich mißlungen. — Und so wären wir etwa gar bei dem Urteil Oorts angelangt (Th. T. XIV, 121f., 138), der 3 1f. wegen des darin herrschenden, Amos fremden Partikularismus für eine Interpolation ansieht? So spricht kein Interpolator. Vielleicht glückt es doch noch die Verse einem größeren Zusammenhang einzuverleiben und aus ihm heraus ihr Verständnis zu erleichtern. Den Weg dazu mag uns eine Prüfung des überlieferten Wortlauts bahnen. V. 1 wird überwiegend recht nebensächlich behandelt, als bloße Einführung von V. 2, bestenfalls von Amos

selbst, vielleicht — so besonders Sievers-G. und Nowack[3] — erst späterer Nachtrag. Er darf aber nicht so in Bausch und Bogen behandelt werden; denn er rührt in keinem Falle von einer einzigen Hand her. Das beweist die 3. Person דבר יהוה in a, die erste für Jahwe העליתי in b, in einem Relativsatz zu der Apposition על כל־המשפחה. Nach a redet Amos, nach b Jahwe; beides nebeneinander ist unmöglich. Daraufhin streichen Meinhold, Löhr, Marti, Hans Schmidt den ganzen zweiten Halbvers, ja Marti ist geneigt, auch den ersten Halbvers noch bedeutend zu kürzen und nur שמעו דבר יהוה בית ישראל als ursprünglichen Wortlaut stehn zu lassen.[31] Aber das ist doch nicht die einzige Möglichkeit, und nicht die wahrscheinlichste. Das „Ich" Jahwes hat durchaus die Voraussetzung größerer Ursprünglichkeit für sich; es würde schwerlich von einem Interpolator eingeführt sein, wenn die dritte Person im ersten Halbvers schon vorgelegen hätte. Und umgekehrt ist die flüchtige Glosse, die aus Jahwes Wort das des Propheten machte, an möglichst früher Stelle im Verse zu erwarten. Streichen muß man also vielmehr den ersten Relativsatz in a, die Worte אשר דבר יהוה עליכם, natürlich samt dem davon abhängigen על und dem לאמר am Schluß, das Amos als den Redenden voraussetzt. Vers 1 lautet daher ursprünglich: „Höret dieses Wort, ihr Kinder Israel, Ihr, die ganze Sippe, die ich aus dem Lande Ägypten heraufgeführt habe". Nun schließt V. 2 unmittelbar an, und das Ungeheure, Unglaubliche, was er enthält, wird von Jahwe selbst feierlich eingeführt und betont, wozu wahrlich aller Grund vorhanden ist. Aber nicht nur mit V. 2 ist damit die unmittelbare Verbindung aufgenommen, sondern auch nach rückwärts stellt sie sich ungezwungen her, weil auch da Jahwe der Redende war, vgl. zuletzt 2 13. Wir haben oben darauf hingewiesen, wie eigentümlich offen in 2 16 der Schluß des langen Israelspruchs im Vergleich mit allen vorhergehenden bleibt, da nur die Unentrinnbarkeit des Gerichts in immer neuen Wendungen geschildert wird, über sein Wesen, seine Wirkung, seine Grenzen jede Aussage sich vermissen läßt.

31 Nowack[2] streicht nur על כל־המשפחה, und derselbe gibt in Kittels Bibel bloß diese Streichung neben der von b im ganzen Umfang frei; aber das hilft der Schwierigkeit nicht ab. Zudem fiele damit das eigenartigste Wort des ganzen Verses.

Mitten im Redefluß bricht so die Strafansage ab. Das erklärt sich am leichtesten, wenn eine Schlußzusammenfassung noch folgen soll, eine höchste Steigerung womöglich, die jede Einzelausführung überflüssig macht. Genau das Erforderliche, das, was wir vermissen und erwarten, bietet V. 2: man mag sich ohne weitere Worte ausmalen, wie furchtbar die Strafe ausfallen muß, wenn sie über alle Verschuldungen ohne Ausnahme ergeht. Eben darin aber vollzieht sich die Probe auf die Richtigkeit des Anschlusses nach rückwärts. Drei, vier Frevel waren bei jeder Strafansage angenommen, ein einziger davon wurde jedesmal herausgegriffen und genügte für das Gericht. Das soll bei Israel anders sein: alle seine Verschuldungen sollen an ihm heimgesucht werden. Der Rückweis auf die ständige Einleitungsformel ist mit Händen zu greifen, obgleich עָוֹן an die Stelle von פֶּשַׁע tritt, vielleicht die Verkehrtheit, die Unnatürlichkeit des Undanks andeutend. Ich bin gefaßt darauf, daß man die Wiederholung der drei oder vier Frevel auch vor 2 6 ff. gegen den inneren Zusammenhang anführt; aber die Steigerung von der gleichen Behandlung, von dem Mangel eines Vorzugs, zu der noch weit schärferen, durch keine Schranke gehemmten Bestrafung ist beabsichtigt und tut das Ihrige, die Wirkung dieses endlichen, vollen Abschlusses der großen Strafrede zu verstärken. Erhöht wird die Wahrscheinlichkeit des Zusammenhangs, ja zur Gewißheit, durch die Aufnahme des erst in 2 9 ff. hinzukommenden neuen Gesichtspunkts, des Undanks, der in 3 2 allein als der Grund der erschöpfenden Bestrafung zur Geltung gebracht wird. Man darf sich wundern, daß diese Wahlverwandtschaft, ja Einheit, von 1 3—2 16 und 3 1 f. bisher nicht beobachtet worden ist. Aber sehr früh ist sie verkannt und V. 1 zur Einleitung eines neuen Abschnitts gestempelt und überarbeitet worden, was dann bis auf den heutigen Tag vorgehalten hat. — V. 1. Vielfach hat man der Lesart der LXX בֵּית statt בני den Vorzug gegeben, und in der Tat kommt בֵּית ישראל bei Amos häufig vor (5 1, 25; 6 1, 14 [7 10]; 9 9) und kann als der gewähltere Ausdruck gelten. Indessen dürfte, nun der Anschluß nach rückwärts hergestellt ist, 2 11 doch בני י wahrscheinlicher machen. — Der zweite Halbvers verdeutlicht die Anrede בני ישראל: es handelt sich hier nicht nur um

Nordisrael, sondern um „die ganze Sippe,[32] die Jahwe aus Ägypten heraufgeführt hat". Da Amos nicht der Ansicht heutiger Gelehrter gewesen sein wird, daß nur Joseph, d. i. die Rahelstämme, in Ägypten geweilt haben, so ist damit, wie längst bemerkt worden ist, das Südreich Juda eingeschlossen, und Amos wirft hier einmal einen warnenden Seitenblick auf sein Heimatland. — V. 2 ידעתי ist hier geradezu „ich habe ausersehen, auserkoren", wie Gn. 18 19; Jer. 1 5, vgl. Ps. 144 3; so faßt es richtig Rothstein bei Kautzsch zu Jer. 1 5. Die Überzeugung Israels, das auserwählte Volk Jahwes zu sein, wird also hier ausdrücklich als zutreffend anerkannt.

III. AMOS RECHTFERTIGT SEIN AUFTRETEN

Über die Verse 3 3–8 braucht wenig gesagt zu werden, weil das richtige Verständnis sich allgemach fast überall durchgesetzt hat.[33] Ohne irgendwelche Einführung, ohne daß vorher oder nachher die massoretische Überlieferung das Bewußtsein von einem Einschnitt verrät, schließt sich in diesen Versen ein ganz selbständiges Stück, ohne Zusammenhang nach rückwärts und vorwärts, ab, das die Selbstrechtfertigung des Amos für sein Auftreten als Prophet enthält. Man muß ihm das Recht dazu, oder mindestens die Pflicht, bestritten haben.[34] Daß dies in der Tat geschehen ist, beweist, abgesehen von der allgemeinen Rüge 2 12, 7 10–17, der Zusammenstoß mit dem Priester Amasja in Betel. Haben wir darin das letzte Auftreten des Amos zu sehen, so liefert unser Stück den Beweis, daß ihm ähnliches auch vorher schon begegnet war. Als Selbstrechtfertigung eines

[32] Hans Schmidts Übersetzung „jedes Geschlecht" verstößt gegen die Grammatik und verschlechtert den Sinn, da משפחה hier laut V. 2 ein Volk neben den übrigen bedeutet.

[33] Als Ausnahmen nenne ich Gressmann und Hans Schmidt, die V. 3-6 von V. 7 f. bzw. 8 trennen und auf die Zurückführung jedes Unheils auf Jahwe sich zuspitzen lassen.

[34] Sehr nahe liegt es, hier eine Ausschaltung der von mir (*ZATW* XXXIX, 1921, S. 218 ff.) erschlossenen rigoristischen Redaktion anzunehmen, die alles Persönliche nach Möglichkeit zu tilgen bestrebt war. Daß der Prophet hier „auf eine nicht erst ausdrücklich angegebene Entgegnung des Volkes eingehe", erkennt schon Löhr (1901, S. 11, Fußnote).

Propheten findet die Rede ihr Seitenstück in Jes. 28 23–29, wo Jesaja die Erklärung dafür bietet, daß Drohweissagungen, die er im Namen Jahwes verkündigt hat, unerfüllt geblieben sind; der Sache nach tritt Jer. 20 7–9 ihr zur Seite. Denn wie Jeremia dort klagt, daß er in seinem Weissagen einfach unter göttlichem Zwange stehe, daß er vergeblich versucht habe, sich Mißhandlungen und Schmach zu ersparen, indem er nicht ferner an Jahwe dächte und in seinem Namen redete, so legt auch Amos hier, aber augenscheinlich vor der Öffentlichkeit, dar, daß sein Weissagen von seinem Willen völlig unabhängig, daß es lediglich die unausbleibliche Wirkung der zwingenden Ursache, des von ihm vernommenen Redens Jahwes, sei. Keine Wirkung ohne Ursache, keine Ursache ohne Wirkung, das wird in 3–6 und 8a in acht scheinbar ganz wahllosen und alltäglichen Beispielen gezeigt, von denen die sechs mittleren paarweise sich zusammenschließen, das erste, in völlig entsprechender Fassung, ganz allein steht, das letzte, in etwas abweichender Gestalt, sich mit der knappen Entscheidung des Falles des Propheten paart: „Der Löwe hat gebrüllt — wer erschräke nicht; Jahwe hat geredet — wer träte nicht als Prophet auf?“[35] Man kann die Worte nicht gründlicher mißverstehn, als indem man das Reden Jahwes und das Weissagen des Propheten in Eins zusammenfallen läßt. Nein, das Reden Jahwes ist nicht jedem Ohr vernehmbar, wie das des Propheten — daher גָּלָה אֹזֶן „offenbaren“ — wer aber die Gabe hat es zu hören, der muß weissagen, nämlich das gehörte Wort Jahwes weitergeben. Unser Ausspruch hat innerliche Verwandtschaft mit Num. 11 26–29. Man zeigt Mose an, daß zwei Männer als Propheten auftreten, und fordert ihn auf, ihnen den unerlaubten Wettbewerb zu wehren; er aber antwortet: „Wenn doch das ganze Volk zu Propheten würde, daß Jahwe seinen Geist auf sie legte!“ Des Amos Wort „Wer träte nicht als Prophet auf?“ hat den gleichen ideellen Umfang. Das Verhältnis von Ursache und Wirkung ist dabei ganz klar, man mag es angreifen, von welcher Seite man will. Hat Jahwe geredet, so muß, der es gehört, als Prophet

[35] Man möchte noch knapper übersetzen: „Wer würde nicht zum Propheten?“ (so Hans Schmidt S. 9), wenn 7 14 nicht warnte.

auftreten; tritt jemand als Prophet auf, so hat Jahwe geredet.[36] Daß fast alle Beispiele für ein solches Verhältnis etwas Unheimliches an sich tragen, des Löwen Beute, des Vögleins Tod oder Fang, Kriegsgefahr oder Unheilsschlag, deutet nicht auf ein andres, selbständiges Ziel der Rede — vgl. Wellhausen, Gressmann, Hans Schmidt — sondern beruht einfach darauf, daß man von dem Propheten nichts als Unheilsweissagungen gehört hat, man ihm eben deshalb den Mund verbieten will, er aber darauf bestehn muß, daß Jahwe dem Volke nichts andres zu sagen hat.[37] Darauf spitzt das letzte Beispiel vor dem Abschluß, 6b, die ganze Reihe zu. Nur das erste, allein stehende, in V. 3 hat ganz harmlose, friedliche Haltung, zwei Wanderer, die einträchtig ihres Weges ziehen. Es bildet eben mit 8b die Klammer für die ganze Reihe: Jahwe und der Prophet, der Prophet und Jahwe, gehn miteinander, sie reden und wirken Hand in Hand, weil sie miteinander einig geworden, weil Jahwe geredet und damit dem Propheten den Mund aufgetan hat. So ist der Zusammenhang des Stücks ein eng geschlossener, durchaus notwendiger — bis auf V. 7, den ich mit Absicht bisher ganz übergangen habe. Es ist, soviel ich sehe, Löhrs Verdienst (Untersuchungen zum Buch Amos 1901, S. 11), zuerst erkannt zu haben, daß dieser Vers nicht in den Zusammenhang gehört, sondern „eine Interpolation zur Erklärung von 8b ist"; Baumann und Marti, dann so ziemlich alle Neueren, folgten ihm darin, und ich meine, heute kein Wort mehr darüber verlieren zu müssen. Die Form der Verse 3–6, 8 ist durchgängig 3 : 2, in lockerer Handhabung. Ich fasse das nicht als beabsichtigten Ḳina-Vers auf (vgl. 5 1 f.), sondern als einfache Folge des rednerischen Baus, der den Schluß in der zweiten Hälfte so kurz wie möglich zusammenfaßt.

V. 3. נוֹעָדוּ ist unbedingt die richtige Lesart gegenüber dem נוֹדָעוּ der LXX, die, wie an ungezählten Stellen der Zwölf, das

[36] Es ist deshalb nicht richtig, wenn Löhr und Baumgartner (*ZATW* XXXIII, 1913) durch Umordnung Ursache und Wirkung einerseits, Wirkung und Ursache anderseits zu zwei gesonderten Gruppen vereinigen wollen; vielmehr ist die zwanglose Unordnung gerade das Rechte, weil beides zugleich stattfindet.

[37] Wieder fällt es auf, wie eng sich das mit Jeremias Wort in 28 8 f. berührt.

seltenere Wort in das gewöhnlichere ähnliche verlesen haben. Es heißt „sich bestellt", nicht „sich getroffen haben", als wenn die Begegnung nur eine zufällige wäre; vgl. Hi. 2 11. — 4b. ממענתו streichen heißt dem entworfenen Bilde die Farbe nehmen, wie denn auch ביער in der Parallele das Wort schützt. Etwas längere Fassung des ersten Gliedes schädigt die Wirkung durchaus nicht. — 5a. Über die Streichung des ersten פח, nach LXX und des Sinnes wegen, sind seit Oort alle einverstanden. Da der Vogel vom Ast fällt, kann מוקש nicht „Schlinge" bedeuten, sondern muß, als sachliches Mittel gefaßt, aus der Ferne wirken, wofür das Wurfholz am nächsten liegt.[38] Aber der Ausdruck אין לה, als wenn der Vogel die Waffe führte, spricht nicht für diese Deutung, sondern für das ἄνευ ἰξευτοῦ der LXX. Man spreche daher ומוקש oder lese וּמְיֻקָּשׁ oder וְיָקוּשׁ. — V. 6. Für das zweite בעיר möchte man die Abwechslung בָּעָם wünschen, zumal, was hier vorausgesetzt wird, nicht wie a an eine Stadt gebunden ist. — V. 7. Hier lohnen metrische Berichtigungen besonders wenig, weil die Glosse in schlichter Prosa gehalten ist. — V. 8. In aα ist der allerkürzeste Ausdruck beabsichtigt; שָׁאוֹן zu ergänzen (Duhm) bedeutet deshalb keine Verbesserung. Nicht zufällig wird auf das erste Beispiel mit unheimlichem Beigeschmack in 3a zurückgegriffen. — 8b. Von Textänderung für ינבא (Wellhausen יֻחֲרַד, Cheyne יִכְאַב) kann nach dem richtigen Verständnis nicht mehr die Rede sein.

IV. ANKLAGE UND BEDROHUNG DER HAUPTSTADT

War der Schluß der ersten großen Rede, 2 6—3 2, gegen das ganze Nordreich gerichtet, am Schluß selbst mit einem Seitenblick auf Juda, so schließen sich in 3 9—4 3 eine Reihe von Aussprüchen zusammen, die alle gegen die Sünden der Hauptstadt Samaria — ihr Name 3 9, 12; 4 1 — gerichtet sind. Mehrfache neue Einführungen (V. 12, 13; 4 1) unterstützen die Annahme, daß es sich um eine Sammlung von einzelnen Sprüchen handelt, die ursprünglich selbständig waren und jeder bei

[38] Das Wurfeisen ist im Innern Nordafrikas sehr weit verbreitet.

besonderer Gelegenheit gesprochen wurden, obschon auch eine Rede in lockerem Zusammenhang das Ganze umfassen könnte. Erschöpfend ist die Sammlung jedenfalls nicht, da auch K. 6 1 ff. wieder auf die Bewohner Samarias zurückkommt, vgl. auch noch 8 14. Mit Recht hat man aus diesen Sprüchen geschlossen, daß Amos nicht nur in Betel wird geweissagt haben, wo wir ihm in 7 10 ff. begegnen, sondern auch in die Hauptstadt gekommen ist, deren Schäden an Ort und Stelle wahrgenommen und Sprüche wie diese eben dort verkündet hat. Daß er Samaria schon vor seiner Berufung, als Viehzüchter und -Händler, besucht und etwa länger dort geweilt hätte, braucht man nicht eben anzunehmen; was hier aufgeführt wird, konnte leicht und schnell beobachtet oder als stadtkundig gehört und aufgenommen werden. — Der Text des Abschnitts hat stark gelitten und ist nicht frei von Überarbeitungen.

V. 9–11. V. 9. Die Frage, wem der Auftrag השמיעו erteilt werde, ist nicht ernsthaft aufzuwerfen. Es sind bloß gedachte Boten, der Sinn des Verses: „Wenn man die Bewohner der Paläste der reichsten Länder herbeirufen und ihnen die Zustände in Samaria zeigen könnte, sie würden staunen und ihre Mißbilligung äußern.“ Daß diese Wirkung beabsichtigt ist und erreicht wird, braucht gar nicht erst gesagt zu werden; deshalb bleibt es bei der Einsichtnahme. — על wohl geradezu „über hin“; aus den Lüften mag die Botschaft herunterschallen. בְּאַשּׁוּר der LXX hat offenbar den Vorzug vor באשדוד des MT, nicht nur wegen der Parallele בארץ מצרים, sondern auch weil eine einzige Stadt, und gerade Ašdod, nicht genügen würde, auch das בְּ vor dem Stadtnamen nicht am Platze ist. Viel fraglicher ist, ob man, ebenfalls mit LXX, nach 4 1; 6 1 הַר für הרי einsetzen soll. Recht wohl können die Berge rings um den Stadtberg Samarias gemeint sein (vgl. Jer. 31 5), von deren überhöhendem Gipfel die in Gedanken herbeigerufenen heidnischen Palastbewohner mit Geisteraugen, durch Mauern und Dächer, wie der hinkende Teufel Einsicht in das Unheil nehmen mögen. Je unwirklicher man sich den Hergang denkt, um so besser; es handelt sich beileibe nicht um eine Abordnung zur Aufnahme eines Tatbestandes. — ואמרו mag leicht zur Verdeutlichung hinzugefügt sein. Aber 9 a m. c. als Zusatz zu streichen (Sievers-G.

und Nowack[3]) nimmt dem Hergang Anschaulichkeit und Beweiskraft. — Statt mit denselben Kritikern ועשוקים בקרבה zu streichen, mag man erwägen, ob רבות ursprünglich oder etwa aus einer Wiederholung der ersten Buchstaben von בתוכה entstanden ist, und umgekehrt, ob nicht hinter בקרבה ein הַרְבֵּה, oder רַבִּים vor בקרבה, ausgefallen ist. — V. 10. נאם יהוה muß man freigeben; vielleicht ist es auch dem Sinne nach falsch, wenn nämlich V. 9 und 10 von Amos und nicht von Jahwe gesprochen werden, was sehr möglich ist. Dagegen gibt die Streichung von בארמנותיהם m. c. (die meisten seit Marti) wieder Wertvolles preis. „Die da häufen Gewalt und Bedrückung" läßt es beim Abstraktum von Handlungen; erst „die da aufspeichern Gewalt und Bedrückung in ihren Palästen" macht klar, was der Redner sagen will, daß nämlich die aufgespeicherten Schätze verkörperte Gewalttaten sind (vgl. 2 8). Auch ונבזו ארמנותיך in V. 11 greift dasselbe Wort an unserer Stelle auf. — Der erste Halbvers muß genügen, solange nichts Überzeugendes dafür gefunden ist. Ehrlichs ולא ידעו הַנַּעֲשׂוֹת נְכֹחָה nach LXX *ἃ ἔσται ἐναντίον αὐτῆς*, auf das siegreiche Vordringen Assyriens bezogen, kann nicht als Verbesserung gelten. — V. 11. Die Einleitung in a α ist nicht so leicht zu entbehren, wie die meisten Neueren meinen, vor allem, wenn V. 9 f. von Amos gesprochen ist; im Gegenteil fehlt noch hinter יהוה die angeredete Person לְשֹׁמְרוֹן.[39] Sellins לָכֵן אֲנִי מְצַוֶּה צַר nach 6 11 ist nicht eben überzeugend; in seinem folgenden Satze וְסָבִיב אַרְצֵךְ יַחֲרִיב befriedigt das יַחֲרִיב noch weniger als das תֶּחֱרַב seiner Vorgänger, weil es dem Objekt nachhinkt. Aber auf das *ἐρημωθήσεται* der LXX zu bauen, ist überhaupt kaum ratsam, weil der Übersetzer sich gezwungen sah, ein Verbum zu ergänzen. Auch ob אַרְצֵךְ nach LXX herzustellen ist, scheint mir fraglich, da das Land doch nicht der Hauptstadt zu eigen ist. Daher möchte die alte Herstellung (seit Wellhausen) צַר יְסֹבֵב הָאָרֶץ, für die man sich auf Syr. berufen kann, der Hauptsache nach immer noch am meisten für sich haben; liest man mit Ehrlich סֹבֵב, so wird das Partizipium durch הִנֵּה vor צר, das hinter יהוה übersehen wurde, zum futurum instans zu ergänzen sein. Selbst הצר wäre dahinter

[39] LXX hat das gefühlt, indem sie צר mit *Τύρος* wiedergibt.

leicht herzustellen. Der Tonfall der Zeile wird dadurch verbessert. — והורד zu sprechen (Wellh.) empfiehlt die Parallele וגבזו; עז ist wie anderwärts = מָעוֹז, Bollwerk, Wehr (vgl. 1 5) und nicht mit Ehrlich und Sellin als „Pracht, Herrlichkeit“ zu fassen. חומת davor einzuschieben (Sievers-G., Nowack[3]) dient nur dem gesuchten Metrum. So mag man sich den Text des Verses gefallen lassen. — Im letzten Satze gipfelt die Bedrohung: Gewalt und Bedrückung, die die Vornehmen aufgespeichert haben, werden des Eroberers Beute werden.

V. 12. Warum der Vers nicht in den Zusammenhang passen soll, sondern als Bruchstück „eines andern Gedichtes“ mußte herausgehoben werden (Marti, Sievers-G. [S. 57], Guthe[K 4], Nowack[3]) ist doch nicht einzusehen, bei Marti um so weniger, da er auch V. 13–15 nicht unmittelbar an V. 11 anschließen will, und auch diese Verse die Anrede an Samaria aufgeben; bei Sievers-Guthe noch weniger, da sie den Vers ebenso als Siebener lesen wie V. 9–11 und genau, wo V. 12 steht, eine „Halbstrophe“ von seiner Länge vermissen. Daß der Vers nicht mehr die Rechtlosigkeit, sondern die Üppigkeit in Samaria straft (Marti), gilt wiederum ebenso von V. 15. Und gerade dazu ist ja der Übergang in 10b, 11b mit Händen zu greifen. Faßt man daher V. 9–15 oder V. 9—4 3 als zusammenhängendes Stück, etwa unter Streichung der neuen Einführungen, so paßt V. 12 vortrefflich an seine Stelle, da auch er das Verhalten der Großen Samarias geißelt; zieht man es vor, diesen Umfang als drei oder vier gesonderte Stücke zu begreifen, so liegt kein Grund vor, die Schichtung durch den Redaktor anzufechten; aber freilich kommt dann auch nichts darauf an, ob man V. 12 vor oder hinter V. 13–15 stellt. In jedem Falle handelt es sich nicht um ein Bruchstück, sondern entweder um ein vollständiges Glied eines größeren Zusammenhangs oder um einen selbständigen und vollständigen Spruch. Es lohnt sich wohl, bei Gelegenheit einmal festzustellen, daß Sievers-G. den Vers in Siebenern lesen, Marti „sieben kurze Zeilen“ darin findet, Duhm einen zweihebigen Zehnzeiler, L. Köhler in 12a „drei Vierer? oder zwei Doppeldreier?“, Hans Schmidt sechs nicht näher bestimmte Zeilen — ohne die Einführung, ebenso wie bei Marti — Sellin Ḳinametrum (abwechselnd 3:2 und 2:2 Hebungen). Man hat also reiche

Auswahl im Maßstab für die Textherstellung. — Zu dem packenden, aus des Amos eigenstem Gesichtskreis stammenden Vergleich im ersten Halbvers braucht man angesichts von Ex. 22 9–12; Gn. 31 39 und 1. Sam. 17 34 f., wozu man noch Hammurabi 266 vergleichen mag, kein Wort zu verlieren.[40] — Die Einheit von 12b ist seit G. Hoffmann (*ZATW* 1883) vielfach angefochten worden, weil man den Partizipialsatz von הישבים an nicht als richtige Beschränkung des Subjekts בני ישראל, also „diejenigen Kinder Israel, die in Samaria usw." anzuerkennen vermochte. Hoffmanns Vorschlag, den Partizipialsatz als Anruf mit dem שמעו והעידו von V. 13 zu verbinden, ist von Wellhausen widerlegt worden,[41] der selbst vor הישבים ein Stück ausfallen läßt; Löhr betrachtet den Satz kurzweg als „Glosse, die aus 3 9; 4 1; 6 4 kombiniert ist"; Sievers-G. äußern sich nicht über Herkunft und Zugehörigkeit; Guthe[K 4] vermutet, daß er zu V. 10 gehöre. Sie alle schließen den Vers mit בני ישראל. Aber das ist falsch, da in diesen Sprüchen nicht das Gesamtvolk Israel angeklagt und bedroht wird, sondern nur die Vornehmen und Reichen, und vollends nur die unter den Bewohnern von Samaria. Hier kann kein Gericht angedroht sein, das die schuldlose Hauptmasse des Volks mit einschlösse, und vollends mit einem noch weit spärlicheren verschonten Reste als in 5 3 hinter dem Klageliede. Und andererseits ist die Anklage der Üppigkeit und Weichlichkeit gegen die wirklich Bedrohten nach 6 4 an dieser Stelle so angebracht wie möglich, so daß man mit der Ablösung des Partizipialsatzes dem Spruche die Spitze abbricht. Viel besser striche man בני ישראל als falsche Glosse; aber mit einem מִבְּנֵי oder gar בִּבְנֵי, also einer bloßen Wiederholung des ב, ist weit leichter zu helfen. — בשמרון ist das eigentlich

[40] Daß L. Köhler ausgerechnet das entscheidende Wort הרעה „als prosaische Verdeutlichung des Metrums wegen" streicht, um dann יציל ohne Subjekt zu lassen, braucht nur festgestellt zu werden.

[41] Die Sache wird nicht besser, wenn Gressmann, dem L. Köhler beistimmt, in שמרון eine syrische Stadt Simron findet, die dann zu Damaskus in Parallele träte. Es ist doch ein grotesker Gedanke, daß just die trägen Sofasitzer in einer obskuren Stadt Syriens und in dessen Hauptstadt aufgerufen werden sollen, gegen Israel Zeugnis abzulegen. „Die Sache ist aber ganz sicher" (Köhler). Nichtsdestoweniger ist Gressmann[2] zu Samaria zurückgekehrt.

Entscheidende, durchaus Notwendige. Für פאת — Wellhausen verzichtet auf Übersetzung — scheint mir die von G. Hoffmann gebotene Erklärung zu genügen; daneben mag Martis צָפִית am ersten in Betracht kommen.[42] — In der letzten Zeile ist Damaskus, was die Konsonanten meinen, ebenso unmöglich wie „Damast", was die Punkte wohl beabsichtigen. Damaskus hat hier nichts zu suchen, wo es sich um die Weichlinge Samarias handelt, selbst nicht mit einem כְּדַמֶּשֶׂק „wie in Damaskus" (Hans Schmidt S. 49), vollends hinter V. 9; daß aber die an den Ortsnamen angeglichene Bezeichnung eines gewebten Stoffes viel späteren Ursprungs ist, unterliegt keinem Zweifel. Das von Wellhausen für בדמשק geforderte Analogon zu בפאת hat man sich redlich bemüht zur Stelle zu schaffen; sehr hübsch Duhm בְּדַבֶּשֶׁת, der Kamelhöcker als Spitzname für eine augenscheinlich hart und unnachgiebig gedachte Erhöhung des Diwans. Einen ganz unmaßgeblichen Vorschlag möchte ich hinzufügen, der zunächst keinen Buchstaben verändert, sondern nur die überlieferten die Stelle wechseln läßt: וְשָׁקְדֵם בְּ, „und wach auf dem Lager". Das schließt sich syntaktisch leicht an הישבים „die da sitzen" an; aber damit ergibt sich keine Anklage, mindestens keine neue. Ich vermute deshalb Ausfall eines neuen Prädikats, wie denn eine dritte Hebung dem Metriker willkommen sein dürfte, und entnehme dafür der Parallelstelle 6 4 entweder שִׁכְבָם oder סְרֻחָם, welch letzteres besonders in der Schreibart שְׁרֻחִם vor שקדם leicht übersehen werden konnte. Also וּסְרֻחִים שְׁקֻדִים בָּעֶרֶשׂ „Und sich wach auf dem Bette räkeln". — Gründlich verfehlt ist der Versuch, Betten oder Polster als Hab und Gut zu verstehn, die in einem verschwindend kleinen Bruchteil aus dem Untergang gerettet werden sollen.[43]

V. 13–15. Vortrefflich schließt sich der Spruch gegen die Üppigkeit der Großen Samarias in ihren Ansprüchen auf Wohnstätten

[42] L. Köhler „leitet *pē'a* von *jafā'* = *jafa* ‚schön sein' her" und übersetzt „Prachtlager". Wollte man die Ableitung zugestehn, die doch in hohem Grade bedenklich ist, so wäre dafür immer noch מִטַּת פְּאֵה zu erwarten.

[43] F. Praetorius' Versuch (*ZATW* 1914, S. 42), die beiden Worte וברמשק ערש als Glossen zu erklären, scheint mir überflüssig und zu künstlich zu sein.

an, das Landhaus neben dem Stadthaus, die kostspielige Bauart. Aber unmittelbare Anknüpfung bloß von V. 15 mit seinem Perfectum consecutivum empfiehlt sich doch nicht, weder an V. 12 (Hans Schmidt, Sellin), noch nebst 14 b an V. 11 (Sievers-Guthe, Nowack[3]), was immerhin noch eher anginge; denn sowohl V. 9–11 wie V. 12 schließen doch ihren Gegenstand voll ab. Noch weniger als V. 15 eignet sich freilich V. 14 b zur unmittelbaren Fortsetzung von V. 11 (Marti). Es wird immer von den langen Einführungsformeln V. 13 und 14 a etwas übrig bleiben müssen, am ersten 13 a und 14 a, vielleicht ohne das עליו; mit der wievielten Redaktion dann dies und jenes sich dazu gefunden hat, läßt sich nicht bestimmen und ist nicht von großer Wichtigkeit. Bei Wellhausens Urteil, daß 14 b dem Zusammenhang völlig fremd sei, wird es bleiben müssen. Weder der Kultus noch Betel gehören hierher. Dagegen bildet das Angehn gegen den Wohnungsluxus die beste Fortsetzung zu 9–11 und 12. — V. 13. Angeredet sind in den Imperativen wie in V. 9 unbestimmte Personen, alle, die es angeht, und die sich dazu bereit finden. Fast möchte man für שמעו an הַשְׁמִעוּ wie in V. 9 denken, was dann nach 3 1; 4 1; 5 1 verändert sein möchte. — 14 a. Das כי ist im Anschluß an 13 a das „daß" des Inhaltssatzes; hinter 13 b müßte man es als das כי *recitativum* zur Einleitung der direkten Rede fassen. — 14 b. Anstatt מִזְבַּח ב׳ und dann קַרְנָיו zu lesen (Sievers-G., Nowack), wird man besser tun, mit Oort, Valeton, Stade, v. Gall, Marti, Greßmann[2] für מזבחות herzustellen מַצֵּבֹת. Marti fordert am Schluß des Verses eine verlorene Zeile; der Sinn verlangt sie nicht. Ob der Halbvers von Amos herrührt und von anderwärts hierher verschlagen ist, scheint mir sehr zweifelhaft; hinter 4 12, wo Sellin ihn einfügt, ist er jedenfalls nicht am Platze. Zu 9 1 verweist ihn Guthe nur sachlich. — V. 15. 14 b zu behalten und 15 b β zu streichen (Sievers-G., Nowack[3]), gebietet nur der Siebener. — Sehr wohl kann das schwierige רבים nach Jes. 5 9 verdorben sein; Martis Herstellung הַבָּנִים (besser הַהֲבָנִים) nach Hes. 27 15 scheint mir einleuchtend. — Seine Sommerzellen, Winterzellen, Elfenbeinzellen und Ebenholzzellen als „Prunkgemächer im Tempel zu Bethel" hat Greßmann in der neuen Auflage aufgegeben.

4 1–3. Den Schluß macht die gewohnte Begleiterscheinung

der Überkultur, die Entartung des weiblichen Geschlechts. Auch in dieser Beobachtung und Rüge begegnen wir Jesaja als dem Schüler des Amos in seiner Strafrede gegen die vornehmen Damen Jerusalems 3 16–24; 4 1 ff. — V. 1. Wie die ersten Worte שמעו הדבר הזה jetzt dastehn, sind sie nicht als Anrede an die Basankühe zu verstehn, wofür trotz Gesenius-Kautzsch 144 a שִׁמְעָנָה zu erwarten wäre, sondern sie richten sich an die Hörer der Rede und an die Leser, wie in 5 1, und die Redaktion hat, wie schon betont, Wert darauf gelegt, daß 3 1; 4 1; 5 1 gleich lauten. Statt sie aber ganz zu streichen und Amos mit פרות beginnen zu lassen (Sievers-G., Nowack[3]), wird man besser mit Duhm שִׁמְעָנָה פרות als das Ursprüngliche herstellen. — „Ihr Basankühe“ (vgl. Dt. 32 14; Hes. 39 18; Ps. 22 13) wird doch von Wellhausen mit „ihr feisten Kühe“ nicht ausreichend noch ganz richtig umschrieben; viel besser erläutert Hoffmann: „Adliges Vollblut. Amos war Rassenkenner“. — a β redet nicht von unmittelbarer Mißhandlung der Geringen und Armen durch die vornehmen Frauen, sondern wird erläutert durch das האמרות von b: hie und da vielleicht ganz gedankenlos schinden sie die kleinen Leute durch die Anforderungen, die sie an ihre Gatten stellen. — Lies לאדניהֶן. — Zu הביאה ergänzt sich dem Sinne nach jedenfalls als Gegenstand der Wein, und es bedarf dazu wohl nicht erst des Wortes. Aber dennoch darf man fragen, ob es nicht vor dem folgenden וְנ möchte übersehen sein, ein יַיִן, oder gar in älterer Schreibung ויִן. An eigentliche Trunksucht der Frauen selbst braucht nicht gedacht zu werden; das „damit wir zu trinken haben“ bezeichnet den Hausbedarf, einschließlich großer Gastereien und Feste, die ja den Namen מִשְׁתֶּה führen. So mag man mit Wellhausen auch übersetzen „daß wir Gelage halten“. Natürlich ist nur ein Beispiel aus dem weiten Bereiche des Bedarfs genannt; aber aus 2 8 ersehen wir, wie gerade dieses dem Propheten schweren Anstoß bot. Einen merkwürdigen Antitypus, ähnlich wie Jer. 35 sich neben Am. 2 12 stellt, bildet Ev. Joh. 2 3. — V. 2 a. Das כי ist wieder כִּי *recitativum*. — Für עליכם, ebenso wie für das folgende אתכם, lies wieder עָלֶיךָ und אֹתָךְ. עליכן zu streichen (Duhm) oder gar ganz 2 a (Sievers-G.) besteht gar kein Anlaß, vgl. besonders Jes. 7 17. — 2 b. 3 a. Ehrlich verzichtet auf das Verständnis der ersten Hälfte von 2 b,

L. Köhler auf das der zweiten; beides ist der Hauptsache nach nicht nötig. Durchaus abzulehnen ist Duhms Änderung (Marti, Nowack, Greßmann[2] stimmen ihm zu) אַפְּכֶן „eure Nase", woneben dann אחריתכן „euer Hinterteil" heißen muß: „in Fetzen" (פרצים) sollen die „Fettklumpen" heraufbefördert werden, eine ekelhafte Vorstellung und wenig wahrscheinlich, da die beutegierigen Feinde ihren Vorteil besser werden wahrzunehmen gewußt haben. Zunächst heißt אחרית nirgends „Hinterteil, Gesäß", wohl aber bei Amos in 9 1 — 8 10 mag außer Betracht bleiben — der „Rest" einer Anzahl von Menschen, was auch hier besser ist als „Nachkommenschaft" (Hitzig, Guthe usw.), weil V. 3 sich nur mit den Weibern selbst beschäftigt. Ebensowenig heißt פרצים „Stücke, Fetzen", wohl aber fast überall, und so auch Am. 9 11, „Bresche, Riß in der Mauer" einer Stadt, eigentlich oder bildlich (z. B. Gn. 38 29),[44] was herrlich paßt und nicht in פְּרָצוֹת (Vollers), פְּצָרִים (!) „gezwungen" (Sellin), בְּנוֹת (Hans Schmidt) verschlimmbessert zu werden braucht. Klar ist jedenfalls, daß in dem אשה נגדה, „jede ihrer Nase nach", von 3 a die Weiber noch am Leben und auf den Füßen sind. „Zu den Breschen werdet ihr hinausgehn", *acc.* wie שַׁעַר, הָעִיר (Gn. 34 24; 44 4); vielleicht ist mit Halévy nach LXX תֵּצֵאנָה „werdet ihr hinausgetrieben werden" vorzuziehen. Die Straßen sind vollgestopft und unpassierbar; auch mag der glückliche Besitzer fürchten, daß man ihm seine schöne Beute streitig machen könnte. Und nun zurück zu 2 b. ונשא ist längst richtig als passivisches Niphal gedeutet worden, נשׂא heißt aber hier nicht „fortschaffen" (Sellin), was auch vor dem תצאנה verfrüht wäre, sondern „heraufholen". Das Verfahren mit Haken und Fischangeln rein bildlich zu fassen, „wie Fische aus ihrem Element" (Hitzig), vgl. Jer. 16 16; Hab. 1 14 f., ist doch in einer so durch

[44] Ehrlichs „Vorläufer, Vorbote" dort und hier kann nicht in Betracht kommen. Sein Verständnis von 2 b und 3 a ist so wunderlich, daß es der Widerlegung nicht erst bedarf. Auch Praetorius' Versuch (*ZATW* 1914, S. 42 f.) eines neuen Verständnisses für 2 b unter Streichung von דוגה und פרצים „und man wird euch (Männer) an den Schilden wegnehmen und euch (Weiber) bis auf die letzte an den Kochtöpfen" muß ich für ganz mißlungen ansehen, und wäre es nur wegen der Einführung der Männer.

und durch realistischen Schilderung nicht erlaubt. Man denke vielmehr daran, daß die Weiber in die letzten, unzugänglichsten Schlupfwinkel, in unterirdische Räume werden versteckt worden sein; man läßt Haken hinab, die in ihre Kleider eingreifen und zieht sie damit ans Licht. Man vergleiche zu dieser Schilderung 6 10. Aber recht wohl könnte es sich auch um eine sprichwörtliche Wendung handeln für „man wird euch zu finden wissen und nicht ruhen, bis man die Letzte erbeutet hat". So ist an 2 b und 3 a nicht ein Buchstabe zu ändern. — 3 b. Der Versuch des Verständnisses muß — darüber sind fast alle einig — von der passivischen Aussprache וְהָשְׁלַכְתֶּן nach LXX ausgehn;[45] das ה am Ende des Worts mag nach תצאנה verschrieben sein, steht aber auch für die Herstellung des Schlusses zur Verfügung. Mit diesem Verbum „fortwerfen, schleudern" aber wird sofort klar, daß die Frauen hier nicht mehr als lebendig gedacht sind, sondern daß nur noch von ihren Leichen die Rede ist; denn הָשלך wird, auf den Menschen angewandt, im Grunde nur so gebraucht (1 Kön. 13 24 ff.; Jes. 14 19; 34 3; Jer. 14 16; 36 30, vom abgehauenen Kopfe 2 Sam. 20 21); daneben nur der bildliche Gebrauch, wie ein Tongefäß, Jer. 22 28 und vom hilflosen Säugling Hes. 16 5. Alle Versuche also seit LXX und auch wohl unsren Punktatoren, ההרמונה von diesem oder jenem Orte zu verstehn, zu dem die Weiber getrieben oder geschafft würden, wenn nicht gar ihre Zuflucht nähmen, sind damit hinfällig. Die genaue Parallelstelle findet sich bei Heinrich von Kleist in seinem Gedichte „Germania an ihre Kinder": „Nicht das Weib, das mit Gewimmer Ihrem Todeskuß erliegt Und zum Lohn beim Morgenschimmer Auf den Schutt der Vorstadt fliegt". Hier hat bisher Duhm den besten Vorschlag gemacht mit הַהֹמְנָה oder הַמַּדְמֵנָה „auf den Mist"; aber den besonderen Umständen hier dürfte noch besser entsprechen und auch graphisch kaum schwerer sein הַמַּחֲרָאָה (2 Kön. 10 27) „auf die Latrine". Jeder, der einen Krieg mitgemacht hat, weiß, was das bedeutet. Aber damit ist es nicht genug. Sind die Bedrohten bei אשה נגדה noch am Leben, jede von ihrem Erbeuter in das Kriegslager

[45] Löhrs Vorschlag והשליך את ארמנות שמרון lenkt völlig von dem Gegenstand dieses Spruches ab und kann deshalb gar nicht in Betracht kommen.

getrieben, fliegen sie in den folgenden Worten als Leichen auf den Mist, so muß dazwischen gestanden haben, daß und wie sie zu Tode gekommen sind. Das möchte etwa gelautet haben וְנִשְׁגַּלְתֶּן לָמוּת oder וְשֻׁגַּלְתֶּן; je herber und schroffer, desto besser. Leicht würde sich begreifen sowohl, wenn dergleichen der Ähnlichkeit wegen vor dem Folgenden übersehen, wie auch, wenn es wegen Sache und Ausdruck unterdrückt worden wäre. — Ich meine gezeigt zu haben, daß dieser furchtbar-schöne Abschnitt weit besser überliefert ist, als man gemeinhin anzunehmen pflegt.

V. EIFRIGER GOTTESDIENST, ABER KEINE BUSSE

Wieder, wie 3 3, ein ganz neuer Anfang und neuer Gegenstand ohne jede Einführung, und ohne daß sich das Bewußtsein eines Einschnitts bei der massorethischen Überlieferung bemerklich macht. Der Redende ist Jahwe, wie das nicht nur die Schlußformel von V. 5 bezeugt, sondern vor allem das Ich Jahwes in der Rede selbst V. 6 ff. Freilich bestreiten Sievers-G., Guthe, Nowack[3] den Zusammenhang von V. 6 ff. mit 4 f., vor allem aus metrischen Gründen, und Greßmann setzt ohne Begründung voraus, daß mit V. 6 ein neues Stück beginnt, streicht auch wie jene in der neuen Auflage das וגם zu Anfang, das er früher beibehielt. Aber es zu streichen ist nicht so leicht, weil es in V. 7 noch einmal wiederkehrt; daß es dann von V. 9 an fehlt, ist begreiflich genug. Und zu dem וגם kommt noch der stark betonte Gegensatz zwischen dem כי כן אהבתם in 5 b — der ganze Halbvers wird freilich von Sievers-G. und Nowack[3] m. c. gestrichen — und dem אני und אנכי in V. 6 und 7. Dieser Gegensatz und Zusammenhang ist deutlich genug, wenn auch die eine Seite der Gegenüberstellung „Eifriger Gottesdienst, aber keine Buße“ im voraus erledigt und die Überleitung zur andren durch den Widerspruch zwischen der Schwelgerei und Verschwendung zu Betel und Gilgal und dem Mangel durch Jahwes Heimsuchungen etwas äußerlich vermittelt wird. Man wird Amos wohl die Freiheit lassen müssen, seine Gedankengänge auszugestalten, wie sie sich ihm darbieten; in Wirklichkeit ist die Gedankenverbindung innerhalb V. 6 ff. selbst

noch lakonischer als zwischen 4 f. und 6 ff. Von V. 6 an entfaltet sich die Rede dann zu einem eigenartigen Seitenstück zu Kap. 1 und 2. Wie dort der Eingang stets der gleiche ist, so stellt sich hier jedesmal am Schluß der gleiche Kehrvers ein (V. 6, 8, 9, 10, 11); Jesaja hat dies in seiner Strafrede 9 7 ff. in etwas andrer Wendung, aber sachlich im gleichen Sinne, aufgenommen. In welchem Sinne? Hitzig mußte die Auffassung abwehren, daß V. 6–8 auf die Zukunft gingen und erst V. 9–11 von der Vergangenheit redeten; es ist ein trauriges Zeichen des Rückgangs des exegetischen Könnens in der Gegenwart, daß Sellin im Anschluß an Meinhold und Procksch den ganzen Umfang auf die Zukunft beziehen kann. Ein neues Nos Poloni non curamus, bei dem es sich nur nicht bloß um Längen und Kürzen, sondern um die Grundregeln der Grammatik handelt. Warum übersetzt aber Sellin bei dieser Auffassung das ולא שבתם עדי nicht gerade heraus: „Aber ihr werdet euch nicht zu mir bekehren", sondern „Aber ihr bekehrt euch nicht zu mir?" Freilich würde der Widersinn handgreiflich ans Licht treten, wenn Jahwe die immer sich wiederholende Unbußfertigkeit Israels gleichsam triumphierend voraussagte. Er beruft sich auf Jes. 9 7 ff., das auch Weissagung sei. Leider ist da Duhm mit dieser unmöglichen Auslegung vorausgegangen, während er hier bei Amos die richtige vertritt. Es handelt sich hier um einen recht üblen Versuch, den Zusammenhang mit V. 4 f. leichter, aber auch oberflächlicher zu verstehn. Nur um bereits verhängte Heimsuchungen, nur um bereits gemachte Erfahrungen mit der Unbußfertigkeit Israels kann es sich handeln, von denen jede weitere einen neuen Beweis für Jahwes Langmut liefert. Das Seitenstück dazu bilden, nach Inhalt und Form, gleiche Einleitung und Kehrvers, die drei ersten Visionen, 7 1–9, wo ebenfalls die erste und zweite Vergangenes schildern, die wiederholte Erfahrung der Barmherzigkeit und Langmut Jahwes. Daß die Zeit Jerobeams II. nichts von solchen Katastrophen erlebt habe, ist doch ein sehr kühner Schluß aus dem Stillschweigen unserer Geschichtsquellen, und Amos selbst als Zeugen dafür anzurufen noch kühner; konkretere Züge in des Propheten knappen Schilderungen zu fordern, die auf nichts ausgehn als den Wechsel in Jahwes Heimsuchungen hervorzuheben, besteht nicht das mindeste Recht. Die wirklich vorhandene,

auffallende Einsilbigkeit in seinen Sprüchen bleibt die gleiche, ob man sie von der Zukunft oder der Vergangenheit versteht. Sie besteht darin, daß Jahwe kein Wort von dem Zwecke sagt, den er mit seinen Heimsuchungen verfolgt hat, nämlich Israel kundzutun, daß er ihm wegen seiner Sünden zürnt, und es damit zu bußfertiger Umkehr zu mahnen. Daß dies Sinn und Abzielung seiner Heimsuchungen ist, im Gegensatz zu Israels Anschauungen, wie sie sich in V. 4 f. (5 4 ff., 21 ff.) äußern, wird zunächst als bekannt, als selbstverständlich vorausgesetzt, um dann aus dem Scheitern seiner gnädigen Schickungen in dem stets wiederkehrenden ולא שבתם עדי erst nachträglich sich zu offenbaren. Die grundlegende Erläuterung zu dieser herben Rede, die lockende Einladung gegenüber der strafenden Absage, bietet 5 4–6, 14 f., wo das Volk belehrt wird, wie man Jahwe zu suchen hat, wie man seiner Gegenwart und damit seines Erbarmens und Schutzes sich versichert.

V. 4 f. Das Fehlen des ו vor הגלגל (LXX καὶ) und הרבו vermehrt die Kraft der Rede; es ist deshalb nirgends zu ergänzen. Das gilt bei Amos vielfach. Dagegen sind die Suffixe in זבחיכם und מעשרתיכם gegen Sievers-G. und Nowack[3] durchaus festzuhalten: „eure Schlachtopfer“ hebt das Bewußtsein der Verpflichtung hervor. Natürlich „am (nächsten) Morgen“, „am dritten Tage“. — Lies קַטְּרוּ; das ו ist vom Ende an den Anfang geraten, LXX vereinigt beide Lesarten. — Aus dem Bestande des gesäuerten Brotes kann man keine תודה darbringen, und von der מִנְחָה zur תודה ist nicht die Rede. Es wird daher bei Wellhausens Erklärung nach Lv. 7 13 bleiben müssen, daß die תודה auf Fladen gesäuerten Brotes dargebracht, von ihnen in die Opferflamme geworfen wurde, das Brot aber dem Priester verblieb. Jedenfalls handelt es sich um ein Verfahren, das den Eifer, die Genauigkeit, die Großtuerei der Besucher des Wallfahrtsheiligtums in das rechte Licht stellt, wie das die ganze Schilderung beabsichtigt. Die *opera supererogationis* werden ausgerufen (Matth. 6 2; 23 5) und dadurch zugleich zum Mitgenuß eingeladen. Meinholds וְשַׁלְּמוּ nach Syr. klingt verlockend, ist aber überflüssig und schwächt nur ab. — Vernichtend ist die Ironie von 5 b, mit der Jahwe jede eigene Beteiligung ablehnt; ihr Seitenstück hat sie in dem וְאִכְלוּ בָשָׂר von Jer. 7 21. Daß

Sievers-G. und Nowack[3] den Halbvers m. c. streichen können, spricht nur ihren Voraussetzungen das Urteil. — V. 6. Mit Bewußtsein ist נתתי gewählt, um den Schein einer wertvollen Gabe zu erwecken; den ergänzenden Gegensatz bildet das מנעתי von V. 7. — נקיון שנים mag doch geradezu „Zähneunschuld, Schuldlosigkeit der Zähne“ heißen, mit dem Seitenblick auf das Raubtier, das mit den Zähnen Unheil stiftet. Vgl. Mi. 3 5. Daß die Übersetzungen קהיון verstanden, kann nicht wundernehmen. — Das auffallende, starke עדי (Hos. 14 2) statt des gewöhnlichen, selbstverständlichen אֵלַי will wohl eigens den gewaltigen Unterschied zwischen den Standesvisiten bei Jahwe, die man an den Heiligtümern abstattete, und dem wirklichen Durchdringen zu Jahwes persönlicher Gegenwart ausdrücken, wie er weiterhin zwischen 5 4, 6 einerseits und 5 5 anderseits und besonders scharf innerhalb 5 14 a hervorgehoben und ausgelegt wird. — V. 7 f. Dem Hunger folgt der Durst, und nur dieser. Eine Ablenkung auf Mißwachs, wie 7 b sie vollzieht, stößt sich mit V. 6 und V. 9. Daß eine Stadt Regen erhält, die andre nicht (7 a β), beruht auf falschem Verständnis von V. 8, wo jede dritte Stadt nicht darum Wasser hat, weil es dort geregnet hat, sondern weil sie eine stärkere, unversiegliche Quelle besitzt, die nun freilich auch für drei Städte nicht ausreicht. Richtig hat daher zuerst Giesebrecht 7 a β b von והמטרתי an als Zusatz gestrichen.[46] Falsch aber ist es, wenn Sievers-G. und Guthe bei Kautzsch auch 8 a noch hinzufügen, ebenso, wenn Marti und Duhm die zweite Hälfte 7 a α (בעוד וגו׳) ebenfalls streichen, Nowack gar beides. Die Zeitbestimmung בעוד bis לקציר ist so eigenartig, daß sich nicht erklären ließe, wie ein Interpolator darauf hätte kommen sollen; sie dürfte Sellin als einer der vermißten konkreteren Züge vorgehalten werden. Deutlich meint sie „als es noch drei Monate bis zur Ernte“, „als die Ernte noch drei Monate entfernt

[46] Aus den Zusätzen unter Ergänzung des Kehrverses einen neuen Absatz des Stücks zu gewinnen, so daß V. 7, 8 deren zwei hergeben, geht nicht an. So, ganz unmöglich, indem er Echtes mit Unechtem zusammenschließt, Löhr, der 7 a α b, 8 b eine erste, 7 a β, 8 a nebst Kehrvers eine zweite Strophe bilden läßt und dann beide als unecht ausscheidet; ferner Greßmann, der 7 a β b nebst Kehrvers voranschickt und die echten Teile folgen läßt. In der neuen Auflage hat er die Reihenfolge umgekehrt.

war". Die Spätregen vom Februar bis April sind also ausgeblieben, die der Ähre die Füllung und das Ausreifen, aber auch den Quellen und vor allem den Zisternen ihren Vorrat für den Sommer spenden müssen. Irrig übersetzt Wellhausen „bis drei Monate vor der Erntezeit", und nur des Metrums wegen stellt Guthe bei K.[4] her הגשם מֵעִתּוֹ וְעַד שׁ „von seiner Frist an und bis zu drei Monaten v. d. E." גשם ist keineswegs, wie beide voraussetzen, nur der Winterregen, der sogenannte Frühregen, sondern Regen, Regenguß überhaupt. — In 7 b ist mit LXX אַמטיר für תמטיר zu lesen; fragen darf man, ob nicht vor אשר oder an seiner Stelle אַחַת oder אַחֶרֶת gestanden hat. Mindestens wäre sonst הַחלקה zu verlangen. — V. 8. Nach der Prosa von 7 aβb tritt wieder die markige und schwungvolle Sprache des Amos ein. *Perfectum consecutivum* und *Imperfectum* sind natürlich die Tempora der Wiederholung: „Da wankten jedesmal zwei, drei Städte zu einer Stadt". ולא ישבעו hat zum Subjekt nicht die Städte selbst, sondern deren Bewohner; die Worte m. c. streichen (Duhm, Sellin), heißt wieder das Beste für ein Nichts fortwerfen. — V. 9. Für das unmögliche הרבות ist Wellhausens הֶחֱרַבְתִּי fast zu allgemeiner Annahme gelangt;[47] das wird dann aber doch nach Jes. 42 15 als „ich ließ verdorren" zu fassen sein und nicht „ich verwüstete", weil wir dabei das Mittel der Zerstörung neben den sonst jedesmal scharf genannten Schädlingen vermissen. Immer noch bleibt die Aussage neben der ersten und dritten etwas allgemein; aber durch Versetzung von כרמיכם (ohne ו) hinter בשדפון (Sievers-G.) kann man dem nicht abhelfen. — Der Vers zerlegt sich vor dem Kehrvers bis וביקון und וכרמיכם von selbst in drei genau gleich lange Zeilen; zu Kürzungen (Sievers-G., Duhm) besteht kein Anlaß, vielmehr liegt möglichste Mannigfaltigkeit der Schäden und Erschöpfung der bedrohten Bereiche durchaus in der Abzielung dieses Abschnitts. — יאכל „fraß immer wieder"; man darf sich erinnern, wie den Schwärmen der ausgewachsenen Heuschrecken ihre Brut zu folgen pflegt. — V. 10. Unerträglich ist hier die Vermengung der Plage der Pest mit der des Krieges; nur eine kann ursprünglich

[47] Das von Ehrlich mit großer Zuversicht gebotene תַּרְבּוּת wird durch die einzige Stelle Num. 32 14 nicht empfohlen, und jedenfalls bedarf es hier eines Verbs.

sein, und das ist nach Anfang und Schluß die Pest. Ganz falsch stellen also Duhm und Sellin durch große Streichungen die erstere her, richtig Marti, Sievers-G., Nowack[3] die zweite. Die Verderbnis ist aber weit geringer als sie annehmen; nur בחרב ist als Dittographie des folgenden בחוריכם zu streichen. — Natürlich kann von einer „Gefangenführung" der Rosse nicht die Rede sein; für שבי scheint mir Zeijdners צְבִי vor dem מֹבֵי Ehrlichs den Vorzug zu verdienen. Das ו vor באפכם hat schon Wellhausen richtig gestrichen; בָּאֵשׁ statt בְּאֵשׁ zu sprechen (Duhm, Gressmann, Sellin) ist kein guter Einfall. Die Pest ist im Kriegslager ausgebrochen, unter Menschen und Rossen; vielleicht wäre auch das Sellin als einer der vermißten konkreteren Züge zu empfehlen. — Natürlich wäre בדרך מצרים dem Sinne nach leicht zu entbehren, wie es der Form nach verdächtig ist aus Jes. 10 24, 26 entlehnt zu sein. Aber ganz von selbst ergibt sich aus בדרכ durch Umstellung כְּדֶבֶר, und das wird durch Dtn. 7 15; 28 60, vgl. V. 27, durchaus gerechtfertigt. Vier ganz leichte Änderungen genügen also, aus dem Verse einen vortrefflichen, völlig unverdächtigen Wortlaut zu gewinnen. — V. 11. Der Vergleich mit dem Schicksal Sodoms und Gomorras und der Gebrauch des Verbum הפך erhebt es doch zur Gewißheit, daß hier vom Erdbeben die Rede ist, natürlich nicht von dem in 1 1 angezogenen. Für Kriegsnot (Marti) würden ganz andere, bezeichnende Wendungen gebraucht sein und das Bild von dem Brandscheit kann auf jederlei Plage gehn. Vermißt man in dieser Reihe das Schwert, so könnte man allenfalls diese Lücke einer Unvollständigkeit des ganzen Stücks zur Last legen, sollte aber doch auch bedenken, daß Jerobeam II. ein vom Kriegsglück begünstigter Herrscher war (2 Kön. 14 25–27), unter dessen langer Regierung, die Amos hier wohl allein ins Auge faßt, schwerere Leiden durch den Krieg gewiß nicht zu verzeichnen waren. So wird das Schwert in dieser Reihe ausnahmsweise von Anfang an gefehlt haben. Das ist wieder einer der konkreteren Züge, die Sellin vermißt; schwer dürfte es ihm werden, die Lücke bei seiner Verlegung der Reihe in die Zukunft zu erklären. — a α bis עמרה kann nicht eine einzige Zeile bilden; schließt man aber eine erste mit בכם, so bleibt die zweite immer noch reichlich

lang und die Ungleichheit gar zu groß. Durch Streichung von את־סדם ואת־עמרה nur eine einzige Zeile zu gewinnen (Sievers-G., Sellin), geht doch nicht an, da das „Gottesbeben" ohne die volle herkömmliche Formel (vgl. Jes. 13 19; Jer. 50 40) im Munde Jahwes doppelt unwahrscheinlich wird. Eher mag man dann mit Nowack[3] nur כמהפכת סדם stehn lassen. Das Fehlen von Gomorra hätte an Jes. 1 7 (in der Herstellung) sein Seitenstück. Aber besser wird man doch bei zwei Zeilen bleiben, und am meisten empfiehlt sich dann für die zweite Martis כמהפכת סדם ועמרה, die kürzere Formel von Dtn. 29 22; Jer. 49 18, die dann ein eifriger Schriftgelehrter auf die volle, feierliche Länge ergänzt hätte. Am sichersten aber scheint mir, daß vor כמהפכת das Objekt מַהֲפֵכָה zu הפכתי durch Übersehen ausgefallen ist; durch seine Herstellung wird die Zeile erst zum vollen Gleichgewicht mit der folgenden ergänzt. — Den Wortlaut des Verses im großen anzuzweifeln und nur ein paar Zeilenanfänge übrig zu lassen, wie Duhm tut, ist kein Anlaß, selbst wenn man meint annehmen zu dürfen, daß es mit dem Erdbeben nicht gar so schlimm könne gewesen sein; wir müssen Amos überlassen, wie weit er steigern oder übertreiben will. Noch weniger hat Ehrlich ein Recht, die ganze Plage zu streichen, weil ihm der Kehrvers zu häufig wiederkehrt. — V. 12. Daß hier Verwirrung herrscht, ist längst und allgemein anerkannt; sie ist aber wohl nicht so hoffnungslos, wie man anzunehmen pflegt. Oberflächlich gesehen fehlt zwischen a und b α die Hauptsache, die Fassung der Strafansage; denn a sagt „so will ich an dir tun", und b α greift mit „weil ich dies an dir tun werde" auf die leere Stelle zurück. Aber b α ist in seiner überlieferten Gestalt sinnlos, weil in b β eine Aufforderung an Israel darauf folgt: „Halte dich bereit usw."; auch עקב כי „zum Lohn dafür, daß" verlangt ein Handeln Israels, nicht Jahwes. Die erste Berichtigung muß also sein תַּעֲשֶׂה־לִּי oder עָשִׂיתָ־לִּי „zum Lohne dafür, daß du mir dies angetan hast" oder „antust". Darauf erst kann die Strafansage folgen; sie ist daher in 12 a noch nicht am Platze. Diese Stelle kann vielmehr nur durch eine Einführung der Rede Jahwes ausgefüllt werden, etwa לכן כה אָמַר [אֲדֹנָי] יהוה; ist das ישראל am Ende ursprünglich, so würde 5 4 a mit לכן statt כִּי genau ergeben, was hierher gehört. Die überlieferte Entstellung würde sich am

leichtesten so erklären, daß אָמַר יהוה לְבֵית aus dem schon verdorbenen Wortlaut von b α durch אעשה־לך ersetzt wäre, wohl bloß aus Versehen. Sellins Herstellung, כָּלָה statt כה und dann לָכֶם ohne ישראל (?) oder bloß ישראל ohne לך, bricht mit der Tür ins Haus, und die Fortsetzung durch 3 14 b, die Sellin annimmt, macht sie nicht wahrscheinlicher. — In 12 b β ist das הכון durch Ex. 34 2; Jos. 8 4; Hes. 38 7 gut gestützt, das לקראת aber genügt doch nicht für den Sinn „deinem Gotte zu begegnen". Zu erwarten wäre לקראת בוא (oder לקראת לָבוֹא?, vgl. Ex. 19 17), oder לִקְרַבַת (Jer. 58 2; Ps. 73 28), am leichtesten und besten vielleicht לִרְאֹת: „halte dich bereit, deinen Gott zu sehen", „für deines Gottes Erscheinung". Das könnte aus Scheu geändert sein, wie sonst in לְהֵרָאֹת. Aber natürlich muß die Wahl freigegeben werden, nicht nur zwischen den hier vorgeschlagenen Herstellungen. Wählt man aber eine von diesen, so ließe sich sogar die Fortsetzung durch V. 13 festhalten, in dem Sinne, daß es furchtbar ist, dem Schöpfer und Herrn der ganzen Welt zu begegnen, und daß der auch die Macht hat, die Strafe für Israels Vergehungen im ganzen Umfang zu vollziehen. — V. 13. Vor הנה ist כי überflüssig und möchte mit Sievers-G. gestrichen werden. Aber hält man הנה fest, so besteht die Aussage von V. 13 nur in b, darin, daß „Jahwe der Gott der Heerscharen" der Name des Gottes Israels, des Schöpfers und Erhalters der ganzen Welt, ist. Dieser Sinn befriedigt nicht; vielmehr muß die Aussage, das Prädikat, in a gesucht werden, und b bietet nur eine zweite, verhältnismäßig nebensächliche. Lies also הוא statt הנה — besser als hinter הנה (Sievers-G.) oder יהוה ebendort (Nowack[3]) — und behalte כי. — Mit LXX רַעַם für הרים und וְעֵיפָה für עיפה zu lesen, empfiehlt sich durchaus. Auffallend ist die Zwischenzeile ומגיד לאדם מה־שחו, weil sie von dem kosmischen Handeln Jahwes so völlig ableitet;[48] man wird darin לָאָדָם zu sprechen haben, und des Targum Lesart מַעֲשֵׂהוּ für מה־שחו hat allerlei für sich, ohne den Sinn wesentlich zu ändern. Jedenfalls ist sie besser als Oettlis מִשְׁפָּטוֹ. Aber Oettlis Vorschlag,

[48] Hoffmanns Vorschlag שחור [?מַי] לְאַדְמָה, den sich Duhm aneignet und ferner Greßmann, indem er obendrein den Nil an den Himmel versetzt, so daß es sich einfach um den Regen handelte und um die Entlehnung eines ägyptisch-jüdischen Hymnus, ist doch nicht überzeugend.

die ganze Zeile als Zusatz zu streichen, ist sehr zu erwägen; sie klingt stark an die Glosse 3 7 an. — Der Vers hat als Doxologie auf den Schöpfergott bekanntlich seine Seitenstücke an 5 8 f. und 9 5 f. Leichter als an jenen beiden Stellen gelingt es, wie zu V. 12 gezeigt wurde, einen Zusammenhang mit dem Vorhergehenden herzustellen. Aber der ursprüngliche Abschluß wird damit doch schwerlich gewonnen, und so wird wohl auch hier anzunehmen sein, daß eine Textlücke später durch zeitgemäße Spekulationen ausgefüllt wurde. Die Lücke aber, wohl erst hinter V. 12, begreift sich am leichtesten mit Greßmann: die Drohung, mit der Amos geschlossen, sei so entsetzlich gewesen, daß „eine Feder sich gesträubt habe sie abzuschreiben."

VI. DAS KLAGELIED ÜBER DIE JUNGFRAU ISRAEL

In 5 1–3 haben wir das älteste prophetische Klagelied und zugleich die älteste uns erhalten gebliebene dichterische Darstellung Israels als einer weiblichen Persönlichkeit. Beides ist von da an bei den Schriftpropheten in dauerndem Gebrauch geblieben. Für das prophetische Klagelied darf ich auf meinen Aufsatz in ZATW II, 1882, S. 1 ff. verweisen (vgl. dort insbesondere S. 30), sowie auf die geschichtliche Zusammenfassung der Erscheinung in dem Aufsatz „The folk-song of Israel in the mouth of the prophets" (The New World 1893, March), deutsch "Das Volkslied Israels im Munde der Propheten" (Preußische Jahrbücher, Bd. 73, 3, 1893). Es bleibt dabei, daß der hinkende Vers von 3 : 2 Hebungen, wie er hier in V. 2 zum ersten Male vorliegt, ursprünglich das Maß des Leichenklagelieds der Weiber (Jer. 9 16) gewesen ist, so weite Verwendung der volkstümliche Vers auch in späterer Zeit gefunden haben mag. Die Propheten haben diese Maße, Klänge und Bilder den Klageweibern aus dem Munde genommen, um ihrer Unheilspredigt stärkere Wirkung zu sichern. Wenn Duhm insbesondere unserem Liede die Eigenschaft der קינה (Totenklage) absprechen will, weil Israel gar nicht als gestorben bezeichnet werde, sondern nur schwer verwundet sei und keine Freunde finde, die ihm aufhelfen, so

ist das doch ein Irrtum. „Sie ist gefallen, um nicht wieder aufzustehn", heißt „sie ist tot", und wenn nach V. 3, auf den Duhm sich beruft, von tausend Männern hundert, von hundert zehn am Leben bleiben, so sind das Leute, kein Volk, und so ist das Volk als solches dann dennoch tot. Bestreitet man aber dem hinkenden Vers den Namen Ḳina-Vers, weil V. 16 f. diesen Tonfall vermissen lassen, so ist zu erwidern, daß diese Verse kein Klagelied sind, sondern nur die Leichenklage für eine zukünftige Zeit ansagen, ohne den Wortlaut der dann zu singenden Klagelieder anzuführen. Daß auch solcher Inhalt in die Form des Klagelieds gekleidet werden könnte, wie sie denn etwa 8 9 f. wenigstens anklingt, soll nicht geleugnet werden; aber verbindlich ist sie dafür nicht.

V. 1 enthält nur die Einführung, zunächst mit der blassen Wendung שמעו את־הדבר הזה, die uns schon von 3 1 und 4 1 her geläufig ist. Als ursprünglich erwies sie sich in 3 1; schon in 4 1 erkannten wir an ihr künstliche Mache, die den Einschnitt kennzeichnen wollte; auch hier dürfte die gleiche Hand in gleicher Absicht an der Arbeit gewesen sein. Denn die Bezeichnung קינה hinkt als Prädikatsakkusativ, „das Wort, das ich über euch als Klagelied anhebe" übel nach;[49] dazu wird נשא zwar mit קינה regelmäßig verbunden, daneben auch mit מָשָׁל, מַשָּׂא, אָלָה, תְּפִלָּה usw., niemals aber mit dem schlichten דבר. Deshalb ist auch nicht so zu helfen, daß man mit Duhm, vgl. oben, קינה als Randbemerkung eines Lesers streicht; vielmehr wird הַקִּינָה an seiner ursprünglichen Stelle von dem Überarbeiter durch הדבר הזה ersetzt sein: „Höret das Klagelied, das ich über euch anstimme, Haus Israel!" Der Überarbeiter selbst mag dann das Wort an seiner jetzigen Stelle nachgetragen haben. — V. 2. In dem zweiten Verse ist die erste Zeile etwas kurz, schwer mit drei Hebungen zu lesen; fast möchte man das Partizipium נִטְּשָׁה sprechen und dahinter ein הִיא übersehen sein lassen; es wäre geeigneter zur Fortsetzung der mit נפלה ausgedrückten Handlung als das neue Perfektum נִטְּשָׁה. — V. 3. Unter Streichung der neuen Einführung a α hat man

[49] Wellhausens „wie ich den Klaggesang über euch anhebe" (אשר als Adverb, bzw. Konjunktion gefaßt) will dieser Härte abhelfen, ist aber doch nur geeignet, sie festzustellen.

neuerdings aus diesem Verse fast allgemein zwei weitere Klageliedverse gewinnen wollen, am leichtesten, indem man b mit והָעִיר היצאת begann und לבית ישראל am Ende strich.[50] Man sah dann meistens darin einfach die Fortsetzung des Liedes V. 2. Aber das ist doch nicht zulässig. V. 2 versetzt uns in die Zukunft, vor die Leiche, wie es das Klagelied muß; V. 3 aber läßt uns in der Gegenwart und sagt die Hergänge voraus, durch die der Tod Israels in zukünftiger Zeit herbeigeführt werden wird. Die beiden Stücke in einem Klageliede zu vereinigen, oder auch nur V. 3 als ein neues Klagelied zu fassen (so Gressmann), ist also ganz unmöglich. Vielmehr begründet der Gottesspruch V. 3, ganz wie die Einführung es sagt, das Klagelied, das der Prophet in V. 2 gesungen hat, und tut dies in durchaus zwanglosem Tonfall. Sogar לבית ישראל kann als richtige Erläuterung ursprünglich sein, wenn man es auch lieber hinter מאה läse. — תִּשְׁאֵר zu sprechen (Ehrlich, Sellin) ist kein Anlaß; „sie behält übrig, sie rettet“ ist durch תשאיר richtig ausgedrückt.

VII. VOM RECHTEN UND FALSCHEN SUCHEN JAHWES

Der Rest des fünften Kapitels setzt in seinem Grundbestande den Gegenstand von Kap. 4 4 ff. so augenfällig fort, daß man durchaus Absicht darin erkennen muß. Damit aber unterbricht das kurze Stück 5 1–3 den gewollten Zusammenhang, und man wird sich fragen müssen, ob das ursprünglich sein kann, und wenn nicht, welche Überlegung es an diese Stelle mag gebracht haben. Am nächsten scheint mir die Annahme zu liegen, daß das Klagelied über Israel hierhergezogen wurde, um durch seine schmerzlichen Klänge die furchtbar harte Strafandrohung anzudeuten und zu ersetzen, die am Ende des vorigen Stücks unterdrückt ist. Besonders stark machen sich in Kap. 5 Verwerfungen geltend, die auf Schicksale des Textes zurückgehn

[50] Sellin liest 2 b und 3 b mit 2:2 Hebungen und sieht, auch nach seiner Anmerkung zu 3 12 (S. 177), in „abwechselnd 3:2 und 2:2 Hebungen“ das „Qinametrum“, den „Qinarhythmus“. Man darf auf weitere Begründung dieser Meinung gespannt sein.

müssen. Es ist Martis Verdienst, dies zuerst klar erkannt zu haben. Es fehlt jede Verbindung zwischen V. 6 und V. 7, zwischen V. 7 und V. 8, zwischen V. 9 und V. 10, zwischen V. 13 und V. 14. Dagegen suchen sich V. 7 und V. 10 über die Doxologie V. 8, 9 hinweg, die noch weit störender als 4 13 (und selbst als 9 5 f.) sich unvermittelt in den Zusammenhang eindrängt, und ebenso suchen sich V. 6 und V. 14 über V. 7, 10 ff. samt der Doxologie. Im allgemeinen ergeben sich nach dem Gegenstand ebenso wie nach Stimmung und Ausgang zwei Reihen, nach deren Ablauf noch einige Stücke sich finden, die in eigentümlicher Weise eine Zwischenstellung einnehmen. Die erste Reihe, V. 4–6, 14 f., setzt den Gegenstand von 4 4 ff. fort, das falsche Suchen Jahwes im Kult gegenüber der rechten Art ihn zu suchen und zu finden, nur daß Stimmung und Ausgang hier freundlicher sind: eine wohlwollende, gütige Belehrung und die Aussicht auf einen glücklichen oder doch glimpflichen Ausgang. Die andre Reihe, V. 7, 10–13, brandmarkt den sündigen Wandel der Vornehmen, die Vergewaltigung der Geringen, die den Gegenstand von 2 6–9; 3 9—4 3 bildete, und läuft schon in V. 12 in ein unbedingtes Strafurteil aus. Leicht würden sich V. 16 f., die mit ihrem לכן (vgl. V. 11) den Anschluß nach rückwärts suchen, als dessen Fortsetzung anschließen; aber beachtenswert ist, daß V. 17 b in eigenartiger Weise die Weise der anderen Reihe erklingen läßt, die wirkliche Gegenwart Jahwes inmitten seines Volkes. Und wieder tritt auch in V. 18–20 in dem Verlangen nach dem Tage Jahwes dasselbe Motiv uns entgegen, und nicht übel würde sich das Stück als gegensätzliches Seitenstück an V. 4–6, 14 f. anschließen lassen. Aber kaum minder gut fände dies Stück in der andren Reihe, zwischen V. 13 und V. 16, seine Stelle, zumal es in Stimmung und Ausgang sich an sie viel besser anschließt. V. 21 ff. endlich behandelt durchaus den Gegenstand der ersten Reihe, falsches (V. 21–23, 25 f.) und rechtes (V. 24) Suchen Jahwes; aber Stimmung und Ausgang (V. 27) entsprechen durchaus der andren, so daß dieses Stück doch nicht als Fortsetzung an V. 15 angeschlossen werden darf, sondern als selbständige Rede daneben gerückt sein wird. Der Tatbestand erklärt sich am leichtesten durch rein mechanische Ursachen, eine „Unfallshandschrift“ etwa, wie sie Bickell für Koheleth annahm, hier

eine solche von zwei Spalten, deren Abschreiber voreilig in die zweite übergegangen wäre, oder umgekehrt. Aber das Experiment darauf zu liefern wäre eine undankbare Aufgabe; der Ausleger wird sich darauf beschränken müssen, die Fugen richtig zu bestimmen und ursprünglichen Zusammenhängen nach Möglichkeit nachzugehn, wie das oben versucht ist.

V. 4–6, 14, 15. Zweifellos ein neuer Anfang. Von der Einführung 4 a ist mindestens das כי nicht am Platze, weil Anknüpfung an V. 1–3 unmöglich ist. Es wird hinzugesetzt sein, als 5 1–3 seine Stelle hier in Anspruch nahm. Die ganze Einführungsformel als späteren Zusatz zu streichen oder anderswo zu verwerten, wie seit Meinhold und Marti die meisten Neueren sich entscheiden, ist doch nicht so leicht, weil der Übergang von der Rede Jahwes zu der des Amos in V. 6 eine vorherige Einführung Jahwes als des Redenden doch wohl erfordert. Metrische Gründe können nicht den Ausschlag geben, weil selbst bei scharfem Metrum solche Formeln nicht brauchen mitgemessen zu sein. — דרשוני וחיו: der ganze Katechismus in zwei Worten, unerfindbar und unnachahmlich, von einzigartiger, schlagender Wirkung. Daß Sievers-G., Guthe und Nowack[3] sie samt dem ו vor V. 5 mit der Einführungsformel verschwinden lassen, spricht ihren metrischen Forderungen vollends das Urteil. Man lese die ausführliche Rechtfertigung dafür, auch durch andere Gründe, bei Nowack; aber er vergißt dabei, daß דרש mit dem Wallfahrtsort als Objekt sonst nirgends vorkommt, vielmehr in dem אל־תדרשו בית־אל aus dem דרשונו nur für unsre Stelle gegensätzlich entnommen ist, dessen Vorhergehn also voraussetzt. — V. 5. Weil Beerseba in b keinen Spruch erhält, hat Löhr 5 a γ gestrichen. Mit mehr Recht sprechen Marti und andere nach ihm b dem Amos ab, trotz des kräftigen Lautspiels und Sinnspiels auf die Namen Gilgal und Bethel. Denn in der Tat soll man nicht deshalb Gilgal meiden, weil es der Verbannung verfallen wird, sondern weil man Jahwe dort nicht findet; auch schließt sich V. 6 weit besser an 5 a an als an 5 b. — Beachtenswert sind die maskulinischen Verbalformen nach den Städtenamen; גלגל und בית sind damit als Begriffswerte behandelt. Fragen kann man, ob לבֵית און und damit der volle Schimpfname Bethels herzustellen ist; aber auch „das Haus Gottes wird des

Götzen[51] werden" gibt einen guten Sinn. — V. 6. Duhm will דִּרְשׁוּנִי wiederholen und auch V. 6 noch von Jahwe sprechen lassen. Wäre das richtig, so würde sich das überlieferte דרשו את־יהוה leichter als falsche Auflösung von דִּרְשׁוּ אֹתִי erklären, und das könnte als nachdrücklicher Gegensatz zu „Suchet nicht Bethel" gewählt sein, wie denn eine neue Fassung dem דרשוני von 4 b gegenüber entschieden erwünscht ist. Freilich kann Duhm das für seine zweihebigen Zeilen nicht brauchen; gerade um ihretwillen ändert er ja vornehmlich. Aber die Überlieferung wird richtig von V. 6 an Amos das Wort erteilen, in dessen Mund die Warnung mit פן weit besser paßt. — An dem schwierigen יצלח כאש בית יוסף ist sicher das כ des Vergleichs falsch; denn ואכלה setzt das Feuer als wirkliches voraus. Die Wendung ist daher die gleiche wie 1 4, 7, 10, 12; 2 2, und deshalb wird Wellhausens Verbesserung ישלח אש בְּבית — natürlich spricht er יִשְׁלַח und nicht, wie überall angeführt wird, יִשְׁלַח — allen andren Vorschlägen vorzuziehen sein. Die Bedeutung „zünden" (Jes. Sir. 8 10) dürfte צלח erst aus unserer Stelle gewonnen haben. — Für לביתאל wird man zunächst nach LXX לבית יִשְׂרָאֵל zu lesen haben; aber das ist gewiß hier nicht ursprünglich. Allenfalls könnte man es ohne das ל hinter ואכלה einfügen; aber da der Anfang von V. 7 sicher unvollständig ist, kann es ebensogut, wie Duhm und Hans Schmidt voraussetzen, den Rest einer Einführung zu diesem Verse darstellen. — V. 14 schließt unmittelbar an V. 6 an, der dritte Schritt nach 4 b und 6 a, immer noch mit dem וחיו, aber jetzt mit der entscheidenden Erklärung, daß Jahwe suchen und das Gute suchen — nicht „Gutes", wie Duhm übersetzt — dasselbe und daß man damit seiner Gegenwart sicher sei. Das כאשר אמרתם, „wie ihrs [jetzt] meint", hat sein Seitenstück an dem כי כן אהבתם von 4 5. Den Vers für unecht erklären, wie Löhr, Volz, früher Nowack, sich entscheiden, heißt das wertvollste Gut preisgeben. Nur אלהי צבאות dürfte hier mit Recht von vielen gestrichen werden; die Aussage ist mit יהוה allein überzeugender, da es sich um den persönlichen Verkehr mit Jahwe handelt. — V. 15. Der vierte und letzte Schritt, ebenso unmittelbar an

[51] Das bedeutet אן hier zweifellos, was immer seine ursprüngliche Bedeutung sein möge.

V. 14 anschließend, wie dieser von V. 6, das Suchen und sein Gegenteil in Hassen und Lieben aufgelöst, das Erstere vorangestellt, für das Zweite der Tatbeweis in dem Hauptstück gerechten Gerichts verlangt, die Möglichkeit des Entrinnens daran geknüpft. Die Seitenstücke, die Beweise für des Amos Gedankenkreis und Sprache finden sich in V. 7 und 10, die שארית יוסף kann nach 4 11 in keiner Weise überraschen. Der tröstliche Ausblick des zweiten Halbverses bildet das erwünschte Gegengewicht zu der Warnung von 6 b. — V. 14, 15 zwischen V. 11 und 12 einschieben (Sellin) heißt beide Stücke aufs schwerste schädigen.

V. 7, 10–13. Das ההפכים zu Eingang sollte, da es kein Prädikat hat, als kennzeichnende Apposition an ein vorhergehendes Nomen oder Pronomen anschließen, wie wir das öfter, z. B. 2 7; 4 1, gefunden haben.[52] Dieser Anschluß fehlt hier durchaus; allenfalls möchte man ihn bei der LXX-Lesart לבית יִשְׂרָאֵל aus diesem und dem parallelen בית יוסף, oder, wenn man jenes gestrichen, aus diesem letzteren allein herauslesen, aber die Kennzeichnung würde dann seltsam nachhinken, und obendrein stieße sich der Satz 6 b mit der Schlußfolgerung zu V. 7, 10, die erst in V. 11 gezogen wird. Das letztere Bedenken fällt fort, wenn man mit Duhm und Hans Schmidt vor dem Verse ein כה אמר אדני יהוה לבית ישראל ergänzt, das Duhm aus V. 3 gewinnen will. Aber dann fallen V. 7 und 10 noch als Apposition in diese Einführung, was sehr schleppend wirkt und sich schlecht mit dem Pathos ihres Wortlauts verträgt; außerdem muß, was keiner von beiden hervorhebt, das לכן zu Anfang von V. 11 gestrichen werden. Will man daher die Lücke nicht offen lassen und einen ganzen Satz ausgefallen denken, für dessen Wortlaut gar kein Anhalt vorliegt, so wird man am besten tun, mit G. A. Smith, Marti usw., nur ein הוי vor V. 7 zu ergänzen, vgl. V. 18; 6 1, das dann das logische Prädikat zu ההפכים abgibt[53] und dessen Ausfall davor sich leicht erklärt. Ich hatte diese Herstellung längst für mich vollzogen, ehe sie im Druck vorgeschlagen wurde. — V. 7. Man hat stets auf die Übereinstimmung von 7 a mit 6 12 hingewiesen;

[52] Wellhausens „Sie verkehren in Wermut das Recht," wozu der Kommentar eine Anmerkung vermissen läßt, würde הַפְכִים הֵם oder הָפְכוּ verlangen.

[53] In dem הוי steckt also die von Ehrlich vermißte Aussage.

aber nirgend finde ich die Lesart der LXX erwähnt, durch die das bezeichnendste gemeinsame Wort beseitigt würde. Sie gibt לְלַעֲנָה mit εἰς ὕψος wieder, hebräisch לְמַעֲלָה (vgl. 1 Chron. 14 2). Natürlich kann das leicht verlesen sein; aber es verdient doch Beachtung, daß in 6 12 richtig εἰς πικρίαν verstanden ist, daß sich Richt. 7 13 הפך למעלה wirklich findet, und daß „die Gerechtigkeit auf den Kopf stellen" nicht nur guten Sinn gibt, sondern auch erst das rechte Seitenstück zu הניח לארץ (vgl. Jes. 28 2 und das Gegenteil zu beiden הָצִיג מִשְׁפָּט in V. 15) bildet. Ich muß deshalb לְמַעֲלָה für richtig halten und in לְלַעֲנָה Verderbnis oder Verschlimmbesserung nach 6 12 sehen. — V. 10 schließt ebenso lückenlos an V. 7 an wie V. 14 an V. 6; das שנאו nimmt das הניחו unmittelbar auf. — בשער genau wie in V. 15. — תָּמִים scheint von den Punktatoren wie an vielen Stellen als Abstraktum, „Wahrheit", gefaßt zu sein; in diesem Sinne wird man aber wohl überall תְּמִים (so hier G. Hoffmann) sprechen müssen, was dann von den Punktatoren des priesterlichen Orakels wegen vermieden sein dürfte. Marti hält die Vokale beider Worte durch seine ansprechende Übersetzung „Fürsprech des Schuldlosen" fest; aber דִּבֵּר läßt sich in diesem Sinne doch nicht wohl halten. LXX λόγον ὅσιον sprechen דָּבָר תמים „fehlloses, wahres Wort", Wellhausen denkt an דִּבַּר תמים, was vielleicht das Beste ist. — V. 11. Die Rede geht von der dritten Person der Angeklagten zu ihrer Anrede über, wie das auch anderwärts beobachtet wurde, vgl. 2 9, 10. Über בּוֹסְכֶם für בושסכם (Wellhausen) sind alle einverstanden. Dahinter klingt der Vorwurf des Erhebens der Kornabgabe etwas schwach, aber ich weiß keinen Vorschlag dafür; mit der Streichung von בר und dem Plural מַשְׂאֹת (Sievers-G., Nowack[3] m. c.) wird nichts gebessert. — V. 12. Die neue Begründung hat nichts Auffälliges, und es ist nur eine Verlegenheitsauskunft, das כי als „ja, fürwahr" zu fassen (Sellin). — Wieder ist Wellhausens Verbesserung חַטָּאֵיכֶם allgemein gebilligt. — צֶדֶק für צדיק (Duhm m. c.) ist gegen den Sprachgebrauch und den Zusammenhang. — Sollte לקחי aus לָקַחַת verlesen sein? — Auffallend ist הטה mit dem Objekt der Person; doch möchte sich die Auslassung des מִשְׁפַּט vor אביונים durch בשער rechtfertigen lassen. — Für הטו wird man תַּטּוּ einsetzen müssen, weil die Schuldigen angeredet

sind; auch ist das Imperfektum dem Perfektum weitaus vorzuziehen. — V. 13. Der Vers ist jedenfalls für den Zusammenhang überflüssig, daher leicht zu streichen, und so entscheiden denn die meisten Neueren. Aber die Schwierigkeit stellt sich damit erst ein, nämlich eine auch nur einigermaßen einleuchtende Erklärung für die Entstehung des Verses zu bieten. So ist es auch leicht zu sagen, בעת ההיא heiße „zu jener Zeit", nicht „zu solcher Zeit", beziehe sich also auf die Zukunft, die Zeit des Gerichts; aber die Aussage, daß, wer klug sei, dann schweigen werde,[54] klingt sehr wunderlich, zumal dem Gericht der eschatologischen Zeit gegenüber das Schweigen schwerlich zu etwas nütze wäre. Anderseits braucht man dem Leser doch nicht erst zu sagen, daß Amos sich selbst zu den Klugen nicht rechnet, sie vielmehr ausdrücklich von sich unterscheidet; daß er also durchaus nicht etwa zum Schweigen rät, sondern nur der Erfahrung gemäß neben Vergewaltiger und Vergewaltigte die dritte Klasse derer stellt, die eigennützig geschickt sich vor Schaden zu sichern wissen. Daß לכן sonst von Amos verwendet wird, um Strafandrohungen einzuführen, ist ebenso wahr, wie daß es „darum" heißt und überall stehn wird, wo eine Begründung mit diesem Wort am Platze ist. Nur soviel wird man sagen dürfen, daß V. 13 nicht am Platze ist, wenn sich V. 16 f. mit ihrem לכן der Unheilsansage bei Amos unmittelbar anschlossen; aber das ist auch recht unwahrscheinlich, weil die Strafansage für die hier angeklagten Übeltäter bereits in V. 11 erfolgt ist, und in viel geeigneterer Gestalt, als sie V. 16 f. für diesen besonderen Fall darbieten würden. Ich vermag deshalb nicht abzusehen, warum man V. 13 dem Amos absprechen müßte.

V. 8, 9. Die Apposition עשה schließt an V. 7 ebensowenig an wie V. 7 an V. 6; sie verlangt vor sich die Nennung Jahwes, vielleicht eine möglichst feierliche und volltönende. Dergleichen findet sich in V. 14, 15, 16, 27, und so mag man die Wahl haben, wo man die Doxologie V. 8, 9 anhängen will; am leichtesten gäbe sich V. 27 dazu her, weil er mit dem Gottesnamen schließt. Guthe ergänzt vor V. 8 וַאדֹנָי יהוה צְבָאוֹת. In jedem Falle aber rühren

[54] Sellins Gedanke, ידם als Niphal zu punktieren und zu übersetzen „er wird vertilgt", läßt sich nicht ernsthaft vertreten.

die Verse — darüber sind die Neueren ziemlich einig — nicht von Amos her; vielmehr handelt es sich um fremdes Gut von späterer Hand, sei es die Randbemerkung eines andächtigen Lesers oder Abschreibers, sei es die Ausfüllung einer zufälligen Lücke. Hier passen die Verse noch schlechter als die Seitenstücke 4 13 und 9 5 f. an ihrer Stelle. — V. 8. לְלַיְלָה durch Wiederholung des ל wird sich nicht vermeiden lassen, obgleich das εἰς der LXX kein sicherer Beweis dafür ist. So Sievers-G. usw. m. c. Für החשיך erwartet man יַחשיך, da es sich doch um das tägliche Walten Jahwes, nicht um ein einmaliges Schaffen handelt. — Sellin's הַשָּׁמַיִם für הים ist verfehlt,[55] nicht nur, weil מֵי השמים beispiellos ist, sondern auch, weil Jahwe die himmlischen Wasser nicht erst herbeizurufen braucht, sondern sie aus seiner Gegenwart auf die Erde hinabsendet. Dennoch ist, was Sellin will, sachlich richtig; denn gemeint ist, daß Jahwe das Meereswasser — durch Verdunstung, vgl. Hi. 36 27 f. — als Wolken zum Himmel hinauf entbietet und dann von dort aus über die Erde ausschüttet. — Sprich וְיִשְׁפְּכֵם. — Ob יהוה שמו so alt ist wie der übrige Vers, ist eine Frage, die nur den Metriker angeht. Sievers-G. usw. schieben צבאות dazwischen ein. — V. 9 bietet in den astronomischen Lesarten G. Hoffmanns (zweimal שׁר statt שׁד, עֹז statt עֹז, מַבְצָר statt מִבְצָר, eins der entmutigendsten Beispiele dafür, wie uns die unvokalisierte hebräische Schrift zu Narren halten kann. Immerhin wäre doch noch der Beweis zu erwarten, daß die Sternnamen taurus, capella, vindemiator auf das Semitische zurückgehn und in so alte Zeit hinaufreichen. Aber auch an sich ist wenig Anlaß, dieses Verständnis in den Text aufzunehmen und dann etwa umzustellen 8 a, 9, 8 b, wie Sievers-G., Guthe bei Kautzsch[3], Nowack[3], Greßmann[2] sich dazu entschließen, während Guthe-K.[4] darauf verzichtet und V. 9 für Zusatz zum Zusatz hält. — Unwahrscheinlich klingt המבליג; מַפִּיל (Marti) oder מַפְלִיא (Oort) mag dafür in Betracht kommen, zumal LXX מפליג wiedergibt. Da LXX für das wiederholte שד zwei verschiedene Wiedergaben bietet, mag man mit Marti für das eine שֶׁבֶר einsetzen, aber besser wohl für das erste, des

[55] Greßmann[2] erreicht dasselbe, indem er in הים den „himmlischen Ozean" sieht, was nicht angeht.

Tonfalls wegen. Für עָז wird עֹז zu sprechen sein, statt מָעוֹז wie 3 11.[56] יָבִיא statt יבוא (Oort) ist eine Verbesserung.

V. 16, 17. Die Verse verlangen mit ihrem לכן den Anschluß an ein anderes Stück; aber V. 15 läßt ihn nicht zu, und auch zu V. 13 oder 12 bildet das Stück keine gute unmittelbare Fortsetzung (s. oben S. 60).[57] Am ersten ließe es sich an V. 18–20 anschließen, so daß dann eine doppelte Umstellung sich vollzogen hätte, V. 10–13 vor V. 14 f., V. 16 f. vor V. 18–20. Natürlich kann auch, woran die Verse anschlossen, verlorengegangen sein. Daß es sich hier um kein Klagelied handelt, sondern um die Ansage eines großen Sterbens, mit seiner Leichenklage, es daher gar nicht verwunderlich ist, noch Schlüsse daraus gezogen werden dürfen, daß der Versbau des Klagelieds sich vermissen läßt, wurde zu V. 1–3 schon hervorgehoben. Mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit ist an eine Pest gedacht, da Jahwe ganz persönlich als der eingeführt wird, der den Tod bringt. Der Text des Stücks ist stark beschädigt, worauf schon das dreimalige מספד hinweist. — V. 16. Die große Reihe der Gottesnamen ist höchst auffallend; daß אדני in LXX fehlt, darf freilich kaum als Textzeugnis benutzt werden. Sellin streicht יהוה צבאות, Löhr dieses vielleicht, sicher אדני, Sievers-G., Guthe und Nowack[3] stellen nur אדני יהוה her. Für wahrscheinlicher halte ich, daß אדני aus einem הִנֵּה (oder gar einem אָבִיא?) verdorben ist, da das Stück mit בכל־רחבות gar zu abgerissen beginnt.[58] — הו־הו gibt die Naturlaute wieder, im Unterschied von dem zum festen Sprachgut gewordenen הוי; um so weniger ist das יאמרו davor entbehrlich, wie Sellin meint. — In b genügt Wellhausens וְאֶל־מספד den Neueren nicht mehr, und in der Tat hat es nach Wortstellung und Tonfall etwas Unbefriedigendes. Aber אכר und die dazu gesuchte Parallele als Subjekt zu fassen, als die, die zur Klage herbeirufen (Duhm, Greßmann, Hans Schmidt, Sellin, Nowack), empfiehlt sich doch nicht; vielmehr soll gewiß

[56] Geistreich ist Ehrlichs הַמְנַהֵיל שַׁח עַל־עָז, aber doch wohl nicht ganz am Platze.

[57] Man müßte denn erst das כי vor V. 12 streichen und einen neuen Abschnitt damit beginnen (Greßmann[2]).

[58] Ähnlich scheint Hans Schmidt zu helfen, da er אדני nicht wiedergibt und die Rede mit „Ach" beginnen läßt.

geschildert werden, wie das schnelle Sterben nötigt, selbst die draußen Beschäftigten von der Arbeit zur Totenklage abzurufen. Bleibt man bei אל־יודעי נהי, was alles für sich hat, so sollte man in der Parallele statt des Abstraktum אל־אבל auch das Konkretum suchen, und leicht ergibt sich aus dem folgenden ומ ein אֶל־אֲבֵלִים. In dem ספד hat dann schon Duhm das Seitenstück zu אכר gesucht;[59] ich würde eher als an נוקד an חרש denken: „und man ruft den Ackerer zu den Trauernden, und den Pflüger zu den Klagekundigen".[60] Man hüte sich, aus dem letzten Worte zu weit gehende Schlüsse zu ziehen;[61] daß in Israel der Mann einfach das Weib in der Leichenklage hätte ablösen können, ist durchaus nicht anzunehmen. נהי ist nicht = קינה, und wiederum kann das *genus praecipuum* in ידעי recht wohl die Weiber einschließen. Eine einigermaßen sichere Herstellung wird schwerlich gelingen. — V. 17. Der erste Halbvers klingt recht wunderlich; statt daß man in den Kommentaren hervorhebt, wie selbst an den Stätten der Freude das Wehklagen ertöne, sollte man bedenken, daß man in den Weinbergen überhaupt keine Leichenklage hält. Das דְּרָכִים der LXX für כרמים hat alles für sich (so schon Greßmann[2]); nur wird damit noch deutlicher, wie überflüssig 17a dem Anfang des Liedes in V. 16 nachhinkt. Ich streiche ובכל־כרמים מספד als Randvariante zu בכל־רחבות מספד. Das Stück gewinnt dadurch nur an Geschlossenheit und Kraft. Wie Löhr statt dessen 17b streichen kann, ist schwer zu verstehn. — b. Die persönliche Gegenwart Jahwes inmitten seines Volkes als solche tut so furchtbare Wirkung. In ihr vollzieht sich der wirkliche יום יהוה im Unterschied von dem, wie ihn das Volk erwartet; das macht den Anschluß von V. 16f. an V. 18–20 möglich und leicht, natürlich ohne daß Sicherheit dafür zu beanspruchen wäre.

V. 18–20. Das הוי zu Anfang stellt dieses Stück mindestens

[59] אכר auszuschalten (Ehrlich, Greßmann[2]) halte ich nicht für eine glückliche Lösung.

[60] Auf dem Wege zu dieser Fassung war Löhr, indem er אל־אבל ומספד ausschaltete, natürlich m. c.

[61] Nicht ganz frei davon hält sich Hedwig Jahnow in ihrem inhaltreichen Buche „Das Hebräische Klagelied im Rahmen der Völkerdichtung", 1923, vgl. S. 58, 71.

neben das ebenso ergänzte V. 7, 10–13; möglich bleibt, es als seine Fortsetzung anzusehen und 6 1 ff. als dritten Abschnitt dazu zu ziehen. Vgl. die „sieben Wehe“ Jes. 5 8 ff. Ungewöhnlich gut für unser Kapitel sind diese drei Verse erhalten. Zu irgendwelcher größeren Änderung daran ist gar kein Anlaß, weder V. 19 herauszutun (Löhr, Duhm), womit wieder einmal Farbe und Leben preisgegeben wird, noch 6 3 hinter V. 18 einzuschieben (Sellin), was nur abschwächend und verflüchtigend wirkt, noch 18 b β auszuschalten, wie viele tun, oder 20 a unter Umstellung von V. 19 und 20 b (Marti, Guthe[4], Nowack[3]). Vielmehr ist die nachdrückliche Wiederholung und Verstärkung des Hauptsatzes 18 b β in V. 20, und gerade zum Abschluß des ganzen Stücks, vortrefflich und tut besonders starke Wirkung. Dazwischen aber ist V. 19, die packende Schilderung der Unentrinnbarkeit des Tages Jahwes, ebenso unentbehrlich, wie jede Abschweifung im Stile von 6 3 ausgeschlossen: nur als die starken Klammern für V. 19 wirken V. 18 und V. 20, wie sie sollen. Es ist eine Beruhigung zu sehen, daß doch einige Metriker, ich nenne Gressmann und Hans Schmidt, auch mit dem unangetasteten Stück auszukommen wissen. — V. 18. Nirgends wird beachtet, daß LXX *καὶ αὕτη*, also וְהוּא statt הוּא bietet. Das bedeutet im Griechischen wenig, im Hebräischen aber heißt es „da er doch“, „während er“ (Gesenius-K. § 141[e]) und stellt damit eine enge und gute Verbindung her. Der Ausfall des ו begreift sich leicht. — V. 19. Des Zusatzes הֲלֹא הוּא zu Anfang (Sievers-G., Nowack[3]) bedarf es nicht; die Vergleiche wirken besser ohne ihn. — V. 20. Die Einführung durch הלא betont die Wiederholung gegenüber 18 b β; es handelt sich um eine schon ausgemachte Sache. — וְאָפֵל zu sprechen (Graetz) empfiehlt sich neben חָשֵׁךְ.

V. 21–27. Das Stück stellt sich dem Inhalt nach zu der ersten Reihe unsres Kapitels, V. 4–6, 14 f., nach Stimmung und Ausgang zu der zweiten. Beiden gegenüber ist es der selbständigste Abschnitt, den das Kapitel in sich schließt. Die massoretische Überlieferung ist sich ebensowenig wie bei 3 3, 4 4 eines Einschnitts bewußt. Jahwe redet von Anfang an, ohne daß irgendwelche Einführung darauf vorbereitet, um so auffallender, da V. 18–20 von Amos gesprochen werden. Das letzte Wort Jahwes

vorher ist 17b; vielleicht darf man darin eine Stütze für die oben betonte Möglichkeit finden, daß V. 16f. ursprünglich auf V. 18–20 folgte. Erst der Abschluß 27b hebt ausdrücklich hervor, daß Jahwe der Redende ist. — V. 21. Der Anfang schon bringt die zornige, gereizte Stimmung zum Ausdruck, die das Stück durchgängig kennzeichnet. — Das *θυσίας* der LXX hinter אריח hätte doch die Beachtung der Ausleger verdient, da die Zeile eine Hebung mehr recht wohl vertrüge, das זֶבַח sich in der reichhaltigen Aufzählung vermissen läßt und doch in V. 25 vorausgesetzt wird, und זבח (eher als זבחים) hinter אריח leicht übersehen werden konnte. Trotzdem dürfte MT den Vorzug verdienen, weil durch זבח die Gegenüberstellung der חגים und עצרות abgeschwächt würde; *θυσίας* wird also eingeschoben sein, um das אריח verständlich zu machen, wohl aus 1. Sam. 26 19, wo ebenfalls *θυσία* steht. — V. 22. Daß aα nicht vollständig ist, hat Wellhausen zuerst bemerkt, aber nicht, wie Löhr angibt, einen Stichus hinter עלות vermißt, sondern nur „die Apodosis der Bedingung", die freilich nicht durch כי, wie er meint, ausgedrückt wird, sondern durch אם, während כי adversativ = „sondern, vielmehr" steht. Die Metriker können den Dreizeiler nicht brauchen, scheiden deshalb lieber — so seit Duhm und Marti alle Neueren — כי אם־תעלו־לי עלות aus, und Duhm will es mit ואם in V. 25 hinter במדבר einschieben. Aber Wellhausen behält recht, wenn er in seine Übersetzung nur ein paar Punkte einfügt; ein לא אֶשְׁמָה würde die vollen Dienste tun und kann vor ומנחתיכם leicht übersehen sein. Der Text ist dann vorzüglich. Der Dreizeiler wird Amos keine Sorge gemacht haben. — Ehrlichs מנחתיהֶם (auf עלות bezüglich), אֶרְאֶה statt ארצה, וְאֶל־ statt ושלם sind hübsch und geistreich — wenigstens die zweite und dritte Änderung — aber doch keine Verbesserung, geschweige denn notwendig. — V. 23. Zwischen מריאיכם in V. 22 und הגשתם in V. 25 muß nicht nur mit Marti usw. שִׁוְרֵיכֶם und נִבְלֵיכֶם gelesen werden, sondern auch הָסִרוּ, ebenso wie 4 5 קַטְּרוּ. Wäre הסר als inf. abs. ursprünglich, so würden die falschen Suffixe, die nachfolgen, eben beweisen, wie irreführend die unabgewandelte Form wirkte. Wellhausen fragt für den Gesang und die Musik: „beim Opfern oder beim Opfergelage?" Zweifellos beim ersteren, weil alles, was hier aufgezählt wird, Jahwe

und nicht dem Vergnügen der Feiernden gilt, wie das הסרו מעלי und לא אשמע von neuem beweisen. Es gab also damals schon beim Gottesdienst in Bethel gottesdienstliche Musik, Lieder mit Begleitung von Instrumenten, was wir Psalmen nennen. Natürlich bot man das Beste, was man zu leisten imstande war, und auch 6 5; 8 10 sprechen für fortgeschrittene, selbstbewußte Kunst: nur dem Zorne Jahwes erscheint der mißverstandene Dienst als störender Lärm. Die Stimmung der Lieder wird wie nach der Verbannung mit den Gelegenheiten gewechselt haben und keineswegs bloß heiteres Gepräge getragen haben (Marti). — V. 24. Hörbar schier, wie das Sprudeln und Rauschen lebendigen Wassers (Ps. 42 8), sollen sich statt der Kunstmusik Recht und Gerechtigkeit einherwälzen; vielleicht ist geradezu an den Jubel und die Lobsprüche derer gedacht, die unverhofft gerechtes Gericht erfahren haben. Sellin erneuert die Auslegung Hitzigs und anderer, daß משפט und צדקה Jahwes strafende Gerechtigkeit bedeuten, wofür Jes. 28 17; 10 22; 5 16 angerufen werden. Mit Recht verweist Marti dagegen auf die näher liegenden Stellen Am. 5 7, 15; 6 12. Dazu kommt das Fehlen des לָכֵן für die Einführung der Strafe; die unpersönliche Fassung statt des Ich des Strafenden, der hier doch das Wort führt; das Fehlen eines Beiworts bei מים, das die zerstörende Gewalt hervorhöbe, wie das שטף von Jes. 10 22; 28 17; 8 8, während umgekehrt נחל איתן eine dauernde und segensreiche Wirkung ausdrückt; endlich würde V. 25 nach der Gerichtsansage die Auseinandersetzung von neuem eröffnen, und jene müßte in V. 27 zum zweiten Male einsetzen. Den letzten Einwand erkennt Sellin selbst an, indem er V. 24 und 25 die Stelle tauschen läßt. Man hat also unbedingt משפט und צדקה von dem vermißten richtigen Verhalten der Angeklagten im Gegensatz zu ihrem kultischen Eifer zu verstehn. — V. 25. Weder ist ומנחה zu streichen (Marti usw.) noch nach LXX וּמְנָחוֹת zu lesen (Sellin), sondern הַזֶּבַח statt הזבחים (so jetzt auch Ehrlich); das ים ist Verdoppelung des folgenden ומ. Sonst ist der Vers in der besten Ordnung; nur metrische Bedürfnisse veranlassen die neueren Ausleger, ארבעים שנה oder בית ישראל oder beides zu streichen, oder auch אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יהוה dafür einzusetzen. — Über die Tragweite dieser rhetorischen Frage braucht heute kein Wort mehr verloren zu werden. —

V. 26. Über den Gegenstand, von dem der Vers redet, war man neuerdings so gut wie allgemein einverstanden, daß es sich um סַכּוּת und כִּיּוּן, zwei bekannte Größen aus dem Pantheon des babylonisch-assyrischen Sterndienstes handle; diese richtige Erkenntnis bewahren ja selbst die Punktatoren mit ihrem dysphemistischen versteckten Ḳerê סְכוּת und כִּיּוּן, d. h. שִׁקּוּץ und גִּלּוּל, und auch die Versionen haben sie wenigstens für das zweite Wort überwiegend festgehalten, während für das erste מלככם den gleichwertigen Ersatz des Götzen Moloch lieferte. Erst Sellin hat, zuerst auf eigenen Pfaden, dann im Anschluß an Aug. Klostermanns Vorlesungsheft, alte Versuche, diesem Verständnis auszuweichen, erneuert. ונשאתם spricht er וְנָשָׂאתֶם, סכות wird zu סֻכַּת, die Worte כיון צלמיכם כוכב werden als Glosse hinausgetan, die beiden את als „mit“ gefaßt und so die Übersetzung gewonnen „Und fortgeschafft werdet ihr samt der Hütte eures Königs und samt eurem Gotte, den ihr euch gemacht habt.“ Das ist schlechtes Hebräisch mit schlechtem Sinn. נשׂא so alleinstehend, ohne jeden Zusatz, heißt nicht „fortschaffen“; hier אֶת statt עִם zu sagen ist durchaus gegen hebräischen Sprachgebrauch, würde auch geheißen haben das Mißverständnis geradezu herausfordern; die passivische Fassung, wo wiederum Jahwes Handeln in der ersten Person hingehören würde, ist sehr ungeschickt. Der Gott, den sie sich gemacht haben, soll das Kalb von Bethel sein: warum ist es nicht mit Namen genannt, und muß man den hergestellten Text nicht verstehn, als wenn es im Besitz der Weggeführten bliebe, während nur gemeint sein könnte, daß es eine Beute und Trophäe des Feindes würde? Und was heißt „die Hütte eures Königs“? Sellin deutet nach 9 11 „das geschwächte בַּיִת (7 9), die Dynastie“. Das heißt es in 9 11 nicht, sondern die Hütte, die David überschattete, das Haus, in dem er wohnte, d. i. sein Reich, und das Reich können sie doch nicht mitnehmen. Die Dynastie Jerobeams II. vollends verfällt ja nach 7 9 dem Schwerte. Wie immer man die vorgeschlagene Fassung angreift, geht sie in die Brüche, und das gilt auch von Klostermanns Vorlage, der immerhin mit der Deutung von סכת מלככם auf irgendeinen kultischen Gegenstand besser in den Grenzen des Möglichen bleibt. So behaupten die Götzennamen das Feld. Auch ihr Beiwerk ist

der Hauptsache nach in Ordnung. Es ist kein Anlaß צלמיכם כוכב oder auch כוכב אלהיכם als Glosse zu streichen; vielmehr braucht כיון ebensogut sein Beiwort wie סכות, und צלמיכם faßt die beiden richtig vor dem Relativsatz zusammen. Es ist, wie LXX beweist, nur von der ursprünglichen Stelle vor אשר an die jetzige verschlagen und mit seiner Versetzung dorthin (Oort) alles in Ordnung, bis auf den verpönten Dreizeiler, der nicht der erste ist. Die Deutung des נשא auf das Tragen der Gottesbilder in feierlichem Aufzug ist durchaus sachgemäß und verständlich. — Offen bleibt nur die Zeitlage und damit die Frage, ob der Vers von Amos herrühren kann oder Zusatz sein muß, was schon Löhr als anerkannte Tatsache bezeichnet. Mit וּנְשָׂאתֶם als perfectum consecutivum redet der Vers unbedingt von der Zukunft: er sagt dann von den Zeitgenossen des Amos im Nordreich aus, daß sie diesen Sterngöttern öffentlichen Dienst zollen, was, soweit wir sehen können, und gerade angesichts K. 4 und 5, für Amos unmöglich ist; wunderlich genug klingt es, daß ihnen bei der bevorstehenden Fortführung in die Verbannung der Besitz der Gottesbilder und die Freiheit ihren Dienst fortzusetzen gelassen werden soll; ganz unvermittelt endlich schließt sich das an alles Vorhergehende an. Der Vers ist dann sicher Einschub, ein Rätsel nur, wie er hat entstehn können, und was er hier soll. Ein Interpolator hätte, so meint man — vgl. am ausführlichsten und besten Marti — die Israeliten der Zeit eines Amos mit dem späten Mischvolk der Samaritaner verwechselt, dem die Kolonisten aus dem fernen Osten und Norden nach 2. Kön. 17 30 ff. allerlei fremde Götter mitgebracht haben, die dann neben Jahwe, dem Gott des Landes, verehrt wurden, und unsre Verse 25, 26 sollen nun geradezu fragen: „Habt ihr etwa auch in der Wüstenzeit nebeneinander mir Schlacht- und Speisopfer dargebracht und eure Götzenbilder, den Sakkût und Kêwān, herumgetragen?“ „Wie ihr es jetzt tut“, müßte man dazu natürlich ergänzen. Aber diese Verwechselung wäre doch ganz unerhört, um so unmöglicher, da ja 2. Kön. 17 gar nicht von Israel redet, auch nicht von einem Mischvolk aus der Kreuzung von im Lande verbliebenen Israeliten mit volksfremden Kolonisten. Vielmehr läßt der Bericht den Boden des Nordreichs durch die Fortführung in die

Verbannung ganz von Bewohnern entblößt sein und durch die Kolonisten völlig neu besiedelt werden (vgl. V. 24): wie konnte also der Interpolator Babylonier, Kuthäer usw. mit Israeliten von reinem Blute verwechseln, wie auch Götzendienst, der laut seiner Quelle erst nach 586 durch jene in Kanaan eingeführt war, in Amos' Zeit zurückverlegen? Und ferner, wenn man Sakkût zur Not aus dem סכות בנות von 2. Kön. 17 30 herauslesen kann, woher sollte er den Kêwān nehmen, der nirgends sonst im Alten Testament bezeugt ist? Daß man mit dieser Auffassung dem ונשאתם eben die perfektische Bedeutung wieder zuschreibt, die als unmöglich anerkannt war, mag nur nebenbei festgestellt werden. Sicher aber geht mit ihr jeder Zusammenhang mit V. 21–24 völlig verloren. — Es bleibt die Möglichkeit, die Anklage auf den Dienst der beiden Sterngottheiten von eben der Wüstenzeit zu verstehn, auf die V. 25 den Blick zurückgelenkt hat. Zwar hätten die Israeliten damals, würde er dann sagen, Jahwe keine Opfer dargebracht, wohl aber anderen Göttern öffentliche Ehren erwiesen. „Es ist klar", sagt Nowack, „daß diese Gedankenverbindung unmöglich ist", und Marti fragt: „wie sollte ein solcher Gedanke einen Platz in der Rede finden, die die Nutzlosigkeit des Jahwe dargebrachten Kultus beweist?" Zieht man damit nicht doch dem Gedankenflug eines Amos zu enge Grenzen? Bedeutet es wirklich nichts, wenn er in der Lage war, der rhetorischen Frage, die das Jahweopfer für die Wüstenzeit ausschaltete, folgen zu lassen: „Was ganz andres habt ihr damals getan! Um mich habt ihr euch damals nicht so viel Mühe gegeben, wohl aber um eure Sterngötter, die ihr neben mir verehrtet!"? Das war doch ein scharfer Hieb, der, ob er zur gegenwärtigen Frage nichts hinzutat, doch nicht weniger empfindlich saß, als 2 12, 11b hinter V. 9–11a, oder das כי כן אהבתם vor 4 6, oder כאשר אמרתם vor 5 14, alles beißende Nebenbemerkungen, die mit dem gegenwärtigen Gegenstand der Rede nicht unmittelbar zu tun hatten. Natürlich müßte dafür vorausgesetzt werden, daß dem Amos solche Nachricht aus alter Zeit zu Gebote stand; dafür aber will wieder beachtet sein, daß diese Erinnerung sich keineswegs an das gesamte Israel der Wüstenzeit heftet, sondern nur an die Zuhörerschaft, der Amos zu Bethel, oder wo sonst im Süden des nördlichen Reiches

gegenüberstand, will man den Umfang weit bemessen, an das Haus Joseph. Ein Judäer ist es, der den wunden Punkt berührt; um Nachrede zwischen benachbarten Stämmen handelt es sich, wie dergleichen damals gewiß viel im Schwange ging. Die Stammeseifersucht, und nun gar zwischen den geteilten Reichen, schärft das Gedächtnis und läßt alte Überlieferung solcher Art nicht untergehn, und die zornige Stimmung unsrer ganzen Rede öffnet die Schleusen für diesen zu des Amos Zeit beschimpfenden und beschämenden Vorwurf. Haben wir nun angesichts der spärlichen Nachrichten unserer Sammlung heiliger Bücher zu beklagen, daß es uns so sehr an ursprünglicher Einzelanschauung aus jenen alten Zeiten gebricht; führt uns die religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung immer unabweislicher darauf, daß Mose keineswegs schon die monotheistische Verehrung Jahwes begründet und darauf bestanden hat, sondern den Jahwismus nur als die Religion des neuen Volksbundes hat einführen können, neben der jeder engere Kreis, den dieser Volksbund in sich schloß, seine bisherige besondere Religion beibehielt:[62] so können wir es doch nur dankbar begrüßen, wenn sich irgendwo eine Lücke solcher Art für uns ausfüllt, ein neuer Beweis für jene Erkenntnis sich den übrigen beigesellt. Ich muß deshalb bei der Auffassung unserer Stelle bleiben, die ich schon vor 25 Jahren vor der Öffentlichkeit vertreten habe. Es bedarf dafür nur einer ganz kleinen Textberichtigung. הֲלֹא נשׂאתם habe ich seinerzeit vorgeschlagen;[63] noch leichter würde sich die Verderbnis erklären, wenn man וְלֹא einsetzte und das Fragewort aus V. 25 nachwirken ließe. Die spätere Streichung des לא würde sich dann eher als gedankenlose Berichtigung nach 2. Kön. 17 33 begreifen lassen; aber ebenso gut könnte es auch hinter ישׂראל bloß übersehen sein. — V. 27. Die Lücke, die schon Wellhausen vor diesem Verse festgestellt hat, entsteht doch nicht erst durch die Streichung von V. 26; sie klafft auch, wenn man ihn festhält, nur daß sie sich bei Auffassungen wie etwa die von

[62] Vgl. den Nachweis dafür in Budde, „*Religion of Israel to the Exile*", New York and London 1899, „*Die Religion Israels bis zur Verbannung*", Gießen 1900, zweite Vorlesung, S. 59 ff. des englischen, S. 54 ff. des deutschen Textes.

[63] Anm. 14 zur Zweiten Vorlesung.

Klostermann und Sellin schon vor V. 26 einstellt. Eine schlimme Drohung, sagt Wellhausen, müsse da gestanden haben; in der Übersetzung fügt er sehr einleuchtend ein „Darum will ich**“ dafür ein, d. h. zunächst ein לָכֵן, das hinter לכם übersehen wäre. Es braucht nicht sehr viel mehr zu fehlen; ein הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי נֹשֵׂא אֶתְכֶם (vgl. 9 9) oder הִנְנִי נֹשֵׂא אֶתְכֶם (vgl. 6 14) würde hinter לכן vollkommen genügen und würde mit dem Wortspiel auf den Anfang von V. 26 dem Sinne nach, mit dem abschließenden אתכם neben dem zweiten Worte von V. 27 für die Erklärung des Übersehens seine Vorteile bieten. Aber natürlich kann die Ausfüllung der Lücke auch ganz anders und auf recht verschiedene Weise versucht werden, ohne daß irgendwelche Sicherheit sich erreichen ließe.

VIII. GEGEN DIE VERTRAUENSSELIGKEIT UND DAS SELBSTBEWUSSTSEIN DER GROSSEN SAMARIAS

Während oben (S. 59) festgestellt werden konnte, daß 4 4 ff. und 5 4 ff., unsre Abschnitte V und VII, denselben Gegenstand behandeln und nur durch die vermutlich erst später erfolgte Einschiebung des Klageliedes 5 1–3 voneinander getrennt worden sind, setzt mit 6 1 ein ganz neuer Gegenstand ein, und dieser beherrscht das ganze sechste Kapitel, das letzte Stück vor der Einführung der Visionen. Wieder wird zu untersuchen sein, ob es sich um ein einziges längeres Stück handelt, oder ob eine Reihe von Reden über wesentlich denselben Gegenstand von der Redaktion zusammengeordnet sind, wie sich das in 4 4 ff. und 5 4 ff. zu einem Teil als zweifellos, zum andern wenigstens als möglich erwies. Daneben wird ebenso wie in 5 4 ff. gefragt werden müssen, ob die Reihenfolge der Absätze die ursprüngliche ist, und ob dem Zusammenhang fremde Stücke sich eingedrängt haben. Leider ist der Textzustand des Kapitels besonders unbefriedigend.

V. 1, 2. Daß בציון nicht richtig sein kann, darüber herrscht heute weitgehendes Einverständnis.[64] Wollte man sich selbst

[64] Duhm, Greßmann und L. Köhler nehmen keinen Anstoß daran.

darein schicken, daß Juda und insbesondere Jerusalem einmal von Amos in den Bereich seiner strafenden Rede gezogen wäre, so würde es doch nicht so im Vordergrunde stehn, vor allem aber müßte die Ausführung auf die beiden Hauptstädte verteilt und deutlich zwischen beiden unterschieden sein. Statt dessen läuft die Schilderung im Folgenden einheitlich und geschlossen durch, ganz dem entsprechend, was wir in 3 9—4 3 von dem Treiben in Samaria gelesen haben. Vollends aber, da es sich um politische Sorglosigkeit und Vertrauensseligkeit handelt und die Bedingungen auf diesem Gebiete in Israel und Juda ganz verschieden lagen, ist gar nicht daran zu denken, daß die Großen hüben und drüben so in einem Atem abgehandelt würden. Für die Herstellung sind Vorschläge in Menge gemacht worden. Hans Schmidt streicht einfach בציון und liest dann bis שמרון drei Verszeilen, was doch ebenso unmöglich ist, wie nur eine Zeile daraus zu machen. Und wieder ist, wenn bis dahin ein zweigliedriger paralleler Vers reicht, nicht abzusehen, weshalb Amos die erste Zeile הוי השאננים nicht zum Gleichgewicht sollte ausgestaltet haben. Sievers-G. und Nowack[3] bilden aus aα + bβ und aβ + bα je einen parallelen Vers, einen Doppeldreier und einen Siebener, setzen בַּגִּלְגָּל für בציון ein, gewinnen dafür in bβ die Parallele בֵּית־אֵל und bilden zwei selbständige Stücke, indem sie dem Doppeldreier V. 3–6, 13, dem Siebener V. 7–11 folgen lassen. Aber Bethel und Gilgal haben, samt der ganzen Frage des Kultus, hier gar nichts zu suchen, und der Zusammenhang in dem zweiten Stück ist unbefriedigend, V. 7 von V. 4 zu trennen unmöglich. Man darf sich freuen, daß Guthe bei Kautzsch[4] auch den letzten Rest dieses Versuchs aufgegeben hat. Sellins Vorschlag, בָּעִיר statt בציון, ist leicht und würde von allen vielleicht am ersten befriedigen, wenn es sicherer wäre, daß הָעִיר auch die Hauptstadt im Unterschiede von anderen bezeichnen könnte. Dafür liefert aber 1 Sam. 27 5 geradezu das Gegenteil eines Belegs; Jes. 32 14 beweist nichts; Mi. 6 9 möchte man am ersten gelten lassen, wenn der ursprüngliche Zusammenhang sicherer wäre. Aber warum beruft sich Sellin nicht auf V. 8 unseres Kapitels? Ehrlichs בְּנָאוֹן nach V. 8 leuchtet graphisch sehr ein und kann sich für die rednerische Anordnung auf 4 1 berufen, wo auch der Ortsangabe בְּהַר שֹׁמְרוֹן in der ersten Zeile

nur die Kennzeichnung פָּרוֹת הַבָּשָׁן vorausgeht. Aber בִּגְאוֹנָם wäre doch durchaus zu verlangen, was die graphische Leichtigkeit etwas verringert. Endlich Cornills בִּיצְחָק,[65] sachlich vortrefflich, graphisch eine große Verbesserung gegenüber dem auch schon vorgeschlagenen בְּבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל, ist kühn, aber doch vermöge 7 9 (16) gerade für Amos möglich; daß sich dort die seltenere Schreibung ישחק findet, beweist nichts dagegen. Man wird die Wahl freilassen müssen. — In 1 b gehört Oettlis וֵאלֹהִים בְּבית ישראל — eines הֵמָּה oder הֵם dabei bedarf es nicht — geradezu zu den so überaus seltenen „evidenten Konjekturen" und schafft einen untadeligen, wunderschönen Wortlaut; man mag לְבֵית daneben in Erwägung ziehen. Oettlis Wahllesart וּבַעֲלֵי בית hatte ich mir vor ihrem Erscheinen in der Gestalt וּבְעָלִים לְבֵ׳ als eigenen Versuch angemerkt; doch muß sie jener weichen. Alle andren Vorschläge kommen gar nicht mehr in Betracht. — V. 2. Hier muß ich mich den Ausführungen von Wellhausen und Marti rückhaltlos anschließen und weiß ihnen nichts hinzuzufügen. Der Vers ist auch mit Geigers einleuchtenden Herstellungen nicht für Amos zu retten (Ehrlich und Greßmann), weil V. 3 den unmittelbaren Anschluß an V. 1 durchaus verlangt.[66] Die Glosse lehnt sich an Jes. 10 9 f. an.

V. 3–7. V. 3. המנדים (sprich so!) ist gut und dem הַמְנַדְּרִים der LXX vorzuziehen, wie der Gegensatz zu ותגישון (sprich וְתַגִּישׁוּן!) beweist. — Für das Rätsel des שבת hatte ich die Lösung שְׁנַת gefunden, ehe Greßmann[1] sie brachte. Er hat sie in der neuen Auflage aufgegeben, wie es scheint, zugunsten der Martis, שׁד וחמס; aber ich muß doch jene heute noch unter den zahllosen vorgeschlagenen für die beste halten. Sie wollen den bösen Tag scheuchen und ziehen das Jahr der Gewalt herbei. Die Herstellung hat nur die eine Schwäche, daß חמס den Beigeschmack des Frevels zu haben pflegt und daher eher von den Angeklagten wird ausgesagt werden, während 3 b in jedem Falle auf das Unheil bezogen werden muß, das den Großen von Samaria droht, also die feindliche Gewalt. Indessen dürfte חמס

[65] *ZATW* 34, 1914, S. 151.

[66] Diesem Schluß entgeht Greßmann[2], indem er mit V. 3 ein neues Stück beginnen läßt, was freilich durch nichts gerechtfertigt wird, wie es denn auch unerlaubt ist, המנרים zu übersetzen „Sie verscheuchen".

auch dafür immerhin möglich sein. Liest man שָׁבָט, so wird daran nichts gebessert. — V. 4 ff. entwerfen uns wesentlich dasselbe Bild wie 3 9–15, nur diesmal unter dem Gesichtswinkel träger Langeweile und Vergnügungssucht der von keiner Sorge geplagten Staatslenker. — V. 5. Für כלי־שיר scheint mir Nowack mit כְּלֵי־שִׁיר „allerlei Lieder" bei weitem die beste Herstellung geboten zu haben, auch besser als מְלֵי־שִׁיר (Lohmann, Sellin), weil mit jenem das Zufällige, Spielende treffend angedeutet ist. כדויד wird neuerdings überwiegend gestrichen, als überschießende Hebung. Ist es Glosse, so hat es wohl nie eine geistreichere und witzigere gegeben; es liegt eine köstliche Verhöhnung darin, daß die Staatsmänner Samarias es nicht für unter ihrer Würde erachten, sich mit Dichtkunst und Musik die Zeit zu vertreiben, weil David sie geadelt hat. Wen also die Hebungen nicht drücken, tut wohl das Wort zu behalten. — V. 6. „Die da trinken aus den Weinsprengschalen", anders kann man a nicht übersetzen. Es heißt dann, daß ihnen das Gefäß gar nicht groß genug sein kann, die gewohnten Becher ihnen nicht genügen; die Anklage geht also auf Völlerei, nicht auf Üppigkeit, wie in b. Man darf wohl annehmen, daß Libationen bei jedem Mahle dargebracht wurden; eine Anklage auf Sakrileg braucht darin nicht zu liegen. Wollte man die hier suchen, so wäre mit Ehrlich במזרקי zu sprechen und gleichzeitig ראשית שמנים von der dem Heiligtum geschuldeten Abgabe zu verstehn. Aber dieser Gedankenkreis liegt hier ganz fern; nur um Gedankenlosigkeit handelt es sich. Lieber läse man „Die den Wein (oder „ihren Wein") aus den Sprengkrügen trinken"; aber dafür genügt es nicht במזרקים zu lesen, sondern יין oder יֵינָם müßte auch voranstehn. Auch in der ersten Zeile wie in der zweiten statt der Quantität die Qualität zu suchen ist nicht notwendig; jedenfalls aber befriedigen die in dieser Richtung gemachten Vorschläge nicht. — Die dritte Zeile (b) ist, so wie sie dasteht, ganz vortrefflich, und nur die *fuga tristichi* kann dazu führen sie zu entfernen und damit dem ganzen Zusammenhang seine Abzielung, dem Verse 1 seine Ergänzung zu nehmen. Meint man 6 b durchaus mit V. 13 verbinden zu müssen, so ist es immer noch besser jenen hierher zu ziehen, als umgekehrt; aber die Auskunft von Sievers-G., Guthe[3,4], Nowack[3], 13 a vor 6 b, 13 b

dahinter einzufügen,[67] ist doch nur geeignet den Eindruck abzuschwächen, den die einzelne Zeile 6 b im überlieferten Zusammenhang macht. Eine zweite, ihr genau entsprechende Zeile dazu zu fordern, bleibt natürlich unverwehrt. — V. 7. Mit diesem Verse schließt die in V. 1 beginnende Rede; V. 8 bringt eine neue Einführung. Wer hat die Rede gesprochen, Amos oder Jahwe? Nach den Seitenstücken zu schließen, entschieden Jahwe; aber an keiner Stelle tritt sein Ich zutage. Längst, seit Wellhausens Übersetzung, hat man erkannt, daß die Schlußformel, die die Rede Jahwe zueignet, nach V. 8 verschlagen ist, wo sie jetzt, freilich von LXX nicht bezeugt, als zweite Eingangsformel steht; נאם־יהוה אלהי צבאות gehört an das Ende von V. 7. So wird freilich auch dieser zum Dreizeiler; denn den Text von V. 7 zum Dreizeiler auszugestalten (Duhm, Marti) oder als solchen abzuteilen, so daß dann mit der Schlußformel ein Vierzeiler entstünde (Greßmann), ist kein Anlaß.

V. 8–10. LXX schließt diese Verse durch ein ὅτι an das Vorhergehende an, und in der Tat würden sie sich zur Strafansage nach längerer Anklage sehr wohl eignen: aber nun geht diese schon in V. 7 voraus und besteht in der Verbannung, die die Angeklagten noch am Leben findet und in Mitleidenschaft zieht, während V. 8–10 ein großes Sterben androht. So ist enge Verbindung, wie noch Marti sie voraussetzt, doch wohl nicht möglich. Fragen darf man aber, ob das Stück vollständig oder nur der Abschluß einer längeren Rede ist. Leider ist der Text besonders stark beschädigt, und jeder Versuch der Herstellung wird zweifelhaft bleiben. Es wird daher auch nicht nötig sein, jeden Vorschlag dazu zu besprechen. — V. 8. Für מתאב ist מְתָעֵב zu lesen; es handelt sich nicht um einen Nebenstamm gleicher Bedeutung תאב, sondern, wie Geiger, Urschrift usw., S. 349 zuerst entschieden hat, um einen absichtlichen Euphemismus, gleichsam ein in den Text eingedrungenes Ḳerê. — גאון יעקב sichert dem Stück die Zugehörigkeit zu dieser Gruppe von Aussprüchen; die Anklage ist die gleiche wie in V. 1 ff., 13. — והסגרתי beweist ausreichend sicher, daß auch hier in erster Linie Kriegsnot, Eroberung Samarias durch ein feindliches Heer, angesagt wird. —

[67] Ebenso Sellin, nur daß er V. 6 b hier fortnimmt und in V. 13 einfügt.

Ohne Zweifel ist mit עִיר Samaria gemeint; aber das sollte doch durch dessen Nennung vorbereitet sein; auch das scheint auf Unvollständigkeit des Stücks hinzuweisen. — מְלֹאָה zu sprechen, was doch wohl Greßmann[2] mit „ihren Turm“ meinen muß, ist keine Verbesserung. Die Kürze der Ansage in bloß einer Zeile fällt auf; da auch weiterhin starker Textverlust sich feststellen läßt, wird man fragen dürfen, ob nicht eine Zeile, etwa בָּתִּים וְכָל־יֹשְׁבֵי בָהּ ausgefallen ist, die zugleich zur besseren Anknüpfung von V. 9 dienen würde. Das Bedürfnis dazu hat schon Guthe empfunden, indem er V. 11 vor V. 9 einschiebt — im Anschluß an Wellhausen, der dann freilich V. 9 f. ausschaltet — was doch schon wegen der dritten Person für Jahwe nicht angeht. — V. 9, 10. Guthes וְסָתְרוּ für יותרו ist von Greßmann[2] und Nowack[3] übernommen worden und hat in der Tat etwas Bestechendes, weil dann deutlicher Feindesgewalt als Ursache der bisherigen Verluste heraustreten, auch die augenscheinlich buchstäbliche, örtliche Verwendung des Begriffs Haus sich leichter erklären würde; dennoch dürfte der Restgedanke hier so im Vordergrunde stehn, daß bei יותרו zu bleiben sein wird. Daneben schließt doch auch „Sichverstecken“ das Unentdecktbleiben und Gerettetwerden noch nicht ein. — Zehn Männer in einem einzigen Hause setzt natürlich einen außergewöhnlich günstigen Fall, der nicht wirklich zu werden braucht. Aber damit erklärt sich die Nennung der runden Ziffer noch nicht; vielmehr muß, wie in 5 3, die Absicht sein, einen Prozentsatz daran anzuknüpfen, natürlich von solchen, die auch die neue Heimsuchung noch überleben sollen. Solche gibt es nach dem überlieferten Texte nicht; das einzige Wort ומתו läßt auch diese zehn sämtlich sterben. Aber hier meldet sich auch die Textlücke: ומתו kann nicht vollständig sein, es würde, wenn dies der Sinn sein sollte, mindestens ein גַּם־הֵמָּה oder כֻּלָּם oder beides verlangen, in jedem Falle aber die Todesursache, wie man allgemein voraussetzt בַּדֶּבֶר, „an der Pest“. Daß aber in Wirklichkeit nicht alle sterben sollen, läßt sich beweisen. Schon an MT; denn der einzige Lebendige, den der eingetretene Bestatter im äußersten Winkel des Hauses findet, kann nur einer jener Zehn sein. Es geht nicht an, darin mit Riedel (Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen 1902 S. 25 ff.) einen ins Haus eingetretenen Gehilfen des Draußenstehenden zu sehen oder mit

Sellin לְאִשָּׁה statt לאשר zu lesen;[68] die Begegnung hat etwas Grausiges, ganz Unerwartetes, ein Lebendiger unter lauter Leichen. Dasselbe bezeugt ja auch das וְנָשָׂאוֹ am Anfang von V. 10, „ihn" verlangt sein Beziehungswort; aber freilich kann man auch mit LXX וְנָשְׂאוּ sprechen oder nach Bedarf ändern. Unabweisbar aber ist das Zeugnis der LXX, die zwischen V. 9 und 10 die Ergänzung *καὶ ὑπολειφθήσονται οἱ καταλοιποί* (erst von Duhm beachtet), bringt, zweifellos auf den Urtext zurückgehend. Für besser als die bisher vorgeschlagenen Rückübersetzungen halte ich וְנִשְׁאַר הַשָּׂרִיד (vgl. *οἱ καταλοιποί* für שָׂרִיד Jer. 29 [MT 47] 4); es ist klar, wie in der Vorlage des MT der Blick von ונשאר auf ונשאו übergesprungen ist. Aber dies ונשאו stellt schon eine Verderbnis dar, die leicht durch ונשאר verursacht sein kann; denn den Übriggebliebenen trägt man hier noch nicht; er wird erst später gefunden. Mit ziemlicher Zuversicht wage ich וּבָא dafür einzusetzen; in jedem Falle muß gesagt sein, daß der Finder in das Haus eintritt. Auch mit der Ergänzung aus LXX ist der Text noch nicht vollständig. Lohmann (ZATW 1912, S. 277) läßt Amos ganz harmlos sagen: „. . . so sollen sie sämtlich sterben. Einer jedoch bleibt übrig." Aber das ist doch unmöglich. Die oben festgestellte Lücke hinter ומתו muß vielmehr etwa ausgefüllt werden בַּבַּיִת תִּשְׁעָה מֵהֶם: „So sterben an der Pest neun von ihnen, Und ein Entronnener bleibt übrig, Und herein tritt usw." — An den beiden folgenden Worten im wesentlichen zu rütteln — man vergleiche etwa die Versuche von Marti und, erst ins Hebräische zu übersetzen, Greßmann[2], weiter Riedel und Ehrlich — halte ich nicht für geboten. דודו bietet keinen Anstoß, für מסרפו muß ich die Auffassung „Bestatter", nach der darzubringenden שְׂרֵפָה, und die Änderung מְסַפְּדוֹ „der zur Leichenklage Verpflichtete" freigeben. Das ו davor mag man streichen. מסרפו dürfte die neue Zeile (bis הבית) nach der hergestellten ונשאר השריד ובא דודו beginnen. Für עצמים wird man gut tun mit LXX עַצְמֵיהֶם zu lesen. — ואמר אפס ist unbedingt als Antwort des Überlebenden festzuhalten. Mit dem folgenden

[68] Mindestens müßte es doch לְאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר heißen. Aber die „Frau": wessen Frau unter den zehn Männern? Versteht sich von selbst, daß sie eine Frau bei sich gehabt haben, und ist es verständlicher, daß sie am Leben bleibt, als wenn es einer der Männer wäre?

ואמר ergreift wieder der Eingetretene das Wort, vielleicht nur zu dem הם, so daß die Begründung „denn man wagt den Namen Jahwes nicht auszusprechen" dem Propheten zufiele. Daneben bleibt die Möglichkeit, daß der Warnende bis zu Ende spricht; aber dann wird man בְּשֵׁמוֹ statt בשם יהוה lesen müssen, weil er sonst selbst die Gefahr, die er abwenden will, heraufbeschwören würde. Hier weht die Luft von 5 17, der mordenden Gegenwart Jahwes.

V. 11–14. Die Verse machen den Eindruck zusammengelesener Bruchstücke; nicht zwei von ihnen lassen sich wirklich überzeugend, geschweige denn notwendig, miteinander verbinden. Auch die Versuche, sie einzeln in der Nachbarschaft einzufügen, von wo sie dann hierher verschlagen wären, scheinen mir nicht geglückt zu sein und nur etwa zu beweisen, daß ähnliche Gedanken wie dort hier anklingen. Den dieses Kapitel beherrschenden des hochmütigen, vertrauensseligen Selbstbewußtseins bringt V. 13 wieder. Am leichtesten scheint mir die Annahme, daß eine Redaktion hier kleine Nachträge zusammengeschlossen hat, ehe mit den Gesichten ein ganz neuer Abschnitt begonnen werden sollte. — V. 11. Das כי versucht den Anschluß an V. 10, der doch nicht wohl zu vollziehen ist. Aber vielleicht ist בַּיִת das Stichwort gewesen, das dem Verse den Anschluß an V. 9 f., die von einem Hause reden, verschafft hat. Ist das כי ursprünglich, so bezeugt es, daß V. 11 nur ein Bruchstück ist. — Duhm und nach ihm Sellin wollen hinter מצוה das Objekt הַצָּר oder צַר ergänzen, graphisch noch leichter wäre מֵצִיק. — Das große und das kleine Haus auf Israel und Juda zu deuten, wie noch neuerdings Duhm, halte ich für unmöglich, verkenne aber nicht die Schwierigkeit, die das kleine Haus als Haus des kleinen Mannes bei Amos bereitet. Wir dürfen den Verlust des Zusammenhangs für unsre Not verantwortlich machen. — Für רסים mag man mit F. Praetorius (ZATW 1914, S. 44) הָרִיסִים — nicht, wie Sellin anführt, הָרִיסוֹת — lesen. — Wellhausens und Guthes Vorschlag, V. 11 an V. 8 anzuschließen, ist schon oben zurückgewiesen; Duhm bildet aus V. 11; 7 9; 8 3 ein neues Stück, was ebensowenig einleuchtet. — V. 12. Der Vers steht ganz für sich allein und bringt in b das alte Motiv der Vergewaltigung und Verkehrung des Rechts, das dem Zusammenhang von K. 6 ganz fremd ist. —

בבקרים teilte man neuerdings ziemlich einstimmig mit J. D. Michaelis in בַּבָּקָר יָם und sprach יֶחֱרַשׁ: „oder läßt sich das Meer mit Rindern pflügen?“ Ehrlich hält das für noch unmöglicher als den überlieferten Wortlaut, den er in den beiden Zeilen von a als reinen Unsinn bezeichnet. Man wird ihm soweit recht geben müssen, daß nach Michaelis' Fassung die beiden Zeilen in einem gewissen Mißverhältnis zueinander stehn, da die erste „höchstens eine sehr große Unwahrscheinlichkeit bezeichne, die zweite eine absolute Unmöglichkeit“. Leider ist, was er selber dafür bietet, ganz unbrauchbar; denn „mit Splittern einen Felsen zu sprengen oder ihn mit Hälften einzureißen“, ist wohl noch niemand in den Sinn gekommen. — Sellin will mit Halévy בַּבָּקָר רֵים lesen, „oder pflügt wie das Rind der Wildochs?“ Besser wäre רֵים בַּבָּקָר. Das Mißverhältnis zur ersten Zeile würde damit etwas gemildert. — Ganz einleuchtend ist auch das Verhältnis des Bildes zu dem damit Gekennzeichneten in b nicht; doch wird man sich damit begnügen müssen. — V. 13. Das השמחים zu Anfang kann nicht wohl als Apposition an V. 12 angeschlossen werden, weil die Angeredeten dort schon als ungerechte Richter gekennzeichnet sind und hier die Kennzeichnung als übermütig sorglose Politiker unvermittelt daneben treten würde. Wieder besteht also die Möglichkeit oder Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß das Beziehungswort dafür vorher verlorengegangen ist, wir es also mit einem Bruchstück zu tun haben. Daher der zu V. 6 besprochene Versuch, dem Verse eine andre Stelle zu geben. Am ersten ließe er sich wohl zwischen V. 1 und 3 einfügen. Aber השמחים könnte auch als Anruf, ohne das הוי von V. 1, ein neues Stück eröffnen und sich mit V. 14 zusammenschließen, siehe zu diesem. — Die Worte לא דבר und קרנים, von denen das zweite appellativisch gefaßt keinen erträglichen Sinn ergab, hat man seit Grätz als Städtenamen verstanden, beide im Ostjordanlande: Lodebar genau so geschrieben 2 Sam. 17 27, als לוֹ דְבָר 2 Sam. 9 4 f., falsch punktiert als לִדְבַר Jos. 13 26, Karnajim als Καρνέιν 1 Makk. 5 26, Καρναίν ebenda V. 43 f., Κάρνιον 2 Makk. 12 21, 26, endlich als קַרְנַיִם, irrtümlich mit עַשְׁתָּרוֹת zu einem Namen verbunden, Gen 14 5.[69] Man muß dann annehmen, daß die Freude

[69] Die Verbesserung עשתרות וקרנים darf sich nicht, wie Kuenen und Wellhausen meinten, auf LXX berufen; aber sicher bleibt es, daß es sich

über Lodebar denselben Grund hat, den wir für Ḳarnajim in b erfahren, Eroberung oder Wiedereroberung durch Israel. Ehrlich will wegen der Unbestimmtheit oder Undeutlichkeit des Ausdrucks für לא דבר lieber bei der appellativischen Auffassung der Punktatoren bleiben: „die sich über etwas freuen können, was gar nichts bedeutet", wofür dann der Stolz auf die Eroberung von Ḳarnajim den Beweis bietet. Das hat in der Tat viel für sich. Natürlich handelt es sich um ein Tagesereignis; Amos hat also nicht, wie Sellin meint, die Wahl gehabt und diese Städte herausgegriffen, weil sie Gelegenheit zu einem Wortspiel boten, was übrigens bei Ḳarnajim = Hörner keineswegs den Mangel an Bedeutung hervorheben würde. — לנו fehlt in LXX, es dürfte Dittographie aus dem vorhergehenden Worte sein; לקח allein steht 2 Kön. 15 29 (vgl. Num. 21 25; Jos. 11 16, 19, 23) von der Eroberung, der Einnahme von Städten. — 14. Das כי zu Anfang findet an V. 13 keinen Anschluß; es könnte ihn nur dann begründen (Marti), wenn dem השמחים eine Bedrohung, zum mindesten ein הוי, voraufginge: „Wehe euch, die ihr euch freut usw.; denn ich erwecke usw." Auch mit Wellhausen das כי als „ja" zu fassen, die bekannte Verlegenheitsauskunft, bietet keine Hilfe. Beides gilt auch für den Anschluß an V. 12, den Sievers-G., Guthe und Nowack[3] vollziehen, um dann freilich V. 14 einem Interpolator zuzuschreiben. Möglich wäre das begründende כי der Sache nach hinter V. 11, der Form nach nicht, weil V. 11 Jahwe in der dritten Person einführt; man müßte dort also erst הִנֵּנִי für הנה יהוה einsetzen. Will man V. 14 an V. 13 anschließen, so muß man das כי streichen, was L. Köhler, Greßmann[2], Sellin stillschweigend tun. Alles bleibt sehr unsicher. — Der Zwischensatz נאם־יהוה אלהי הצבאות schiebt das Objekt גוי in unmöglicher Weise hinaus; dem hilft LXX B ab, wo ἔθνος unmittelbar hinter Ἰσραήλ steht; da aber der ganze Satz in AQ fehlt, wird man ihn als Glosse anzusehen haben, die an verschiedenen Stellen eingefügt wurde. Ihn im ganzen Umfang (Greßmann[2], Nowack[3]) oder nur נאם יהוה (Sellin) ans Ende des Verses zu verweisen, besteht kein Anlaß; jedenfalls findet es an der Überlieferung keine Stütze. — Daß der Assyrer gemeint ist, bleibt hier so

um zwei verschiedene Städte handelt. Vgl. G. Hölscher, Zeitschr. d. deutsch. Palästina-Vereins XXIX, 1906, S. 142 ff.

wenig zweifelhaft wie in 5 27. — Nach δυσμῶν der LXX wird man נחל הערבים (Jes. 15 7) zu verbessern haben und הערבה als Angleichung an 2 Kön. 14 25 betrachten dürfen, wo יָם הָעֲרָבָה als Südgrenze genannt wird. So schon Marti. Wellhausens נחל מִצְרַיִם beruht auf der irrigen Voraussetzung, daß laut V. 1 hier Juda mit eingeschlossen sein müsse.

(Schluß folgt.)

DER ECHTE TATIANTEXT

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MAN darf von einem Tatiankultus sprechen, der während der letzten Jahrzehnte in der Neutestamentlichen Forschung, namentlich Deutschlands, getrieben worden ist: Kultus, gleichviel ob Tatian wie ein böser Geist verantwortlich gemacht wurde für den schlimmsten Teil der Verderbnisse im Text unserer vier Evangelien, oder ob man in ihm den Heiland verehrte, der von dem alten kostbaren Bestand der evangelischen Überlieferung das Beste gerettet habe. Nur eine geistreiche Verschiebung dieses Kults liegt in Erwin Preuschens „Untersuchungen zum Diatessaron Tatians", Heidelberg 1918, vor, wenn Tatian nun gar zum Schöpfer des Vier-Evangelien-Kanons erhoben wird. Aber Preuschen gibt eine Entdeckung bekannt (s. besonders S. 27 n. 55), wonach auch die Armenier, wie einst die Syrer, und zwar von den Syrern, das Evangelium in der Gestalt des Diatessaron erhalten und im 5. Jahrhundert in dieser Gestalt benutzt haben. Bald nachher haben sie unter griechischem Einfluß ihr Diatessaron zu einer Übersetzung der vier Evangelien umgearbeitet, doch seien in dem neuen Werk zahlreiche Reste des alten stehen geblieben. Diesen Tatbestand gedachte er in einer späteren Untersuchung nachzuweisen. Er war, wie der letzte Satz jener Abhandlung 1918 besagt, mit einem Wiederherstellungsversuch beschäftigt, der die arabischen, syrischen und armenischen Reste des Diatessaron aus den Quellen erheben und, mit einen kritischen Kommentar versehen, so bequem vorlegen sollte, „daß eine Benutzung auch dem der orientalischen Sprachen nicht Kundigen leicht möglich ist, ohne daß er eine Irreführung durch freie Übersetzungen

zu fürchten braucht". Der frühe Tod dieses trefflichen Gelehrten hat uns die Hoffnung auf Erfüllung genommen; ein schwerer Verlust, denn nur zu lange hat man, da doch Zahns grundlegendes Diatessaron von 1881 weit überholt war, über Tatians Bedeutung für die Textkritik des NT's entscheiden zu können geglaubt, ohne eine umfassende und zuverlässige Sammlung seiner Reste zu besitzen. Preuschen urteilt milde, wenn er S. 63 dies eine methodisch bedenkliche Unterlassung nennt, die sich gerächt habe.

Weit mehr als Preuschen verheißen hatte, scheint fünf Jahre später ein andrer zu bieten: nicht nur eine Sammlung von Überbleibseln, sondern den Urtext selber. Statt der mühsamen Umwege das letzte Ziel erreicht — so klingt der Titel eines vor wenigen Monaten im Verlage von A. W. Sijthoff, Leyden erschienenen Buches: A primitive text of the Diatessaron. The Liège manuscript of a mediaeval dutch translation. A preliminary study by Dr. D. Plooij, Leyden, with an introductory note by Dr. J. Rendel Harris, Manchester. Die Huldigungen, die hier aufs neue dem Genius Tatians dargebracht werden, stören uns nicht, dagegen schafft es ein gutes Vorurteil, daß ein Mann wie Rendel Harris, durch Scharfsinn und Gelehrsamkeit ebenso ausgezeichnet wie durch kühne Initiative, bereits bewährt als Diatessaronforscher und ein Meister der NTlichen Textkritik, sich so enthusiastisch auf S. 1—4 für die neue Entdeckung einsetzt. Er übertreibt zwar etwas die Neuheit der Pfadfinderschaft, denn alle einzelnen Bestandteile von Plooijs These waren schon früher vertreten worden, insbesondere war die Abstammung aller westlichen Evangelienharmonien von Victor von Capua fast allgemein aufgegeben, und Arm. Robinsons kurzer Artikel in der Academy 1894, 249 f. hat nicht nur den Weg gezeigt, auf dem Plooij wandelt, sondern Rob. hat mehr gesehn als sein holländischer Nachfolger. Aber dessen Verdienst bleibt dadurch ungeschmälert: er hat die Aufmerksamkeit der Theologen-Welt, an die Robinsons Zeilen, wie an uns in Deutschland, nicht herangelangt waren, auf eine Evangelienharmonie gelenkt, deren Zusammenhang mit einer weit früher als Victor anzusetzenden lateinischen Vorlage so unbestreitbar ist, wie ihre

Abhängigkeit von dem Werk Tatians. Und als Vorbereitung für umfassendere Untersuchungen, in denen die beiden Gelehrten das Diatessaronproblem restlos zu lösen gedenken, war das Heft, das auch von vier Blättern der Handschrift photographische Abdrücke enthält, bestimmt orientierend zu wirken, indem Plooij einmal den neu entdeckten Schatz beschreibt, sodann etwa 80 Stellen des Textes als Proben herausgreift, an denen sich die Besonderheit dieser Quelle veranschaulichen lasse, um mit einer zusammenfassenden Darstellung seiner Ergebnisse zu schließen.

In Lüttich-Liège liegt ein in mittelniederländischer Sprache abgefaßtes Leben Jesu, das sich als eine in der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts hergestellte Übersetzung einer lateinischen Evangelienharmonie erweist. Zum ersten Mal hat G. J. Meijer in Groningen 1835 den Text dieser (um 1300 geschriebenen) Handschrift veröffentlicht; besser zugänglich ist er geworden durch J. Bergsma, der 1895—1898 bei Sijthoff-Leiden „De levens van Jezus in het middelnederlandsch" herausgab, nämlich seitenweise neben den Text der Lütticher Handschrift (L) den einer Stuttgarter (S) vom Jahre 1332, zu dem er die Varianten einer wohl wiederum jüngeren Handschrift im Haag (H) hinzufügte, ähnlich wie ein paar Fragmente, die er S. 1 als einem dritten Leben Jesu entnommen bezeichnet: es handelt sich aber immer nur um verschiedene Formen desselben Werks. Die Platten bei Plooij liefern den Beweis für die peinliche Genauigkeit der Textwiedergabe bei Bergsma—Plooijs eigne Texte entsprechen keineswegs streng dem Exemplar —; nur die Namen der Evangelisten, die L da einzusetzen liebt, wo ein neues Stück oder auch nur ein Satzteil aus andrer Quelle beginnt, läßt er, ähnlich wie Ranke in seiner ausgezeichneten Ausgabe des Fuldensis, fort. Die Nachweise der benutzten Evangelienstellen unter den Texten sind auch für Theologen befriedigend, obgleich sie mit falschen Voraussetzungen betreffs des „Originals" arbeiten, dagegen vermißt man einige einleitende Worte über die Quellen; und ein Register der Evangelienbestandteile, wie wir es für den arabischen Tatian ja besitzen, ist geradezu unerläßlich. Sonst könnten wir uns mit dem Bergsma'schen Abdruck wohl zufrieden geben, und wir staunen nur darüber,

daß die Organisation der Wissenschaft noch mangelhaft genug funktioniert, um das völlige Übersehen dieser Niederländer durch die Tatianforschung während 15 Jahren zu ermöglichen.

R. Harris' und Plooijs Aufruf hat tiefen Eindruck gemacht. Selbst ein so nüchterner Kritiker wie H. Lietzmann (Z. für die NTl. Wiss. 1923, 150—153) ist gewonnen, und weil er die Abweichung der bisher für sicheres Tatian-Erbe geltenden Evangelien-Zitate bei Aphraates von den L'schen Texten wahrnimmt, sogar bereit, den Aphr. als Zeugen für den Wortlaut des Diatessaron überhaupt ausscheiden zu lassen, so daß L allein in Betracht käme neben den kärglichen Angaben, die aus Ephraems Diatessaron-Kommentar zu entnehmen sind. Immerhin, Lietzmanns letztes Wort, durch die Entdeckung von L sei eine neue Periode der Diatessaron-Forschung eingeleitet, die uns zu überraschenden Ergebnissen führen könne, eigne ich mir willig an. Da ich aber nicht von Plooij überzeugt worden bin, erwarte ich wenigstens teilweise andere Ergebnisse als Lietzmann, und da ich grundsätzliche Bedenken hege gegen die von Plooij geübte Beweismethode, empfinde ich eine Verpflichtung, die Mitforscher — zu denen ich natürlich R. Harris und Plooij in erster Linie rechne — zu fragen, ob hier nicht doch der Übereifer einen Irrweg eingeschlagen hat oder, vielleicht richtiger, seinen Weg nicht unbefangen und vorsichtig genug einschlägt, weshalb er in Gefahr ist das zu erreichende Ziel an falscher Stelle zu suchen.

Welches sind die von Plooij aus seiner Detailuntersuchung gezogenen Folgerungen? In kürzester Form diese: L bietet die mittelniederländische Übersetzung einer lateinischen Evangelienharmonie, die weit älter als die des Victor von Capua ist. Die Vorlage erweist ihr Alter schon dadurch, daß sie einen vorhieronymianischen Bibeltext liefert: erst der natürlich mit der Vulgata vertraute Niederländer um 1275 werde sich bisweilen von dem späteren Latein-Text haben beeinflussen lassen. Nun stimmt aber wieder der hinter L steckende Lateiner mit keiner der uns bekannten Formen des afrikanischen oder europäischen Alt-Lateiners überein: er steht vielmehr jenseits von ihnen, ist unmittelbar aus syrischer Vorlage geflossen, die keine andre sein kann als das Diatessaron Tatians,

das nie griechisch existiert haben dürfte. Die Verwandtschaft der sonstigen Itala- und Afra-Zeugen mit dem lateinischen Ahnen unsers L erklärt sich daraus, daß der Text der getrennten vier Evangelien bei den Abendländern unter starker Abhängigkeit von dem bereits vorher vorhandenen lateinischen Diatessaron zustande gekommen ist.

Wenn Plooij recht behält, wäre also die Entwicklung der lateinischen Evangelienübersetzung geradeso verlaufen, wie Preuschen (s. oben S. 132) mit guten Gründen sich die in der armenischen Kirche vorstellt. Was bei den Syrien benachbarten Armeniern Tatsache ist, wird manchem zwar bei der von Syrien so weit entfernten Christenheit des Westens, zu der das auf seine Unabhängigkeit stolze Rom gehörte, wenig glaubhaft erscheinen, doch schieben wir vorläufig solche allgemeine Bedenken zurück: sie müßten ja verstummen, wenn die Beweise für Plooijs umwälzende Thesen durchschlagend wären. Mir scheint dies nicht der Fall, so ernste Erwägung einige von seinen Argumenten verdienen.

Ehe ich aber auf die einzelnen Beweise eingehe, muß ich einen Mangel seines Unternehmens ins Licht stellen, der das Vertrauen zu allem Einzelnen mindert: Plooij hat sein Fundament nicht fest genug gelegt. Wenn eine Handschrift einer niederländischen Übersetzung des aus dem Syrischen unmittelbar, ohne griechische Vermittlung, ins Lateinische geflossenen Diatessaron Tatians uns den Dienst leisten soll, durch Zurückübersetzung uns mit dem Urtext bekannt zu machen, dann müssen wir von diesem wichtigen Zeugen eine ganz klare Anschauung erhalten, namentlich muß sein Verhältnis zu dem von ihm vorgefundenen lateinischen Text aufs genaueste festgestellt werden. Nun wagt aber auch Plooij das Msk. L nicht für die Urschrift des Übersetzers zu erklären, er verfügt bloß S. 17, praktisch sei L eine unveränderte Kopie. Darf ihm der Leser dies ohne weiteres glauben?

Auf S. 65 (cf. 61) erwähnt Plooij zwei Fehler des Schreibers von L, daß er Mt. 27 9 (und 7!) κεραμεύς durch porter (Bürger, vgl. Lc. 15 15 L: enen der portren van din lande, L=S gegen H borgher) statt potter wiedergibt und Lc. 1 65 montana durch gheburte statt gheberchte. Die beiden Beispiele sind nicht

glücklich gewählt. Denn wie Plooij selber mitteilt, war der Bürger in Mt. 27 bereits vor 1271 in Maerlants Rijmbijbel an die Stelle des Töpfers getreten, mithin kann die Nachahmung des Fehlers gerade so gut auf das Konto des Übersetzers wie auf das des Schreibers von L gesetzt werden: die Hilflosigkeit, mit der S und H, weil sie gewissenhaft das figuli ihres Lateiners zu seinem Recht bringen möchten, in v. 7 „enen acker eens potmakers", v. 9 „den acker figuli" bieten, beweist, daß ihre niederländische Vorlage auch schon das potter nicht hatte. Und Lc. 1 65, wo sie korrekt „al (alle) dat gheber(e)chte van Juda (Judea)" schreiben, ist das bei L Auffällige nicht das Wort gheburte — obwohl es durch Nachwirkung des eben vorher geschriebenen gheburen (= Nachbarn) eingedrungen sein könnte! — sondern die Fortlassung des „von Juda"; fehlte dies etwa in L's Vorlage, so lag es nahe, daß er, nachdenkend, alle Gebirge unverständlich fand und in Gebiete, Gegenden, verbesserte. Nämlich, daß gheburte bei L ein häufig vorkommender Ersatz von fines oder regio ist, z. B. Mt. 2 16, Lc. 7 17, sollte Plooij seinem Publikum mitteilen, das er hier fast zwingt, dem Schreiber L eine Verwechslung von Gebirge und Geburt zuzutrauen.[1] Wenn ich an den Text von L für Lc. 7 17 denke: diese Kunde lief durch alles Land von Judaea und alle die Gegenden und die Lande darumher, so werde ich geneigt, jenen „Schreibfehler" in Lc. 1 65 vielmehr als eine beabsichtigte Verbesserung des Übersetzers selber anzusehen. Aber sonst sind es allerdings der Schreibfehler in L zu viele, und zu erhebliche, als daß man sie dem Übersetzer zutrauen dürfte. „An unaltered copy" läßt sich schon

[1] Es ist der Erwähnung wert, daß einem tüchtigen Gelehrten wie W. Walther auf S. 405 des unten zu nennenden Buches das drollige Unglück passiert, in seiner Handschrift G die Geburt der stat cesaria — statt: die Gegend der Stadt Caesarea — als Beleg dafür aufzufassen, daß der Übersetzer partus mit partes verwechselt, sein Latein mindestens unrichtig entziffert habe. Wie schlagend wird dieser Beweis für Benutzung einer lateinischen Vorlage — partus = partes — auf den ersten Blick erfunden werden! Soll ich nicht auch bei L eine Verlesung oder falsche Entzifferung von Lc. 1 65 ορια statt ορινη konstatieren? Ich tue es nicht, bitte aber, wenn bei angeblich syrischer Vorlage gleiches „geschlossen" wird, gleiche Skepsis zu üben.

angesichts von Doppelübersetzungen nicht aufrechterhalten, die nur durch Konflation zweier Texte entstanden sein können. Ich begnüge mich mit einem Fall. Mt. 21 42 hic factus est in caput anguli übersetzt S (S. 170 Bergsma) int overste van den houke, H int overste van den slotte, das Beheim-Evangelium zu eime houbite der ecke, L aber S. 171 int overste van den horneke teenen eggesteene: wagt jemand, zumal wenn er das Souveränitätsbewußtsein des niederländischen Übersetzers einmal gekostet hat, diesen zusammengestoppelten Text ihm zuzuschreiben?

Aber zugegeben, daß L der älteste und beste Zeuge für die Arbeit des Niederländers von ca. 1270 — nennen wir ihn N — ist, er ist doch immer nur ein Zeuge innerhalb einer ganzen Gruppe von anderen aus nicht viel jüngerer Zeit. Mögen diese sämtlich den niederländischen Text nach ihrer Vulgata-Bibel gereinigt und vervollständigt haben — notabene: nicht nach einer anderen lateinischen Evangelienharmonie, was Plooij im stillen wohl annimmt aber schwerlich beweisen kann, da ja der zu N in verschiedenen Maßen hinzuwachsende Text eben nicht Diatessarontext war, sondern es erst werden sollte — so haben sie doch nie konsequent gereinigt. Auch Plooij gesteht zu, daß sie viel Altes trotz der Vulgata aufbewahrt hätten; woher weiß er, daß sie dies niemals an Stellen getan haben, an denen uns L, gleichviel aus welchen Gründen, wie schon Mt. 27 7,9 und Lc. 1 65, im Stiche läßt! Solange nicht feststeht, daß alle anderen Exemplare der N-Familie von L abstammen, darf eine Untersuchung, die sich so weite Ziele steckt wie die von Plooij, nicht, fast naiv, L=N setzen. Es ist ein schwerer methodischer Fehler, daß sich Pl. eigenwillig vornimmt, sein Fundament, das doch nur N sein kann, nicht erst mit Hülfe aller ihm zugänglichen Mittel zu rekonstruieren.

Auf S. 16 führt Plooij sieben Zeugen auf, unter ihnen L an erster Stelle, aber nicht einmal über die Abfassungszeit der Manuskripte äußert er sich, geschweige denn über Abfassungsort und etwaige Abhängigkeiten. Sein Verzeichnis ist aber auch nichts weniger als vollständig. Ich weiß nicht, ob eine Trierer Hsch., die er S. 11 und 18 anführt, eigentlich hierher gehörte, aber keinenfalls durfte die mittelhochdeutsche

Afterübersetzung fehlen, die in dem Münchener Codex Cgm 532 aus dem Jahre 1367 (G) vollständig erhalten ist. Zum erstenmal hat sie genau beschrieben Wilhelm Walther: Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters III 1892 S. 493—498, für die Tatianforschung hat sie herangezogen Th. Zahn in dem Aufsatz: Zur Geschichte von Tatians Diatessaron im Abendland (Neue kirchl. Zeitschr. V 1894 auf S. 107—120). Da Plooij jene Abhandlung Zahns kennt und obendrein den Artikel von Robinson, der ebenfalls 1894, unabhängig von Zahn, die enge Verwandtschaft von G mit S wahrgenommen hat, ist es schwer begreiflich, wie Plooij an diesem wichtigen Zeugen für N achtlos vorbeigehen konnte. Hätte er zugleich das Referat von Kausler über S — in Mones Anzeiger für Kunde der teutschen Vorwelt 1837 S. 78—86 hinzugenommen, so würde ihm eine intime Verwandtschaft zwischen G und S in die Augen gefallen sein: beide schieben hinter den Schluß der Harmonie eine Übersetzung von Mc. 8 22-26, einer Perikope, die im Diatessaron fehlt, von dem Übersetzer aber ungern darin vermißt wurde; er hat den Plan, sie aufzunehmen, aber erst nach Vollendung des Ganzen gefaßt und es seinen Nachfolgern überlassen, ihr den richtigen Platz innerhalb der Harmonie zu verschaffen. Und trotzdem ist G nicht etwa eine mitteldeutsche Übertragung des niederländischen S, sondern die beiden gehen auf eine gemeinsame Vorlage zurück, aus der eben gerade sie nur den Mc.-Nachtrag beibehalten haben, während er bei H mitten im Text (S. 122 Bergsma) zwischen Mt. 16 12 und 16 13 untergebracht ist. Nämlich in einzelnem weicht G nicht nur von dem Textsinn — beim Wortlaut wäre das ja selbstverständlich — S's ab, sondern er stimmt dann gegen S bald mit H, bald mit L überein, gelegentlich steht er auch allein ihnen gegenüber. Das Problem wird noch komplizierter dadurch, daß von der mitteldeutschen Harmonie noch mindestens ein anderes Exemplar nachweisbar ist. In dem Evangelienwerk des Matthias von Beheim, das R. Bechstein Leipzig 1867 herausgab, findet sich hinter den vier „Getrennten" die Passionsgeschichte (P) in einer harmonistischen, oft bis auf den Buchstaben mit G übereinstimmenden Form; dies Werk ist aber älter als G, die Handschrift 1343 geschrieben, die Vorlage scheint 1335

angefertigt worden zu sein, wodurch die Geburtsstunde dieses „deutschen" Tatian ganz nahe an die der Handschrift L des Niederländers heranrückt. W. Walther a. a. O. S. 498—506 glaubt reichliche Anleihen aufzeigen zu können, die in dem Beheim-Buch die Übersetzung auch der vier Getrennten bei jener Harmonie gemacht habe; neben der Unbehülflichkeit mancher Stellen frappiert geradezu die Gewandtheit andrer, die regelmäßig im Diatessaron zu finden sind: sicher hat also im 14. Jhrh. das Werk N in der neuaufgeblühten Übersetzungsliteratur eine sieghafte Rolle gespielt.

Ich widerstehe der Versuchung, einen Stammbaum der N-Familie aufzubauen, solange mir G und P nicht zugänglich geworden, vielmehr nur aus den knappen Mitteilungen über einzelne Worte, höchstens Satzteile in ihnen bei Bechstein, Walther, Zahn bekannt sind. Aber, daß die Drucklegung dieses mitteldeutschen Zweigs der Familie auch für Plooijs Zwecke wichtiger wäre als eine Neuherausgabe von L, darf ich behaupten, ich glaube auch, daß dadurch noch neues Licht auf L fallen wird. Vielleicht höchstens von P im Verhältnis zu G abgesehen, haben ja alle Glieder der N-Familie ein so starkes Eigenleben, eine so ausgeprägte Individualität, daß man nicht ganz ohne Fug von mehreren Leben Jesu sprechen konnte, wo man nur mehrere Handschriften der niederländischen N-Familie meinte.[2]

Angesichts dieser Erkenntnis aber scheint es mir nicht erlaubt, nur weil N selber verschwunden ist, mit Plooij L gleich N zu setzen, während a priori das Wahrscheinlichere ist, daß auch zwischen ihm und dem Urübersetzer N schon eine kräftige Entwicklung liegt —, ähnlich der, die wir von L zu S einer-, zu G andrerseits beobachten. Es mag sein, daß das eine Hauptinteresse der ganzen großen Gruppe SHGP, dem offiziellen biblischen Text näher zu kommen, bei L nicht wirksam war; müssen ihm darum die andren Interessen, das der Verdeutlichung und das der Bereicherung, auch fremd geblieben

[2] Ist es nicht ganz so, wie wir uns den Zustand bei der Verbreitung der Exemplare der vier kanonischen Evangelien im ersten Stadium (mindestens 60 Jahre hindurch) vorzustellen haben?

sein? Ich meine sogar in L zwei Hände von sehr verschiedener Haltung zu beobachten. Wie sticht doch von der freien Flottheit, mit der im allgemeinen der Niederländer seinen lateinischen Wortlaut seinem Sprachempfinden gemäß und zugunsten der Verständlichkeit modelt, die steifleinene Art ab, mit der er beim Übergang immer wieder sein: „Und dann sprach Jesus weiter (zu ihnen) und sagte also" stammelt. Von den Glossen und Expositionen, die L heut zwischen den Zeilen oder am Rande bietet, könnten ja die meisten sogar nachträglich zu L noch hinzugefügt scheinen. Aber führt L nicht bereits in seinem Texte, also als Material, das er aus einer Vorlage abschrieb, eine erhebliche Zahl ganz gleicher Glossen und hermeneutischer Ratschläge? Wenn wir die Mehrzahl von diesen bei S und (bzw. oder) bei H (G?) nicht vorfinden, empfiehlt es sich besser, an Streichungslust bei den sonst so stoffbegierigen jüngeren zu glauben, als an Erweiterungs- und Bereicherungswillen auch schon bei dem ein wenig älteren? Plooij neigt dazu, die Glossen sogar als von N bereits in seinem lateinischen Diatessaron angetroffen, darum am liebsten als von Tatian selber herrührend anzusehen. Ich dächte, ein Beispiel genügte, um uns den Geschmack an solchen Hypothesen zu verleiden. In Lc. 1 28 bietet L S. 9: Ave dat lut also vele alse sonder we, mutet uns also zu, ave halb aus dem Deutschen abzuleiten a-ve=ohne Weh!! Bergsma verzeichnet noch eine Quelle, die diese glorreiche Volks-Etymologie vertritt, S und H wissen nichts von ihr; daß der Schreiber von L sie aber bereits in seiner Vorlage las, schließe ich auch daraus, daß er am Rande nichts vermerkt, während er zwei Zeilen vorher den Zusatz zu Lc. 1 27: Dese man ende dese magt waren beide van Davids geslechte, der eher tatianisch sein könnte — schwerlich indes es ist — als „glosa" markiert.

Über den Ursprung der Glossen läßt sich aber nicht disputieren, ohne daß wir den Prolog heranziehen, in dem der Verfasser über sein Werk Aufschluß geben will. Nicht alle Handschriften der Familie haben ihn, HG nicht, dagegen hat ihn S wie L. Aber mit merkwürdiger Diskrepanz. Er ist bei L (und in den bei Bergsma als W bezeichneten Fragmenten

einer andern Handschrift) um ein gut Stück länger als bei S. Dies Stück befindet sich in der Mitte des Ganzen und beginnt und schließt mit einer Klage über die Schwerverständlichkeit der h. Schrift. An vielen Stellen sei der Text der Evangelien so dunkel, daß man den Sinn der Worte nicht begreifen, noch richtig verstehen könne, ohne Glossen und Expositionen. Darum hätten denn auch Augustinus, Hieronymus, Gregorius, Beda und viele andre „gute Leute" große Bücher geschrieben, um das Evangelium zu erklären. Und er, der Übersetzer, werde auch, wenn er an solche dunkle Stellen komme, die Dunkelheit durch Glossen und Auslegungen aufklären, so gut und kurz er könne. „Denn wenn ich die bloßen Worte gerade so, wie sie im Texte geschrieben sind, ins Deutsche übertrüge, so würde das Werk an vielen Stellen allzu dunkel bleiben, und an einigen Stellen würden die Worte, die ich schreibe, sogar wider die Vernunft und unsern Glauben zu verstoßen scheinen, z. B. Mt. 5 29 si oculus tuus scandalizat te." Nun, als Vorläufer der Reformation offenbart sich dieser Tatianist mit solcher Beurteilung der h. Schrift nicht gerade. Plooij, der an der Verantwortlichkeit des Übersetzers keinen Zweifel äußert, schließt daraus nur, daß er ein Laie war, denn keinem Theologen jener Zeit hätte das Wort vom Ärgernis des Auges anstößig erscheinen können. Ich sehe in dem Passus vielmehr einen Beweis, daß der Autor ein Gelehrter, und das heißt damals doch wohl ein Theologe, war: wie hätte er sonst sich angemaßt, in der Art wie Augustin seine Leser zu belehren? Denn wohlgemerkt, er verspricht nicht etwa, aus den Alten Material zum rechten Verständnis des Evangeliums beizufügen, sondern nach ihrem Vorbild will er selbst die für seine Übersetzung nötigen Erklärungen herstellen. Eine gründliche Untersuchung aller dieser Glossen und Expositionen L's, von denen einige in die Staatenbibel Eingang gefunden haben, wird freilich feststellen, daß der Verfasser sein Verdienst überschätzt und wenig eigene Weisheit produziert hat: sein Material ist so ungleichartig, daß nur eine bunte Sammlung angenommen werden kann, und der Geschmack des Auswählenden imponiert wenig, selbst wenn wir ihm den mittelalterlichen Scholastiker, der er ist, zugute halten.

Gerne würden wir nun, da uns der unbekannte Übersetzer N fast Bewunderung abnötigt, zwischen ihm und dem sich mit fremden Federn schmückenden Glossator unterscheiden, d. h. den von S nicht gebotenen Abschnitt des Prologs für interpoliert erklären, womit denn der glossenlose Zweig der N-Familie als der ältere angesetzt wird — was ja nicht ausschlösse, daß er in andrer Beziehung, durch seine Bevorzugung des Bibeltextes der Vulgata, erst recht weit von N abgewichen wäre.

In der Tat scheint mir bereits sicher, daß L einer- und SHG andrerseits zwei Abzweigungen von N darstellen, dessen Bestand erst durch kritische Verarbeitung aus den beiden Umgestaltungen wieder zu gewinnen ist. Aber das Problem des Prologs ist mit der Annahme einer Interpolation in L noch nicht gelöst. Denn dieser Prolog enthält auch in seiner kürzeren Form bei S eine Fiktion. Der Verfasser behauptet, auf die Bitte eines lieben Freundes hin: 1. die Evangelien aus dem Lateinischen in die „dietsche" Sprache übertragen und 2. aus dem Texte der vier Evangelisten eine schöne Historie des Lebens unsers Herrn Jesu Christi gemacht zu haben. Er schildert die Mühe und Gefahr, die mit solcher Gestaltung des oft gar nicht übereinstimmend Überlieferten verbunden gewesen sei, er verrät auch seine Kenntnis der eusebianischen Canones, läßt aber nirgends durchblicken, daß sein Lateiner ihm diese Mühen und Gefahren ja längst abgenommen hatte; er redet, als sei er der erste Schöpfer solch einer Evangelienharmonie. Diese Fiktion läßt sich nicht wegdeuten; die Erinnerung an die nicht nur antike, sondern auch mittelalterliche Gleichgültigkeit gegen die Rechte geistigen Eigentums ändert an dem objektiven Tatbestand nichts; und wenn Plooij sich die Sache psychologisch verständlicher machen möchte durch die Hypothese, der Verfasser habe großenteils den Wortlaut der ursprünglich von Tatian seinem syrischen Diatessaron beigegebenen Vorrede benutzt, so wird er wenig Glauben finden; auch bleibt nicht viel übrig, was aus Tatian stammen könnte, da dieser doch nicht mit Euseb's Canones zu operieren in der Lage war und uns schon zu viel zugemutet wird, wenn wir den Ammonius mit seiner alle Züge alexandrinischen Schulbetriebs zeigenden

Synopse nach Plooijs Wunsch für einen Zeitgenossen und Vorarbeiter des Tatian halten sollen. Mir kommt dieser Prolog wie ein fast raffiniertes Kunststück vor, das bestimmt ist für den lukanischen Prolog Lc. 1 1-4 und den des Victor von Capua einen Ersatz zu bieten: auch die hieronymianischen Prologe zu den Evangelien mögen dem Verfasser vorschweben. Hiermit wäre N als Autor ziemlich aus dem Wege geschafft; denn ihm lag das lateinische Diatessaron doch in einer von Victor unberührten Form vor: welches Interesse konnte er haben, sich der Konkurrenz Victors zu erwehren? Bei einem späteren Umarbeiter von N, der dessen Bibeltext der Vulgata anzugleichen strebte, wäre die Wendung gut begreiflich. Aber komplizieren wir dadurch die Entwicklung nicht abenteuerlich, indem wir auf N einen (postulierten) S^1 mit Prolog^1 folgen lassen, diesem dann L, der Prolog^1 zu Prolog^2 erweitert, während S^2, unsre Stuttgarter Handschrift, den Glossen abgeneigt, es bei Prolog^1 beläßt, und wieder andre wie H zwar den Text von S^1, aber nicht seinen Prolog übernehmen? Auch ist nicht nur der Prolog ein ungewisser Faktor; das Kapitelverzeichnis in L, das nicht etwa nur Arbeit eines Abschreibers ist,[3] gehört in dieselbe Reihe; und die Differenzen der Kapitelzählung und -abgrenzung zwischen S und L lassen sich auch nicht alle auf Nachlässigkeit von Schreibern zurückführen. Der Geist, der es in L bei jedem Kapitel in Register ausgeschrieben sehen wollte, ob es Historie oder Sermon enthalte, der an der Monotonie und dem Schematismus Wohlgefallen findet, ist dem ähnlich, der in den Glossen sich äußert, auch werden hier lateinische (französische?) Worte, die gewiß im Texte nicht fehlen (vgl. Mt. 22 6 S. 171 Bergsma laidingeren laut Kausler für contumelia adficere, wo S sagt: schlugen sie) massenhaft verbraucht, allerdings noch nicht so vordringlich

[3] Z. B. zeigt sich Intention, nicht nur Aufmerksamkeit, bei der Rubrik von cp. 187 (S. 286 Bergsma) Hoe dat Jhesus des vyfstes daegs vore paeschen te Bethphage ten berghe van oliveten sende II van sinen jongheren. Der Text deutet über den Wochentag nichts an: der Capitulator sucht sich über die unglaublich späte Ansetzung des Hosianna-Einzugs in seiner Harmonie durch diesen fünften Tag (?) vor „Passah“ zu beruhigen.

wie in einigen Expositionen. Als ein Nichtwissender mißtraue ich meinem Eindruck, daß L sprachlich der Einheitlichkeit entbehrt; nur Zusammenarbeit von germanistischen Fachleuten mit Theologen wird uns eine Entscheidung ermöglichen. Es liegt mir darum nichts ferner, als Plooij etwa einen Vorwurf daraus zu schmieden, daß er keine Entscheidung liefert; was ich vermisse, ist die Erkenntnis der offenen Fragen, der Schwierigkeiten. Noch ehe wir die Philologen zu Hülfe rufen, müssen wir die Sammlung vervollständigen, von jedem Glied der Familie muß man wissen, ob es den Prolog hat, und was davon, ob ein und welches Kapitelverzeichnis, ob den an der Spitze der Handschrift S stehenden Festkalender, — und manches Ähnliche. Denn wenn Kausler sogar hoffte, aus der Übersichtstafel in S (und G!), die das Buch zum Nachlesen der Evangelien beim Besuch der Messe brauchbar machen wollte, Schlüsse auf das eigentliche Motiv der Abfassung unsers Werks zu ziehen, so werden wir keins von diesen Nebendingen ignorieren dürfen, so lange über die vorläufig ganz im dunklen stehende Gestalt N's noch nur Vermutungen auf Grund zahlreicher Handschriften geäußert werden können.

L „an unaltered copy" ist eine schlechthin zu verwerfende These; was von jedem andren Glied der Gruppe gilt, daß es uns gern Nachfüllungen und Erleichterungen darreicht, wird von L erst recht gelten, da L älter als die andern sein dürfte und der Trieb zur Selbständigkeit gegenüber den Vorlagen offensichtlich mit dem 15. Jhrh. nachläßt, vielleicht völlig verschwindet.

Ich berühre nur nebenher, daß Plooij sich in gleicher Sicherheit wiegt betreffs des Verhältnisses von N zu der Urform des lateinischen Diatessaron, die wir mit Zahn U nennen mögen. Es ist nicht nur ein lapsus calami, wenn er S. 39 Z. 2 bei Besprechung von Mt. 5 37 uns ein syrisches Wort präsentiert, das der Araber als Masculinum, L als Neutrum übersetzt habe. Natürlich meint er mit L den von L benutzten Lateiner; aber der Gedanke, daß dieser Lateiner doch nicht von vor 200 n. Chr. bis 1250 unbeweglich festgelegen haben kann, daß wir ihm eine, wenn auch beschränkte, Entwicklung zutrauen müssen, daß zwischen U und der von N verwerteten lateinischen

Handschrift allermindestens zwei Zwischenglieder anzufordern wären, und der Trieb zur Erweiterung auch bei deren Anfertigung wenigstens in Rechnung zu setzen ist, daß also auch bei Beeinflussungen durch die Vulgata, die Plooij in L wahrnimmt, fraglich bleibt, ob erst L sie erlitten hat oder nicht schon einer der Vermittler zwischen U und N — dieser Gedanke taucht bei Plooij nicht auf: wiederum ein Moment, das seine Fundamentierung als unzureichend, weil unvorsichtig, erscheinen läßt.

Aber zurück zu L! Einmal zugegeben, daß kein Grund vorliegt, einen Unterschied zwischen ihm und dem N, auf den es für die Tatianforschung ja allein ankommt, zu machen, hätte sein Bild deutlicher umrissen werden sollen, als es bei Plooij geschieht. Auch in einer „vorläufigen Studie" durfte diese Übersetzerpersönlichkeit — denn er ist eine recht markante Persönlichkeit — nicht wie eine Schüssel behandelt werden, in der allerhand Leckerbissen aus einer anderen Welt aufgehoben liegen. Gewiß hat Plooij dem Leser nichts vorenthalten wollen; nicht nur einzelne Sätze aus L führt er ihm vor, sondern auf S. 20—25 durchlaufend ganze Kapitel und S. 47—52, um ein Beispiel von feiner Mosaikarbeit zu liefern, die cp. 101 bis zum Anfang von 103, Joh. 6 1-21 samt synoptischen Parallelen: Speisung der 5000 und Geschichte vom seewandelnden Jesus. Aber die am letzten Orte zu beobachtende Kunst ist ja weder nach Plooijs Meinung noch in Wirklichkeit eine Kunst von N, sondern ausschließlich die seiner Vorlage; und schon an den früheren Stellen S. 20ff. lenkt Plooij durch seinen Kommentar die Aufmerksamkeit mehr von L ab zu den alten Partnern, sy c s, Ta ar, Ta ephr. it afr codex Bezae oder wie sie sonst heißen, als daß er darauf dränge, vorerst einmal die Eigenart dieses Übersetzers unbekümmert um Quellen und Parallelen zu erfassen. Mir ist diese Eigenart erst aufgegangen, als ich, unbehindert durch Analysen, in Bergsmas Ausgabe nichts als den Text von L und abschnittweise dahinter dann den von S zu lesen bekam. Der Fehler rächt sich; Plooij benutzt von vornherein N nur als Mittel zu einem anderen Zweck; wenn aber das, was als Mittel gebraucht wird, viel mehr, ja etwas andres gewesen ist und sein wollte als nur Mittel, so wird aus dem

Gebrauch Mißbrauch, und eine Reihe von Fehlern im zweiten Teil von Plooijs Studie rühren daher, daß er von der Individualität des niederländischen Übersetzers sich nicht vor allem andren eine klare und sicher fundamentierte Vorstellung gebildet hatte.

Ich kann hier aus dem Bilde des Übersetzers N ein paar Hauptzüge herausheben. Er ist kein Handwerksmann, sondern ein Künstler, er erinnert in manchem an Luther: soweit wie nur möglich entfernt er sich von der Pedanterie, die Wort für Wort des fremden Textes in die eigne Sprache herüberholt, Latein ins Deutsche; er ahnt, daß Übersetzen heißt: die Gedanken des Lateiners deutsch so wiedergeben, daß der Deutsche davon den gleichen Eindruck erhält, wie einst der Lateiner. So kümmert N sich nie um die Reihenfolge der Worte in seiner Vorlage, oft auch nicht um die Wortformen, vertauscht dem Geist seiner Sprache gemäß Partizipialsätze mit relativischen oder konditionalen aber auch mit Adverbien und umgekehrt; wo ein deutsches Wort nicht genügt, um den Sinn eines lateinischen wiederzugeben, wählt er ohne Bedenken zwei oder noch mehr. Nach seiner Idee soll der Übersetzer ferner zugleich Erklärer sein; deshalb setzt er für eine mehrdeutige Wendung niemals eine ebenso mehrdeutige, sondern sorgt dafür, daß sein Leser nur „richtig" verstehen könne. Und weil er die Klarheit über alles hochschätzt, hält er sich verpflichtet, namentlich durch motivierende Zusätze den Zusammenhang zwischen den einzelnen Gliedern seiner Vorlage fester zu schließen. Lebendige Bilder will er haben, Vorbedingung dafür ist Anschaulichkeit; wo der Lateiner es bei Andeutungen beläßt, da setzt er ungeniert kräftige Farben auf; eine Mehrheit von Punkten ergänzt er zur langen geraden Linie. So souverän mit seinem Texte schalten kann freilich nur ein Mensch, der im Verständnis des fremden Textes nicht erst Schwierigkeiten zu bekämpfen hat, wohl gar in Gefahr ist partus mit partes zu verwechseln, und der zugleich seiner Muttersprache Meister ist: die Reste von Latein (z. B. tormenten, destructie, adversarise, de caritate) hat er noch nicht als sprachfremd empfunden, während S daran schon Anstoß nahm und für de caritate „die minne" schreibt oder für adversarise „wedersaken". Nur einige

Beispiele zur Veranschaulichung. Mt. 24 15 quälen sich die Lateiner mit dem βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως ratlos ab, auch Luther bleibt bei „Greuel der Verwüstung", dagegen hat N den Mut dafür zu schreiben, das Abscheuliche, das Zeichen der Weltzerstörung.[4] Wenn Joh. 4 29 es von der Samariterin heißt, daß sie abiit in civitatem, so läßt L sie in die Stadt rennen; Lc. 19 4 heißt es von dem kleinen Zachaeus statt ascendit in arborem sycomorum: er kletterte auf eine Sycomore. Lc. 19 5 et cum venisset ad locum L: und als Jesus an die Stätte kam, wo Zachaeus auf dem Baume stand. Man beachte hier auch den Zusatz „Jesus"; L kann es gar nicht leiden, daß irgendwo ein Zweifel übrig bliebe, wer redet oder zu wem gesprochen wird. 19 1 verbessert er omnes — die murrten — in de Yoden, 19 6 nicht nur festinans descendit, sondern: ende Zacheus ghinc vollec af. Mt. 21 32 schiebt er zwischen „trotzdem" und „habt ihr nicht bereut" ein: bliebt ihr in eurer Verhärtung (styfheit); Mc. 5 43 bestimmt er näher, wann Jesus gebot, daß man ihm zu essen gebe: „als das Kind wieder zu sich gekommen war". Zartes Empfinden bedünkt mich aus dem Wechsel hervorzublicken in der Wiedergabe von κοράσιον, puella. Sonst, auch Mc. 5 39, 40 Jungfrau, dagegen 5 41 in Jesu Munde das Deminutiv: Yonfrouken. Kann man in der Geschichte von der Blutflüssigen straffer, präziser den umständlichen Vers Mc. 5 26 wiedergeben als L (S. 75 Bergsma): Diese hatte all ihr Gut an die Meister der Heilkunde gegeben, aber je mehr sie gab, um so weniger hatte sie (im Niederländischen ist der Rhythmus feiner: so si meer gaf, so si wers hadde)? Wie eigenmächtig dieser Übersetzer sein Verständnis eines Bibeltextes bis zur Behauptung des Gegenteils von dem was der Text sagte, durchhält, illustriere Lc. 19 42 (S. 159): Wenn du wüßtest, was dir bevorsteht, wie ich es weiß, so würdest du auch weinen, doch nun an diesem Tag hast du deinen Frieden (want nu op desen dach so hefstu dinen pais [S ändert nur pais in vrede])! Oder man vergleiche mit den griechischen und lateinischen Texten von Joh. 8 44 f. den bei L (S. 183). Ihr seid vom Teufel, der euer

[4] S ersetzt L's ommeregheit durch onmenschelijcheit: niedliche Volksetymologie (abhominatio für abom.)!

Vater ist. Und nach seinem Willen wirkt ihr die Werke, die ihr tut. Er war ein Mörder seit der ersten Zeit, und hat nicht in der Wahrheit (voll-) bestanden. Denn es ist keine Wahrheit in ihm. Wenn er eine Lüge sagt, so sagt er sie aus seinem Eignen; denn er ist Lügner und Vater der Lüge. Aber mir glaubt ihr nicht, weil ich euch (!) die Wahrheit sage. Harmlos und doch nicht minder charakteristisch ist der Einschub in Mt. 3 3, Lc. 3 4 (S. 25) hinter: es wird eine Stimme gehört werden von einem, der rufen wird in der Wüste: Und was wird er rufen? Oder Lc. 18 43 (S. 159): Und alles Volk, das da war und dies sah, gab Gott großes Lob ob dieser wunderbaren Werke. Aus repleti sunt ira Lc. 4 28 wird bei L S. 97 das doppelte worden vergramt ende vererrt, in synagoga dagegen unterdrückt —, Mt. 17 12 S. 127 aus sic et filius hominis passurus est ab eis: Desgleichen werden sie tun mit des Menschen Sohn, denn von ihnen wird er ausgeliefert werden zum Tode. In einzelnen Fällen wie dem letztgenannten entsteht in L überflüssige Breite; der Übersetzer erniedrigt sich zum Paraphrasten; meist hat da S eine angenehme Kürzung vorgenommen.

Aber selbst wenn wir uns auf das Material beschränken dürften, das L mit der Gruppe um S gemeinsam hat, würde in Anbetracht des Charakters der niederländischen Version außer Zweifel sein, daß sie kein geeignetes Instrument ist, um die Einzelheiten im Wortlaut des zugrunde liegenden lateinischen Textes zu erheben; in der Regel wird sie als sinngetreu gelten dürfen, aber nicht mehr: auch die einzelnen lateinischen Worte, Substantiva wie Verba, werden von L — übrigens gilt im letzteren das gleiche von allen Formen der Vetus Latina — keineswegs immer gleichmäßig wiedergegeben, nicht einmal in ein und demselben Abschnitt: N scheint aus Geschmacksrücksichten bewußt zu variieren.

Ich kann nicht unterlassen, hier anzuführen, was W. Walther a. a. O. S. 494 über den Bibeltext in G — ein gewiß unbefangener Zeuge, da er ja keine Ahnung hat von einer etwaigen Verwendbarkeit Gs für die Gewinnung eines altlateinischen Textes aus G — geurteilt hat. „Liest man die hier vorliegende Übersetzung, ohne die lateinische Vorlage zu vergleichen, so

muß man staunen über die vorzügliche Leistung. Das Deutsch ist so gewandt gehandhabt, daß schwerlich eine andre Übersetzung aus derselben Zeit die vorliegende übertreffen wird. Aber der Preis, mit dem dieser Ruhm bezahlt ist, besteht in beständigem Verlassen des Wortlautes der Vorlage." Und S. 497 beinahe komisch gesteigert: „Wer diese Handschrift studiert, kann nur tief bedauern, daß der Übersetzer solch ein relativ meisterhaftes Werk nicht ohne beständigen Mißbrauch der ihm zustehenden Freiheit schaffen konnte." Die Meisterschaft Ns tritt für uns noch in helleres Licht, die wir wissen, daß G sein „wohllautendes Deutsch" einem noch wohllautenderen Niederländisch verdankt; an einem Sohn des 13. Jhrhs. werden wir eine kühnliche Freiheit lieber bewundern als anklagen, ohnehin es ablehnen, N an Luther zu messen. Aber was wir von N—L nicht erwarten dürfen, steht dadurch doch wohl klar genug da, wenn schon der so erheblich an die Vulgata angeglichene Typus SGH „den Wortlaut der Vorlage beständig verlassen" hat. Plooij darf sich nicht etwa darauf berufen, daß Walthers Urteil von der falschen Voraussetzung ausgehe, jener Deutsche arbeite nach einem Vulgata-Exemplar; gerade er schätzt die Itala-Reste in S — somit erst recht in G — ja so gering ein, daß er es nicht der Mühe wert findet, außer L überhaupt eine andre Handschrift der Familie N bei seiner kritischen Untersuchung heranzuziehen. Und wir, die wir auf die Hilfe der Gruppen SGH zur Wiederherstellung des Textes in N, neben dem selbstverständlich weit gewichtigeren L, nicht verzichten wollen, haben uns überzeugt, daß die Klage Walthers über „große Freiheit der Bewegung" gegenüber dem lateinischen Wortlaut keineswegs in Jubel umschlagen müßte, sobald man statt der Vulgata den altlateinischen Text, aus dem N übersetzte, dem Vergleich zugrunde legt. Dazu sind die Abweichungen der einzelnen Evangelientexte gar nicht eingreifend und zahlreich genug, um an der Tatsache etwas zu ändern, daß N — wenn wir von den poetischen Umschreibern absehen — die am wenigsten buchstabengetreue Übersetzung ist, die wir aus den älteren Zeiten kennen. Ich bin darauf gefaßt, dies letzte Wort zurückzunehmen, wenn die Evangelienharmonie des vorwiclifischen Clemens von Llanthony veröffentlicht sein wird;

verfährt sie mit dem Evangelienstoff, etwa in der Anordnung der Perikopen, noch souveräner als N, so werden wir dann eben unser Urteil über ein Stück in der Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters gewaltig ändern, aber brauchbarer für die Rekonstruktion des von N übersetzten Lateiners wird L nicht werden.

Nur anmerkungsweise erwähne ich noch, daß ich in LSG keine Spur bestimmter Tendenzen dogmatischer, liturgischer, monachaler Art gefunden habe. Der „Teufel" wird nicht etwa grundsätzlich und konsequent eliminiert; spiritualistische oder zelatorische Anwandlungen täuscht sich der moderne Leser zu leicht vor; S. 111 dürfte es nur das ästhetische Vermögen Ns beleuchten, daß L sich den Abort in Mt. 15 17 zu nennen ganz erspart: „Und versteht ihr nicht, daß alles was zum Munde eingeht, das kommt in den Bauch. Und von da läuft es durch den Kanal (de condute) des Körpers (S bloß: und von da geht es durch den Körper)." Nur eine unbewußte Vorliebe für Neues beherrscht den Verfasser; denn daß sein Bibeltext dem offiziellen der Kirche nicht entsprach, konnte selbst einem Laien nicht entgehen; N aber hielt sich an diesen „neuen" Text nicht trotzdem, sondern gerade darum, mit Enthusiasmus!

Bringen wir nunmehr ein bestimmt begrenztes Maß von Erwartungen mit an den Teil von Plooijs Studie, der an einzelnen Stellen aus L das Material herausholen will, auf das er zum Schluß seine Konklusionen aufbaut, so wird uns die Mehrzahl der dort zusammengetragenen Belege als entweder ganz unbrauchbar, oder doch zum Stich nicht ausreichend erscheinen. Ich bezweifle auch, daß die von Plooij gewählte Methode, der Reihe nach die 245 Kapitel von L zu durchschreiten und sich dabei umzusehen, wo sich etwas findet, was sei es für diese, sei es für jene der von Plooij aufgestellten Thesen mobil gemacht werden kann, die praktischste ist: mit dieser Einführung in die Werkstatt des Forschers wird hier dem Leser nicht genützt, nur seine Aufmerksamkeit zersplittert; wirksamer wäre gewiß eine Einrichtung, wobei wir schrittweise, immer begleitet von ein paar eindrucksvollen Beweisen, mit Plooij den Weg von L (bezw. N) zu der Urform zurücklegten. Denn daß er in L den Zeugen für ein uraltes, direkt aus dem

Syrischen Tatians in die lateinische Sprache übertragenes Diatessaron erblickt, brauchte er dem Leser von Anfang an nicht zu verheimlichen. Wenn doch der erste Blick auf das Ganze in L (wie in G oder S) dem Kundigen offenbart, daß die niederländische Evangelienharmonie durch ihre Komposition absolut sicher als zu dem Kreis um den Fuldensis gehörig und dadurch als mit Tatian eng verwandt erwiesen ist, so stellt sich uns eben damit die Aufgabe, ihr Verhältnis zu F näher zu bestimmen. Noch ehe die schwierigere Betrachtung des lateinischen Wortlauts einsetzt, sollte gefragt werden, ob denn die Reihenfolge bei L in allem gleich der in F ist: die Antwort mußte lauten: nicht ganz durchweg, sondern außer einer Reihe kleinerer Zusätze zu dem F-Bestand in L bringt L die Einzugsgeschichte viel später als F, und da dieser späte Platz sonst von keinem Abendländer, auch von den Münchener Handschriften eines nicht mit F gehenden Diatessaron (codd. A D bei Vogels) gestützt wird, wohl aber, wie Zahn bewiesen hat, von Tatian, und da in diesem Falle Zufälligkeit schlechthin ausgeschlossen ist, so scheint beinahe von vornherein sicher, daß wir in L eine Form des Diatessaron vor uns haben, die älter als F, d. h. älter als das Jahr 546 ist. Daß von der Urform des lateinischen Diatessaron (U) bis zu F hin schon mehrere Zwischenstufen mit bedeutsamen Eingriffen in den Bestand zu fordern seien, hatte schon Zahn 1894 gesehen; aber er meinte, auch U könne, da er den Vulgata-Text verwende, frühestens um 400 angesetzt werden. Seitdem haben andere Gelehrte, z. B. Vogels und Schäfers, eine vorhieronymianische Gestalt des Diatessaron nicht nur vermutet, sondern wie eine Selbstverständlichkeit behandelt: darum stellt sich ohne weiteres bei L die Frage, ob sein Lateiner, wenn älter als Victor von Capua, nicht vielleicht auch älter als Hieronymus sei. Wenn dies zu bejahen wäre, erhebt sich die neue Frage nach dem Verhältnis dieses altlateinischen Diat.-Textes zu dem, oder einem der sonsther bekannten altlateinischen Evangelientexte. Und hier wieder kann der Ausblick auf die Entstehung des ersten lateinischen Neuen Testaments einem aufgedrängt werden.

Verwickelt genug bleibt trotzdem die Aufgabe, und es empfiehlt sich unbedingt, ihre einzelnen Bestandteile sauber

auseinanderzuhalten und einen nach dem andern, nicht wie es Plooij vorzieht, alle nebeneinander her zu erledigen. — 1. Daß N aus lateinischer Quelle und nur aus solcher schöpft, bedarf keines Beweises. 2. Der lateinische Text, den wir als seine Grundlage wahrnehmen, ist aber nicht der der Vulgata, bezw. einer von den Vulgata-Rezensionen. Zwei Belege würden genügen: Mt. 21 32 S. 169 las N (quia?) non credidistis statt crederetis: van din dat ghi hem nin hadt gheloef (SH ähnlich S. 168: der af dat gi hem niene gelovet. Die sechste Bitte im Gebet des Herrn Mt. 6 13a = Lc. 11 4b lautet, was auch Plooij S. 39 gebührend betont, bei L S. 49 ende en beghef ons niet in onsen koringen=und verlaß uns nicht in unsern Versuchungen. In Mt. 21 haben LS nur ein paar alte Lateiner, keinen Syrer oder Griechen auf ihrer Seite, in Mt. 6 13 nicht einmal das; auch S hat hier den gewöhnlichen Text vorgezogen: ende ne leedt ons niet in becoringen, und ein einziges Zitat bei Hilarius von Poitiers um 360 (tract. in ps. 118 I 15 p. 369 Zingerle) zeugt für das Vorhandensein der Lesung Ns in der alten Kirche.[5] Wenn ein vorhieronymianischer Grundtext für N erwiesen ist, dürfte an der Entstehung des lateinischen Diatessaron vor dem 5. Jhrh. nicht mehr zu zweifeln sein; denn zumal bei den Evangelien hat sich der römische Normaltext rasch die Welt erobert, und nach 400 beobachten wir wohl zahlreiche Versuche, z. B. Spruchbücher mit alten Texten in vulgatatreue umzuwandeln (so das pseudo-augustinische Speculum), aber kein Beispiel würde uns zu der Vermutung reizen, daß eine ursprünglich mit Vulgata-Texten wie bei Victor ausgestattete Harmonie nachträglich eine künstliche Antikisierung erlebt hätte. 3. Wohl aber empfinde ich die Pflicht, an dieser Stelle der Untersuchung mich zu vergewissern, ob der hinter N

[5] Daß dieser Archaismus im 13. Jhrh. dem frommen Volk ohne eine Glosse geboten werden konnte, ist wahrhaftig auch eine kirchengeschichtlich hochinteressante Tatsache. Zum inneren N-Familien-Problem merke ich dabei an, daß in der vierten Bitte S schreibt: onse oversubstancilike dageliics broot, während LH und G das supersubstantialem, das Vulg. in Mt. 6 aber nicht in Lc. aufgenommen hat, fortlassen — oder streichen! Der strikte Beweis, daß damals niemand das Vaterunser in der Muttersprache betete, ist aus LS zu führen.

steckende Text der afrikanischen oder der europäischen Gruppe angehört. Meine Sammlungen reichen nicht aus, um eine Antwort zu erteilen; Plooij deutet wohl einigemal darauf hin, daß L außer Syrern nur Afra auf seiner Seite habe, aber auch der andre Fall kommt in seinen Beispielen vor, und begreiflicherweise wirft er lieber die ganze Frage nicht auf, weil er ja in seinem U eine vor der Bildung einer Afra oder einer Europea schon vorhandene Textgestalt annehmen möchte. Mir scheint, daß wir ihm darin zu folgen erst ein Recht bekommen, wenn sich Ns Vorlage gar nicht als ein Seitengänger etwa von Mischformen wie i, l, c — oder auch schon a und e — begreifen läßt; ich darf nur sagen: der Lateiner, den ich aus LS rekonstruieren würde, weicht von b nicht so stark ab wie etwa q.

4. Indem ich q nenne, stoße ich auf eine neue Frage, die Plooij kaum berührt. In q ist ein alter Lateiner nach einer mit A verwandten griechischen Handschrift durchkorrigiert worden: haben wir etwas Ähnliches für die Vorlage Ns ins Auge zu fassen? Oder, was im Erfolg auf ziemlich das gleiche herauskäme, zeigen sich in derselben Eindringsel aus der Vulgata des Hieronymus? Plooij bewilligt eine Beeinflussung von seiten der Vulgata bei dem Niederländer, nirgends spricht er von einer solchen bei Ns Vorlage. Mein Eindruck ist, daß der unbekannte Übersetzer, auch hierin unbekümmert um den Brauch der andern, der Alten, wie er nun einmal — allerdings wahrhaftig nicht als Glossator! — ist (s. oben S. 150), sich von solchen Einflüssen immun erhalten hat, daß mithin, was an Vulgata-Elementen in N auftaucht, bereits in seine Vorlage eingeschoben worden war. Wenn auf ihrer fast tausendjährigen Reise die Urschrift U niemals neuen Proviant geladen hätte, so wäre dies höchst erstaunlich; es ist immer noch bewunderungswürdig wenig, was ich an Vulgata-Gut bei N antraf. Andere mögen dem weiter nachgehen: ich empfehle, einzelne Perikopen verschiedener Herkunft und verschiedenen Charakters bei L sorgfältig mit Vulg. zu vergleichen, die Lesungen aufzuzeichnen, die mit Vg. stimmen und sonst bei Lateinern wenig bezeugt sind, dabei aber scharf zu scheiden zwischen Lesarten, die durch Hieronymus nur zum Siege gelangt sind, und solchen, die er erst aufgebracht hat. Bloß eine leidliche Zahl von

Lesungen der zweiten Klasse würde die These sichern, daß Ns Diatessaron unter Vg.-Einfluß steht; aus Plooijs Sammlungen ergibt sich die Sicherheit nicht. Mt. 21, 31 z. B. las N primus gegen die alte abendländische Tradition, die gerade novissimus vertritt. Aber Hieronymus ist nicht der erste, der die Gerechtsprechung eines nur mit dem Munde folgsamen Sohnes unter den Augen Jesu für unerträglich erachtete und durch primus einen vernünftigen Sinn zu sichern gedachte; c f q haben unmöglich alle ihr primus aus Vg. bezogen: warum soll es nicht aus einer c benachbarten Handschrift in Ns Vorlage eingetragen worden sein? Wir werden weiter kommen, wenn wir alle Stücke, die L über F hinaus, und alle, die F über den vermutlichen Tatian hinaus aufgenommen haben (Ehebrecherin-Perikope?), genau daraufhin durchsehen, ob hier eine andre Textform als bei den allen gemeinsamen Partien hervortritt: ich habe bisher eindeutig Beweiskräftiges, was den späteren Ursprung sicherte, nicht gefunden.

5. Sehr zahlreich ist die Gruppe von Vulgata-Emendationen im weiteren Sinn jedenfalls in dem Lateiner Ns nicht. Wenn wir sie aussondern und dann neben den Lesarten, die N mit anderen Altlateinern gemeinsam hat, die vielleicht zu dem feststehenden Besitz des Western-Textes gehören, sich in Fülle solche zeigen, die in der Vetus latina unerhört sind, dann ist natürlich die Umschau nach einer anderen Quelle für diese das Gegebene. Plooij ist dieser Meinung: ihn überrascht bei der genannten Klasse das häufige Zusammentreffen von N mit Syrern, und zwar ausschließlich mit Syrern, vorzüglich mit dem für Tatian glaubhaft zu machenden Text: bleibt aber nur die Wahl zwischen Tatian als Quelle von N bzw. U, oder U als Quelle von Tatian, so wird angesichts der Tatsache, daß Tatian schon um 160 in Rom ein angesehener Lehrer war, kaum jemand in der Entscheidung schwanken. Und was liegt näher als die Hypothese, daß ein lateinisches Diatessaron, das sich im Aufbau sklavisch an das Vorbild Tatians hielt, auch im Text sich diesem angeschlossen hat, daß es also eine wörtliche Übersetzung von Tatian war und nichts anderes hat sein wollen?

6. Bis hierher mit Plooij zu gehen, werden viele bereit sein, auch wenn ihnen die einzelnen für Punkt fünf beigebrachten

Belege nicht gleichmäßiges Gewicht zu haben scheinen. Aber Plooij will noch mehr beweisen, und das Material für seine letzte These hätte es dringend nötig, so sorgfältig von dem zu fünf beigebrachten getrennt zu werden, wie das zu fünf für sich allein geprüft werden muß. Welches sind die Belege dafür, daß der neu rekonstruierte Lateiner unmittelbar aus dem syrischen Texte Tatians ins Lateinische übersetzt worden ist? Es müssten schon ganz echte Syriasmen in größerer Zahl sein, die sich in U finden, wenn wir aufhören sollen an die zunächst allein wahrscheinliche griechische Vermittlung zwischen dem äußersten Osten und dem Westen zu glauben. Schlechthin sicher läßt sich der Beweis überhaupt kaum führen, denn auch Syriasmen konnte ein Grieche beibehalten haben — warum nicht gerade so gut wie der Lateiner U? — und der lateinische Afterübersetzer hat sie ihm abgenommen, wie ganz gewiß Gräzismen durch die syrische Vermittlung hindurch bei dem Armenier stehen geblieben sind oder im Georgischen trotz der armenischen Vermittlung. Noch einen weiteren Einwand aber fühlt Plooij sich gegen diese These erheben, nämlich den: Woher denn nun aber die vielfältige buchstäbliche Übereinstimmung des aus dem Syrischen geflossenen Lateiners U mit den ältesten lateinischen Übersetzungen der vier getrennten Evangelien, die doch nur aus griechischen Vorlagen gefertigt sein können? Ja, wenn These fünf in Plooijs Sinn unerschütterlich fest stände, so bliebe weiter kein Ausweg als der von Plooij: die lateinischen vier sind zwar mit Hilfe des Griechen, aber auf der Grundlage des lateinischen Diatessarontextes, der vorher da war, angefertigt worden; ihr oft stark syrisches Gepräge rührt von der Benutzung jenes Syro-Lateiners her, durch allmählich wachsendes Hineinwirken griechischer Bibelwissenschaft ist es dann mehr und mehr gewichen.

Daß Plooij die Lösungen so verschiedener Aufgaben nicht auseinandergehalten hat, wäre ja eine Erschwerung für den Leser, aber wir würden uns damit aussöhnen, wenn seine S. 20—64 aufgereihten Belege eine den Widerspruch erdrückende Wucht besäßen. Daß sie diesen Erfolg nicht erzielen, bedarf der Erklärung durch Nachprüfung des einzelnen. Ich muß mich auf eine Auswahl beschränken.

Auf S. 27 verweist Plooij auf Lc. 1 43,[6] wo L mit Sy^{cu} und Tatian ar. ohne sonstige Autorität das „und" vor der Frage: unde hoc mihi fit fortlasse. Er fügt hinzu, er zitiere absichtlich einige „minutiae", weil diese manchmal wichtiger seien als substantielle Varianten. Ganz gewiß kann ein Buchstabe unter Umständen mehr bedeuten als ein langer Satz; ob man Joh. 12 17 ὅτε oder ὅτι liest, macht entscheidenden Unterschied; ob 12 19 γάρ oder δέ gelesen wird, ebenso: folgt daraus das gleiche für jeden der zahlreichen Fälle, in denen eine Handschrift ein γάρ bei Paulus durch δέ ersetzt? Ob aber hier unter den zahllosen „ende" des Kapitels 4 die Auslassung eines einzigen nicht besser dem Stilgefühl Ls zugeschrieben wird als seiner (eingebildeten!) Akkuratesse in der Wiedergabe seiner lateinischen Vorlage? — Übrigens ist Sy^{cu} nicht nur in Sy^{sin} zu verbessern, sondern Plooij, der hier wie sonst sich mit dem Apparat v. Sodens begnügt, hat dessen Sigle Sy[c] mißverstanden; sie will besagen, daß alle Syrer, insbesondre auch pesch, das et fortlassen, cu aber für den Abschnitt nicht vorhanden ist. Das gleiche Mißverständnis hat eine Reihe von ähnlichen Fehlangaben bei Plooij veranlaßt; schlimmer aber ist die durchgängige Beschränkung auf die in v. Sodens Ausgabe notierten Zeugen; auch der Apparat bei Wordsworth-White ist für die altlateinischen Texte ja nicht vollständig genug.

S. 26 legt Plooij die Hand auf Lc. 1 15: L lese: in seiner Mutter Leib statt ex der Vg. Aber dies bequemere „in" haben nicht bloß Griechen, Lateiner, Syrer, sondern sogar — Luther, der wahrlich keinen Tatiantext gekannt hat. Mehr der Rede wert wäre die Weglassung des adhuc vor ex utero — oder erblickt Plooij etwa in dem oc (auch) vor erfüllt werden bei L das Correspondens zu adhuc? SH haben das dann nicht gemerkt; aber Plooij ignoriert die Sache, weil v. S. keine Variante notiert hat. — S. 30 lohnte es sich nicht, Mt. 1 22 vorzuführen, wo L zu prophetam den Namen Jesaias hinzusetzt; nicht bloß findet sich dieser Einschub auch bei Griechen; er lag so nahe und hat bei andern Zitaten im NT so zahlreiche Parallelen, daß keinerlei Abhängigkeit aus ihm gefolgert werden darf. —

[6] Ergänze übrigens vor Lk. 1 43: c. 4.

S. 31, wenn Lc. 2 15 L schreibt „von dem, was dort geschehen ist" gegen SH „das Wort, das gemacht ist", so haben sie beide ihrer Manier gemäß das gleiche Lateinische (verbum quod factum est) wiedergegeben. Übt Sy^{sin} eine ähnliche Freiheit, so kreuzt sich eben einmal sein Weg mit dem eines anderen verständigen Übersetzers: die unmittelbare Fortsetzung in Lc. 2 15 bestätigt den Eindruck, daß eine gewisse „Willkür" bei diesen Übersetzern herrscht: Sy^{sin}: wie uns der Engel angezeigt hat, SH: was der Herr getan hat und uns offenbart hat, L: und uns Gott offenbart hat (Vg.: quod Dominus ostendit nobis). — S. 32 soll L in Lc. 2 26 den sonst allein durch Ephräm bezeugten Text haben: den Tod nicht schmecken, statt: nicht schauen. — Aber weder steht für Ephr. an der angeführten Stelle fest, daß er buchstäblich aus dem Diatessaron zitiert (er mag leicht der Erinnerung an den berühmteren Spruch Mt. 16 28 nachgegeben haben), noch ist aus L die Sicherheit des Wortlauts seiner lateinischen Vorlage zu gewinnen; Mt. 16 28 (S. 125) übersetzt er gustare mit schmecken, hier (S. 19) heißt es: die doet bekoren (versuchen, kosten), und wahrscheinlich hat Ls guter Geschmack das zweimalige sehen — den Tod und: Christum — vermeiden wollen: gleich darauf kümmert er sich ja auch um den Zusatz Domini hinter Christum nicht. — S. 32: Lc. 2 34 lesen wir bei L: zu Fall und zu Auferstehung, das zweite „in" fehlt bei der Mehrzahl der Zeugen. Plooij betont noch die Pflicht, hier auf die Kombination der Autoritäten zu achten, trotzdem er sie nicht vollständig mitgeteilt hat. Aber wenn irgendeine Erscheinung in der NTlichen Textgeschichte häufig ist, so die Neigung in Fällen, wo zwei Substantive von einer Präposition regiert werden, diese auch vor dem zweiten zu wiederholen; besonders Übersetzer von Sprachen ohne Artikelgebrauch tun auch recht daran: da laufen die Zeugen für eine oder zwei Präpositionen bunt durch alle Rezensionen und Familien hindurch; vgl. z. B. Mt. 17 27 pro me et (pro) te, Lc. 1 17 in spiritu et (in) virtute Heliae, 1 Cor. 2 3. — Geradezu erstaunlich ist, daß Plooij S. 34 Mt. 3 10 in seine Reihe von Belegen aufnimmt, wo L die Futura excidetur und mittetur bevorzugt gegen SH, die das Präsens herstellen. Wer sich überlegt, wie weit im Spätlateinischen die Verwechslung von e und i in

diesen Verbalformen verbreitet war, muß dies Beispiel — das nur bei der Untersuchung: Verhältnis von SH zu L seine Rolle spielen darf — einfach streichen. Für S. 36, Z. 3 f. gilt das gleiche. — S. 35 f. behandelt Plooij Joh. 1 36, 29 und erklärt Ls „der die Welt erlösen wird von ihren Sünden", für gleichwertig dem tollet der Vg. Dies tollet liegt aber gewiß nicht näher als das auferet peccata mundi bei Irenaeus. Letzteres ist nur Zufallsvariante für tollet, und mit „erlösen wird von" gibt L eine selbständige, erklärende Umschreibung; auferet, das ich lieber für die Vorlage in Anspruch nähme, übersetzt wörtlich S „die de sonden der werelt afdoet.[7] Seltsamerweise bemerkt Plooij auch gar nicht, daß L ganz allein das „Siehe" an der Spitze des Johanneswortes fortläßt, gewiß nicht zufällig, da er auch sonst dies Adverb peinlich meidet. Eine andre Idiosynkrasie will beachtet sein, wenn wir Ls Text von Mt. 5 37 zutreffend beurteilen möchten. Plooij (S. 38) freut sich, hier einen außerdem nur noch vom arabischen Tatian vertretenen Text vorzufinden: eure Rede sei ja und nein, und was mehr ist, kommt aus Bosheit. SH setzen dafür mit Vg: euer Wort sei Ja, ja, Nein, nein. Der Araber mit: entweder ja oder nein, stimmt doch nicht völlig mit L, der Gegensatz scheint bei ihm eher in zweideutigen Ausreden zu bestehen, bei L in zu viel Worten. Die Hauptsache ist indes, daß L (hier sicher N) die Verdopplung bewußt und grundsatzgemäß unterdrückt hat: wie er denn in der Phrase: Amen, Amen, dico vobis sich regelmäßig mit einem overwaer begnügt, z. B. Joh. 3 3, 5, 11 auf S. 163 Bergs.; und noch Joh. 21 18 S. 273 besteht er auf dem einen Amen, während SH immer zwei setzen. Diese strenge, fast enkratitische Ablehnung der πολυλογία selbst eines Evangelisten — dazu paßt die Fortlassung der Hälfte von Joh. 1 20 (s. bei Plooij S. 34) würde ja einen hübschen Zug in das Bild Tatians bringen, den wir gern begrüßten, aber reicht eines Jüngers Zeugnis aus?

Ich breche mit der Einzelkritik ab: es soll nicht der Eindruck aufkommen, als habe Plooij nichts erwiesen. Eine ganze

[7] Man beachte übrigens, daß SH hier ein Praesens, L ein Futur gebrauchen.

Anzahl von Stellen hat er gesammelt, bei denen sich Eigentümlichkeiten, die wir sonst gut aus der Individualität Ns heraus verstehen könnten, durch die Überlieferung als altes Gut erwiesen werden, Zusätze in erster Linie, Veränderungen, aber auch Auslassungen. Viele werden durch einen Altlateiner bestätigt, andere waren bisher nur aus Syrern bekannt, aber auch da bekommt nunmehr Ls Zustimmung den gleichen Wert wie wenn b oder k mit dem Syrer ginge. Nur braucht nicht jeder Syrer, auch Sy^{sin} nicht etwa, ein Zeuge für Tatian zu sein; und selbst wenn eine auffällige Lesart, sei es durch Aphraates, sei es durch Ephräm, als eine des Diatessarons bezeugt wird, beweist das noch nicht, daß Tatian sie geschaffen habe. Es sind gerade genug originelle Varianten nur durch eine altlateinische Handschrift oder nur durch ein Zitat bei einem lateinischen Kirchenvater belegt, die doch aufs kräftigste den Typus des W-Textes widerspiegeln, daß wir uns nicht wundern dürfen, wenn nun aus „dietscher" Schale ein Altlateiner befreit wird, der uns mehr solcher Reliquien schenkt — warum sollte man nicht auch mit der Möglichkeit rechnen: sogar einige, die auch bei den Syrern verschwunden sind?

Da der neue Zeuge für den altlateinischen Evangelientext aber der erste ist, der aus einem Diatessaron stammt, ist die Frage nicht aufdringlich, ob er immer nur als solcher existiert hat, d. h. gleichzeitig mit der Harmonie selber entstanden ist. Auch Plooij würde wohl ein: ganz gewiß als Antwort in diesem Falle nicht berechtigt finden. Denn so gut wie Spruchsammlungen nach der Art der Testimonia Cyprians und des Speculum (m) ihre Bestandteile aus einer schon vorhandenen lateinischen Bibel herausschreiben, kann es der Verfasser unsres Diatessaron gemacht haben. Er kann es auch, wenn er sich im Aufbau des Ganzen schlechthin an Tatian anschloß. Wenn die getrennten Evangelien längere Zeit in lateinischer Sprache umgelaufen waren, als das lateinische Diatessaron ans Licht trat, ist die Vorstellung beinahe absurd, daß sein Schöpfer sich erst abgemüht hätte, einen fremden Text in seine Sprache zu übertragen, er hätte bei den an den „kirchlichen" Text gewöhnten Lesern sogar mit solcher Eigenbrödelei sich um den Erfolg

gebracht. Sonach fällt die letzte Entscheidung der vorhin aufgeworfenen Frage zusammen mit der Entscheidung über das Alter von U. Und hier droht die Gefahr, daß wir die Motive zum letzten Spruch von außen her heranbringen. Plooij, begeistert für seine Entdeckung, ist geneigt, die Verbindung zwischen Tatian und U möglichst enge auszumalen; ich kann die „Identität" des N-Textes mit dem von Ephräms Kommentar nicht als nachgewiesen anerkennen, so wenig wie mit Aphraates und den Alt-Syrern. Es bleibt bei einem beträchtlichen Grad von Ähnlichkeit. Da doch unter den 7 Belegstellen für Ephräm sich Joh. 9 6 befindet — der Zusatz von suo zu sputo, oder die Glosse (!) zu Lc. 1 26 sexto mense: seit Elisabeth empfangen hatte — als ob eine andre Glosse hier denkbar wäre — und Mt. 1 19 cogitavit statt des griechischen ἐβουλήθη! Plooij ist S. 30 auf diese Koinzidenz besonders stolz; vielleicht ändert er seine Meinung, wenn er den Artikel cogito im Thesaurus latinae linguae durchliest. — Solch hinfälligen Beweisen pro stellt sich aber contra gegenüber eine stattliche Reihe von Stellen bei Ephräm,[8] und zwar nicht allein aus dem Diatessaron-Kommentar entnommene, sondern dazu die z. B. von Schäfers aus anderen Werken Ephräms erhobenen, die vergeblich auf eine Bestätigung bei L warten. Genau so liegt die Sache bei Aphraates und Sy^{sin} und ^{cu}. Lietzmann hat in dem oben zitierten Artikel die Differenz von Aphraates erwiesen und auch ehrlich die Folgerung gezogen, daß, wenn wir den echten Tatiantext in L besitzen, in Aphraates' Händen nur ein völlig degenerierter Tatian gelegen haben kann. Warum hat Plooij seinen Lesern die Widersprüche verschwiegen und immer nur concordia gepredigt?

Was veranlaßt denn nun aber Lietzmann, eine so alte Autorität wie Aphraates zugunsten einer erst 1000 Jahre später sich regenden preiszugeben? Er glaubt an die Beweise für unmittelbare Übertragung des Ur-Lateiners aus dem Syrischen — das in ein paar Fällen nur der Syrer Tatians sein kann —; da sie, wie gesagt, nach dem Jahre 200 nicht mehr denkbar ist, so

8 Sie würden zu viel Raum füllen, darum lasse ich sie, da bloße Verweisung auf den Fundort niemandem nützt, der nicht nachschlagen kann, beiseite.

wäre freilich die Autorität des lateinischen Diatessaron um 150 Jahre der des persischen Weisen voraus. Allein die von Plooij S. 70 ff. beigebrachten Belege dürften — mindestens dem Gewicht der entgegenstehenden Momente — bei unbefangener Prüfung nicht standhalten. Daß Lc. 11 8 χρήζει bei L durch eischt, bei andern Altlateinern durch desiderat wiedergegeben wird, soll sich nur aus dem Syrischen des sy^{sin} und ^{cu} erklären lassen. Nun aber übersetzt Tertullian Lc. 5 31 χρείαν ἔχειν durch desiderare, ebenso verfährt Vulg. in 1 Thess. 4 12, und für χρήζειν selber bietet Rm. 16 2 der Ambrosiaster vestri desideraverit, wo Vulg. indiguerit verfeinert. Wo bleibt bei dem Paulusbrief die syrische Grundlage? — Um Joh. 6 15 ἀνεχώρησεν = fugit (ontflo L) steht es kaum besser. Diesen Vers würde ich in einer Diskussion, wo wenigstens die Grundlagen schlechthin sichere sein müssen, fortlassen, denn cod. B hat statt ἀνεχώρησεν aller andren Griechen φεύγει, was ja genau zu dem lateinischen fugit paßt. Wenn aber Luther, der die Lesart φεύγει nicht kannte, ἀνεχώρησεν durch „entwich" ersetzt, hat er nicht dem Syrer gerade so Genüge getan, wie L es tut mit entfloh? Indes wir verzichten auf Luthers Hilfe. Matthäus selber braucht ἀναχωρεῖν in den beiden Bedeutungen, die im späteren Griechisch gleich häufig vorkommen: 2 12 f. als „zurückkehren", 2 13, 14, wo ein φεῦγε durch ἀνεχώρησεν erfüllt wird, als „fliehen". In der Septuaginta tritt ἀναχωρεῖν meistens für die hebräischen Verba ברח und נוס ein, die fliehen bedeuten, und Judd. 4 17 sagt, genau wie in Joh. 6 15, der Vaticanus ἔφυγεν, der Alexandrinus ἀνεχώρησεν, und beide meinen das gleiche.

Wir werden also zu diesen beiden ersten Beweisen Plooijs für Übersetzung von L aus dem Syrischen erklären, daß sie noch einfacher als Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen begriffen werden: beidemal hat der alte Lateiner seinen griechischen Text ebensogut verstanden und ebenso richtig übersetzt wie der Syrer.

Erheblicher scheint der „direkte Syriasmus", daß Mt. 14 13 und 15 39 = Mc. 8 10, L mit sat hi in en schep wiedergibt. Schon 1915 hatte R. Harris einen Syriasmus bei Mc. 4 1 in dem wunderlichen καθῆσθαι ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ vermutet. Daß καθῆσθαι das Äquivalent für ein griechisches ἐμβαίνειν sei, ist dadurch

noch nicht erwiesen, höchstens unsre Aufmerksamkeit auf einen in der Überlieferungsgeschichte vielleicht einmal wichtigen Punkt gelenkt. Wenn wir heut in N (d. h. L=SH) S. 98 f. Bergsma Mt. 14 13 für griechisches ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκεῖθεν ἐν πλοίῳ εἰς ἔρημον τόπον und Vulg. secessit inde in navicula in locum desertum geschrieben finden: er setzte sich (sat) und fuhr über das Wasser und ging in die Wüste, so stellt sich uns das zunächst lediglich als ein Fall der für N so charakteristischen veranschaulichenden Paraphrasen dar. An syrischen Einfluß würden wir um so weniger denken, als sy^{sin} das Schiff ganz unterschlägt: er begab sich von dort an einen (einsamen) Ort; auch sy^{cu} weiß nichts von dem Schiff, erst pesch. — ebenso Tat. arab. — schließt sich genau den Griechen an, ohne von sitzen und fahren zu sprechen. Wenn die beiden alten Syrer das Präjudiz für sich haben, einen besonders alten Text zu bewahren, fällt auf den ihnen diametral gegenüberstehenden N kein günstiges Licht. Mc. 8 10, Mt. 15 39 setzt der Grieche ἐμβὰς (ἐνέβη) εἰς τὸ πλοῖον (καὶ) ἦλθεν εἰς, Vulg. ascendens navem (ascendit in naviculam et) venit in. Hierfür bietet L (S. 121) sat in en schep ende voer over in, SH (S. 120) ginc in een scip ende quam in ... Diesmal ist sy^{sin} (= ^{cu}) breiter: bestieg er, setzte sich in ein Schiff und kamen (in Matth.: kam). Pesch. und der Araber streichen das zweite Zeitwort, so daß die genaue Gleichheit mit dem Griechen hergestellt ist. Bisher hat niemand aus dem Gebrauch zweier Verben für ἐμβὰς bei den alten Syrern auf eine andere Vorlage geschlossen; dürfen wir bei ganz gleicher Sachlage aus dem „saṭ“ bei L schließen, daß sein Lateiner in Mt. 15 39 nur das zweite der bei sy^{sin} beliebten Verben gekannt hat? S. 70 feiert Plooij einen „entscheidenden“ Beweis, S. 47 nannte er es nur „kaum erklärlich, daß gaen sitten“ einem ἐμβαίνειν entspräche. Aber wenn er gewißlich SH ein falsches Motiv unterschiebt für ihre an L geübte Korrektur, — gewißlich, denn in Mt. 14 13 fanden sie an Ls Phrase nichts auszusetzen, hier dagegen nehmen sie die Differenz von Vulg. wahr und gleichen ihren Text dieser an —: daß „ging in ein Schiff“ doch etwas besseres Dutch sei als „sat“, ist eine unbewiesene Behauptung von Plooij. L hat zu Mt. 14 13 nach seiner Manier

paraphrasiert, zu Mc. 8 10 unter der Nachwirkung von Mt. 14 13 übersetzt, immerhin noch frei, denn fuhr herüber ist anschaulicher als kam: diese Erklärung bedünkt mich viel einfacher als die durch Plooijs vorläufig auch noch an sich zweifelhaften Syriasmus.

Ein Syriasmus wird von Lietzmann a. a. O. S. 151 darin entdeckt, daß L in Mt. 6 19 f. beide Male „einen Schatz" statt „Schätze" des Griechen setzt, also den Singular für den Plural eintreten läßt. Gewiß liegt diese Vertauschung im Syrischen näher als in einer anderen Sprache, und an unserer Stelle ist sie durch sy^{cu} Aphraates Tat. ar. bezeugt. Allein, wenn bereits ein altlateinischer Evangeliencodex statt zweier Plurale einen Plural und einen Singular bietet, so lag das völlige Verschwinden des Plurals in dem Diatessaron weit näher, weil Mt. 6 19, 20 hier eingeklemmt ist zwischen zwei Sprüchen, die von einem Schatz handeln. Obendrein wirkte die allegorische Deutung des Gleichnisses vom Schatz im Acker auf eine Bevorzugung des Singulars hin.

Wunderlich läßt L S. 23, 39 in Lc. 2 42 die Eltern Jesu Jerusalem zum Passahfest besuchen na de costume van harre gewoenten (Vulg.: secundum consuetudinem diei festi). Daß man hier versucht wird, eine Doppelübersetzung anzunehmen, fühlt auch Plooij, aber er wendet — mit Recht — ein, hier liege doch zugleich eine Auslassung vor; τῆς ἑορτῆς sei durch „ihrer Gewohnheiten" ersetzt, und die Verwechslung der beiden Worte — wobei er das „ihrer" übrigens ignoriert! — sei auf syrischem Boden verhältnismäßig leicht zu begreifen. Dies sei zugestanden; aber eine Hypothese, die für den schlimmsten Notfall plausibel ist, eignet sich kaum um eine sehr kühne These entscheidend zu stützen. Mir erscheint einfacher der Bescheid, daß entweder der Schreiber von L die drei Worte costume, gewoenten, faste dag in seiner Vorlage unerträglich fand und durch Beseitigung des hinter v. 41 ja wirklich überflüssigen Wortes „Festtag" Ordnung schaffte, oder aber — und diese Erklärung ziehe ich vor — daß N, von seiner Freiheit Gebrauch machend, reflektierte: Sitte (costume) hat doch nicht ein Fest, die haben Menschen. Nun brauchte er bloß „nach ihrer Sitte" zu schreiben — daß die auf den Festtag bezügliche

Sitte gemeint war, wußten seine Leser ja. Allein teils ein Gefühl für den Rhythmus, teils das andersartige Gefühl, daß costume mehr eine objektive Größe darstelle, Sitte, Brauch, Regel, Vorschrift, bestimmte ihn zu der Ergänzung: van h. g. = an die sie gewöhnt waren. Wie es ihre Gewohnheit ihnen zur Pflicht machte: das ist am Ende gar nicht einmal ein wunderlicher Gedanke. SH ertrug diese kecke Abweichung vom Vulgata-Text natürlich nicht, aber für Ns Art hat sie nichts Befremdliches.

Bleibt als letzte pièce de résistance Lc. 1 78 visitavit nos ab alto ex oriente statt visitavit nos oriens ex alto. Hier ist Plooijs Vorschlag, auf einen syrischen Text zu rekurrieren, wo ἀνατολή leicht als ex oriente gelesen werden mochte, genau so versucherisch wie der vorher S. 137 beschriebene: partus statt partes. Ich würde ohne Beschwerde auf eine innerlateinische Emendation zurückgreifen, wo ein nachdenklicher Schreiber den Besuch auf die Magier deutete, die auf Gottes Befehl aus dem Osten nach Jerusalem gekommen sind. Aber selbst wer das verwirft, wird er an einem Haar ein Haus von der Größe der Konstruktionen Plooijs aufhängen wollen?

Plooij hat sich und seinen Lesern, weil ihm seine Konjekturen zu rasch als Fundament genügten, nicht klar gemacht, wie zahllose Hellenismen in dem Texte Ls wie dem aller altlateinischen Evangelien jenen Syriasmen gegenüberstehen. An dieser Stelle verzichte ich auf die Vorführung der Gruppen: ich behaupte aber, daß in jedem Kapitel sich Belege dafür finden, wie der Lateiner Nuancen des Ausdrucks wiedergibt, die dem griechischen Text entsprechen, während die Schwerfälligkeit der syrischen Sprache sie gar nicht oder doch nur unvollkommen nachzuahmen vermag. Die Unterscheidung z. B. von qui habent und quorum est, Unterscheidung der Komposita von den Simplicia, griechische Lehnworte wie blasphemia angariare, Verwendung verschiedener Worte für einen Gegenstand, wo der Grieche verschiedene braucht, der Syrer aber bloß eins, sprechen hier eine deutliche Sprache. Sogar Wortspiele der Griechen, bei denen die Kunst der Syrer versagt, sind im Lateinischen erhalten. Lc. 22 15 ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν Vg.: hoc pascha manducare antequam patiar. Nichts davon ist bei den Syrern zu verspüren,

so wenig wie bei Luther und SH S. 222 (paschen — lide). N weiß es zur Geltung zu bringen: dit paschen met u tetene eer ic gepassyt werde.

Somit wäre der Befund gesichert: in Umfang und Aufbau gleicht „L" dem Diatessaron Tatians so vollkommen, daß eine Unabhängigkeit des einen vom andern ausgeschlossen ist, der Evangelientext verrät dieselbe griechische Grundlage, die für Tatian selbstverständlich ist. Was liegt nun näher, als Ns Diatessaron für eine Übersetzung des griechischen Tatian zu erklären? Gegen diese Folgerung sträubt sich zwar Plooij aufs äußerste. Aber das Argument Anderer, von einem griechischen Diatessaron sei doch keine Spur erhalten, also werde es nie eins gegeben haben, darf Plooij nicht verwerten, weil die gleiche Spurlosigkeit ja für sein lateinisches Diatessaron U wenigstens bis zum Jahre 546 besteht: also versagt das argumentum e silentio. Eine griechische Ausgabe von Tatians Diatessaron, wie sie Preuschen am entschiedensten gefordert hat, würde ich für das weitaus Wahrscheinlichere schon darum halten, weil man sich schwer vorstellen kann, daß Tatian gleichzeitig die Mühsal des Übersetzens und die Herstellung eines so feine Ziselierkunst offenbarenden Werkes, wie es sein Diatessaron ist, aufgebracht hat. Ich meine, nicht erst nachträglich hat er das Diatessaron auch den Griechen geschenkt; er hat es ursprünglich für sich, das heißt für die Welt geschrieben. Sein Diatessaron war ein wissenschaftliches Buch; im zweiten Jahrhundert bedeutet dies so viel wie ein dogmatisches, besser apologetisch-polemisches: gegen Marcion einerseits, gegen die Juden und Griechen, die über die Irrtümer der sich immer selbst widersprechenden Evangelisten spöttelten, andererseits führte er den Taterweis, daß es eine widerspruchslose befriedigende evangelische Geschichte gebe. Kann man den in diesem Sinne „gelehrten" Charakter seiner Arbeit verkennen? Der auch sonst uns als gewandter und fruchtbarer griechischer Schriftsteller bekannte Tatian soll mit dieser seiner glänzendsten Leistung sein Licht unter den syrischen Scheffel gestellt haben? Nein, den Syrern hat er — oder ein jüngerer Zeitgenosse von ihm, was ich durchaus für möglich halte — sein Diatessaron erst später zugänglich gemacht aus einem andern Motiv, nicht

um sie gegen Ungläubige und Ketzer zu wappnen, sondern um ihnen, diesen armen, kleinen Gemeinden, das Evangelium in ihrer Sprache überhaupt, und zu billigem Preise, in übersehbarer Größe zu bringen. Die Kirche seiner Heimat hat ihm das gedankt, indem sie für zwei Menschenalter ausschließlich sein Diatessaron als ihr Evangelium ehrte; die griechische Christenheit hat es über Bord geworfen, als der Name seines Verfassers in Mißkredit geraten war und als man sich um Marcion und die „Kritiker" nicht mehr kümmerte. Allzulange ertrug freilich auch die syrische Kirche die Abschlagszahlung nicht; ihre Gelehrten wußten ja Bescheid, und wie seit 250 — vgl. Syrus sin. und cur.! — der Ausbau des Diatessaron zum syrischen Vierevangelium betrieben wurde, so ist am Diatessaron gebessert, ergänzt, angeglichen worden. Kein Wunder, wenn das Diatessaron in der Hand des Aphraates nicht in allem so lautete wie das des Ephräm, vollends seit dem siegreichen Vordringen der Peschita erlitt es von da her starke Inflationen, wie sie der Araber bezeugt: ein Wunder wäre es, wenn das Diatessaron unbeweglich geblieben wäre in der syrischen Welt, wo es im Mittelpunkt des religiösen Interesses stand.

Die paar griechischen Exemplare dagegen, die vom Diat. sich über die Zeit hinaus, wo die alexandrinische Theologie höhere Ansprüche stellte (insbesondere den, daß kein Jota von den heiligen vier Evangelien preisgegeben werden dürfe) gerettet haben, konnten ebensogut wie interessante Raritäten unverletzt behütet wie von der Willkür eines verbesserungslustigen Besitzers, den hier keine Rücksicht auf die Kirche hemmte, umgewälzt werden, und falls es lateinische Exemplare gab, gilt von ihnen das gleiche. Daß es wirklich ein lateinisches vor 400 gegeben hat, steht durch L heut fest; wenn wir den Eindruck bekamen, daß an ihm ziemlich wenig geändert worden ist, so finden wir das nun ganz natürlich. Wenige wußten von der Existenz dieser lateinischen Harmonie, diese Wenigen interessierten sich nicht stark genug für sie, um an ihr herumzuemendieren. Erst die Morgenröte der Renaissance um 1250 schuf dem alten Juwel verständnisvollere Liebhaber.

Auch Plooij betont es kräftig, daß der lateinische Tatian aus privatem Interesse entstanden ist, niemals zum kirchlichen

Gebrauch bestimmt war. Er habe nur dazu angeregt, daß man auch im Abendland die vier Evangelien in die Volkssprache übertrug, und zwar im engsten Anschluß an den Anreger, den lateinischen Diatessarontext. Diese Vorstellung scheint begünstigt durch die Analogie der Entwicklung bei Syrern und Armeniern. Sie scheint analog besonders auch darin, daß bei beiden der Text der „Getrennten" dem des Diatessaron auch in den Abschnitten, die nie im Diatessaron gestanden haben, so ähnlich sieht. Bei näherem Zusehen offenbart sich das Gegenteil. Die späteren Ausgaben des Vollevangeliums bei Syrern und Armeniern hängen von dem Diatessaron ab, weil dies vorher Jahrzehnte lang wirklich gebraucht, den Menschen in Fleisch und Blut übergegangen war, die wußten es großenteils auswendig: wie sollte die Privatarbeit eines Syro-Lateiners um 170, die wir etwa nach Plooij postulieren, um 190 solche Bedeutung erlangt haben, daß eine offiziöse Evangelienausgabe sich bis ins kleinste sklavisch an ihren Wortlaut klammerte? Und lieber mit dem Griechen, den man vor sich liegen hatte, in Konflikt kam, als den halbheiligen aus dem Syrischen geholten Text im Stich zu lassen? Ja, was die Ungeheuerlichkeit dieser Zumutung noch steigert: es sind doch um 200 mindestens zwei lateinische Evangelienausgaben herausgekommen, eine in Afrika, eine in Europa: beide hängen an den Rockschößen jener Privatarbeit, trotzdem sie von einander sonst im Wortlaut und doch auch im Textbestand oft erheblich abweichen? Sobald Plooij beweist, daß die nicht aus dem Diatessaron genommenen Bestandteile der altlateinischen Evangelien griechischen Typus widerspiegeln, während die übrigen der syrische Typus beherrscht, sobald er zeigt, daß der eine Lateiner, meinetwegen die Afra, treulich durchweg zu Tatian steht, die andere nicht, mag seine Konstruktion wieder ernst geprüft werden: bis dahin hat sie als ein Maximum von Unwahrscheinlichkeit zu gelten. Zumal hinzukommt, daß den lateinischen Christen durch sie eine Stumpfsinnigkeit zugetraut wird, — über die man wenigstens nicht mit Schweigen hinweggleiten dürfte. Die Syrer, nachher die Armenier, nahmen dankbar Tatians Harmonie auf, weil sie noch gar nichts vom Evangelium besaßen, die Lateiner, in erster Linie Rom, hörten seit

100 Jahren das Evangelium in griechischer Sprache, mindestens seit 40 Jahren alle vier Evangelien griechisch, wahrscheinlich an vielen Stellen mit nachfolgender mündlicher Interpretation ins Lateinische: dann werden sie von einem doch nur für Studierstuben bestimmten lateinischen Diatessaron so entzückt, daß sie — zwar nicht es akzeptieren, wohl aber sich vier Evangelien bestellen, die mit kindlichem Stolz nach nichts so eifrig trachten wie der Mutter Diatessaron ähnlich zu sehen?

Vorderhand vermag ich die Ähnlichkeit des Textes unsers LN-Diatessaron mit andern Vier-Evangelien der Altlateiner nur aus der Abhängigkeit des Diatessaron von den andern zu erklären. Und zwar scheint es einen Mischtext aus afr. und eur. vorauszusetzen, wäre also in einer Periode entstanden, wo — etwa in Gallien oder Spanien — die Verschmelzung der beiden lateinischen Versionen schon ziemlich weit vorgeschritten war. Die wörtliche Übereinstimmung zwingt zu der weitern Annahme, daß der Gelehrte, der dies lateinische Diatessaron aus einem griechischen anfertigte, die einzelnen Bestandteile gewissenhaft in seiner lateinischen Kirchenbibel nachschlug und — wenigstens grundsätzlich, was zahlreiche Ausnahmen, wie bei dem Reinigungswerk SH an L, nicht ausschließt — sich des dort vorgefundenen Textes bemächtigte. Bestandteile, die er in seiner Bibel gar nicht identifizieren konnte, fuhren dabei am besten; die betrachtete er als willkommene Bereicherung und wob ihnen ein lateinisches Kleid. Das Auffinden der Einzelstücke, oft ja nur halber Sätze oder einzelner Wörter, in den vier Evangelien konnte ihm fast nur gelingen, wenn ihm ein Apparat, wie der der Eusebianischen Canones, zur Verfügung stand. Indem er das Buch in einige hundert Kapitel zerlegte, die Kapitel rubrizierte, ein Inhaltsverzeichnis anlegte und namentlich unermüdlich durch das ganze Werk hin die Namen der für seinen Text verantwortlichen Evangelisten daneben oder zwischen hinein schrieb, verriet er, welches Interesse ihn ausschließlich gelockt hat, das des Bibelforschers, des gelehrten Harmonisten. Alle Merkmale zusammen empfehlen am meisten das vierte Jhrh. als Ursprungzeit für U; keinesfalls war der Verf. ein Römer.

Falls Anderen einleuchtet, was ich hier in Auseinandersetzung mit Plooij über das Lütticher Leben Jesu vorgetragen habe, würde die Hoffnung auf die Erschließung des echten Tatiantextes als fast chimärisch zu bezeichnen sein. Ein Übersetzer von den Allüren Ns kann Zeuge für den Wortlaut seiner Vorlage beinahe nur dann sein, wenn andere Zeugen ihm zur Seite stehen. Seine Verbindung mit Tatian ist nicht gerade eng. Neue Züge in dem Bilde des tatianischen Hauptwerkes werden nicht gewonnen. Höchstens der Eindruck gesteigert, daß Tatian, ein Mann ähnlichen Temperaments wie der unbekannte Niederländer, recht frei mit seinem Texte umgegangen ist; die Feinheiten, die ihm nachgerühmt werden, sind im Grunde Anklagen wider den echten Evangelientext. Die große Frage, ob der Text der altlateinischen Evangelien besser als der ägyptische heißen muß, und die andre, welchen Einfluß Tatian auf die Entwicklung des griechischen Evangelistentextes gewonnen hat, wird nur insofern gefördert, als die Selbständigkeit der Lateiner gegenüber Tatian siegreich heraustritt: dann bleibt kaum eine andere Erklärung für die Mehrzahl der Fälle, wo nur Syrer und Lateiner zusammenstimmen als die: es ist eben der alte griechische Text Roms, den Tatian im Diatessaron verarbeitet und den der älteste Lateiner übersetzt hat; in Afrika las man seit 150 begreiflicherweise die Evangelien in einer mit der römischen verwandten Ausgabe.

Den Niederländer schätzen wir als Beleg für die Existenz einer lateinischen Evangelienharmonie vor Hieronymus, und zwar einer Tatian erheblich näherstehenden, zuverlässigeren als es der Fuldensis ist. Er ersetzt uns nicht die verlorenen (oder noch nicht publizierten) syrischen und armenischen Diatessaronfragmente, dagegen ist er nicht ohne Wert für die Rekonstruktion des altlateinischen Evangelientextes. Ich schätze noch höher den Wert ein, den er als Dokument eines frischen Geistes in den germanischen Ländern des späteren Mittelalters und einer unvermuteten Kunst hat. Und so werden wir dankbar jeden Schritt begrüßen, den Rendel Harris und Plooij in der Erschließung der Urkunden dieser Strömung tun, wie wir trotz allen Widerspruchs das Verdienst des holländischen

Theologen ehren, der uns den Weg auf eine lichte Höhe eröffnet hat, auch wenn es nicht die des Berges Tabor ist.

[Als ich im Dezember 1923 mein Manuskript abfertigte, hatte ich einige neuere Arbeiten noch nicht zu Gesicht bekommen, die ich inzwischen lesen konnte, und mit denen ich zur Ergänzung besonders der Ausführungen auf S. 138–140 auch unsre Leser bekannt machen muß. 1903 hat Erich Ronneburger in einer Greifswalder Dissertation „Untersuchungen über die deutsche Evangelienharmonie der Münchener Handschrift Cg. 532 aus d. J. 1367“ wichtige, umfängliche Abschnitte aus G, die Passionsgeschichte ganz — mit dem Text von P zur Seite! — publiziert und den Inhalt von G so genau analysiert, daß wir (abgesehen vom Wortlaut) über sein Verhältnis zu L, S, H klar urteilen können. Mit dem gesamten Diatessaron-Problem weiß der Verfasser wenig bescheid; im einzelnen hat er offenbar sehr gründlich und darum verdienstlich gearbeitet. — Schon 1884 hatte Al. Reifferscheid im Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung X S. 33 als Bestandteil der v. Arnswaldtschen Bibliothek in Hannover einen, auch von einer Frau geschriebenen, Kodex des 15. Jhrh. nachgewiesen, der ein Seitengänger von S ist, auch darin, daß er Mc. 8 22–26 als Schluß der Harmonie gibt. — Und Anton Schönbach hat 1903 in den „Miscellen aus Grazer Handschriften“ (Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins für Steiermark) — leider nur zu sparsame! — Mitteilungen über eine Züricher Handschrift C. 170 app. 55 gemacht, die ein naher Verwandter von G ist: so wächst das Material an Quellen für die Rekonstruktion von N von allen Seiten an.

Im März 1924. Ad. Jülicher.]

THE MEANING OF 1 COR. 15 32

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THAT this passage has proved a difficult one is evidenced by the numerous and rather widely differing views of commentators and translators as to its meaning. The words taken separately seem to be plain enough, but one should be steeped with the thought, the argument, the method of the author, to be able to understand what he is saying here, and to coördinate it in some reasonable way with what he is saying in the context.

The Greek, as given by Westcott and Hort is: *εἰ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἐθηριομάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, τί μοι τὸ ὄφελος; εἰ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν, αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν.*

The matter of punctuation may fairly be considered settled as above, nor can it be doubted that our familiar English versions do give a possible meaning to each of the Greek words translated. But our question is, what does the passage mean as a whole?

Aside from the broad disagreement as to whether the verb *ἐθηριομάχησα* is to be understood literally or figuratively, differences of interpretation have centered around the words *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον*. "After the manner of men" is vague, and attempts have been made to give more definiteness to the thought by interpreting, "as men say," or "as is commonly reported"—, or "in a manly or courageous way," or even "from the human point of view," or "with only human aims." But none of these attempts is adequate or satisfactory. Nor will it do to translate "manwise," and let it go at that. Let us analyze.

We have here the familiar device of the hypothetical question: If so and so, what is the advantage to me? No answer is given,

but the only answer to a question put in that way is, not a qualitative or quantitative valuation of a profit or advantage, but rather the simple affirmation that there is no profit at all.

But does it seem probable that St. Paul, who "had fought the good fight," who had not beaten the air, could have said, "As is commonly reported, I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, but with no profit to myself"? Or could he possibly have said, "I fought courageously with beasts at Ephesus, my eyes fixed on spiritual things far higher than any purely human aims, yet without any advantage to myself"? Surely, if he fought with wild animals and came off with his life, he had that much advantage at least, and would not be the last to recognize it. In fact, would he not have gloried in it, as in other trials from which he had come off more than conqueror?

Besides, St. Paul knew whether or not he had fought with beasts, in an arena or elsewhere. Why then should he raise the question, to befog his meaning in the minds of his readers from that day to this? No, the contingency of the conditional *if*,—and we ought not to forget that the *if* is an integral part of the text—does not belong with the verb element in the sentence. And to couple it with *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον*, in any such sense as we have so far found assigned to these words, leads only to absurdity. Nor is St. Paul saying "If *I* fought," nor "If I fought *at Ephesus*."

But is he not saying "If I have been contending *with beasts*"? This question may well hold the key to the correct understanding of the whole passage. For, having tried to point out what St. Paul did not and could not mean, it is time to state affirmatively a conclusion as to what he did mean. This, then, is offered as a translation, "If I have been contending with beasts in human form (here) in Ephesus, what profit is there to me? If the dead do not rise, 'let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die'."

If this be the meaning, the passage has been misunderstood, in one way or another, perhaps from the beginning. And such misunderstanding has no doubt arisen, first, from the use of a comparatively unusual compound verb; second, from the employment of *κατά* in a secondary sense; third, from an awkward construction.

θηριομαχέω must, in the nature of the case, have been at that time comparatively unfamiliar to the ears of urban Greek speaking people, though it may well have been current among country folk, farmers and hunters. Whatever this word may have come to signify later in Christian circles, familiar with this verse in 1 Corinthians; whatever technical sense it may have acquired in Rome, in connection with gladiatorial shows, or taken on in connection with religious persecutions, I have not found any indication that at the time when St. Paul was writing to the Corinthians, it had any other reference, among Greeks, than to such natural fights as hunters would run into, or to such contests as men living in sparsely settled country would inevitably have with the wild animals infesting the neighborhood of their folds and pastures. For the former, see Strabo, 131, where θηριομαχία refers to the chase. For the latter, see Diodorus Siculus, III, 43, where θηριομαχεῖν refers to fights with lions, wolves and leopards, in defense of flocks and herds. To insist that when St. Paul says ἐθηριομάχησα he must be held to have used a technical term in a literal sense seems like straining out gnats. Must he be held to equal literalness when he intimates in the preceding verse that he is in jeopardy every hour, and solemnly asseverates that he dies daily? One of these statements is exaggeration. The other is hyperbole. Our author frequently uses the imagery of militarism to characterize his essentially peaceful activities as an apostle and teacher. When these led him into difficulties with officials or populace, as they sometimes did, he could let himself down over the wall, he could escape from the midst of the rabble, or he could and did submit to arrest and imprisonment, but he did not fight. So here, when he speaks of fighting, what he had in mind was his strenuous preaching, his lecturing to and heated argument with those whom he was endeavoring to convert and instruct.

Second. κατά with the accusative has several common meanings and shades of meaning. But it also has a secondary meaning of comparison or correspondence,—answering to the description of, like, in the form of,—and our author clearly uses it in this sense, when he writes, in Eph. 4 24 κατὰ θεόν, in the image of God. κατὰ ἄνθρωπον can therefore here mean, in the

image of man, or as we would say, in human form, or even, man-shaped. And that is what it does mean. For the two concepts expressed by ἄνθρωπον and θηρίον, here placed in the closest possible juxtaposition, are thereby brought into emphatic comparison, in fact, into sharp contrast. Read over the Greek text aloud, and note that this is the effect. If we try to produce the same in English, we employ some other device, such as the use of italics and contrasting words, and might express the meaning in some such way as this:—If those with whom I have been contending, here in Ephesus, are after all only *man-shaped beasts*, what is the use?

And that being the case, what would be the use? St. Paul clearly suggests the answer to his own question,—no use whatever,—and adds by way of amplification or explanation, that if men, when they die, stay dead, we might better spend the brief span of life in enjoyment of the pleasures of the table rather than waste time in endeavoring to fit them for an impossible immortality! Because the whole of St. Paul's philosophy and religion rests ultimately on this distinction between a man and a beast, namely, that a man when he dies will rise and live again, whereas a beast when it dies perishes. For St. Paul believed in the resurrection of the dead. He preached it, he taught it, he wrote it to his friends. And that is what he is doing in his own characteristic way, in this fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians.

True it is, that right here, in the midst of his argument, he does pause momentarily to raise a question as to the validity of his own basic belief. *What if* man is not so different from other animals after all? *What if* the dead do not rise? But immediately he puts his readers on their guard against taking such questionings as in any sense an admission. Do not be misled, he tells them. Such words as he has just written or quoted he characterizes as bad, and likely to lead to incorrect conclusions. And does he not go on to tell them to open their eyes and look straight at the matter under discussion, and not to miss the point through ignorance of God's ways? And does he not say this in order to turn them back from his momentary digression to his main line of thought?

And then he plunges again into his argument for the resurrection.

Third. As remarked at the beginning of this study, our passage is a difficult one, or, in other words, there is something the matter with it. Otherwise, scholars would not have been forced to differ so radically in their conclusions as to what the apostle is trying to say. Two difficulties have been examined. A third lies in the seemingly strained construction of making a prepositional clause attach itself adjectively to the objective part, only, of the compound verb. It is awkward, but is it any more so than some other locutions of the same writer, when in his discursive, almost headlong way, he occasionally lets his thought run away with his Greek? At such times, his readers, even though they were personal friends and familiar with his style, might reasonably be excused if they should not immediately catch the full content of his idea. What the people of Corinth made out of this particular passage, we may not know, but it is plain that subsequent readers, from the fathers down, have not been able to agree that any heretofore suggested interpretation is necessarily the correct one. If there be any merit in the interpretation now suggested, it must be in the fact that to each word is assigned at least a possible sense, and to the passage as a whole a meaning that fits perfectly into the apostle's great argument for the resurrection of the dead.

THE ORIGINAL FORM OF PAUL'S LETTER TO THE COLOSSIANS

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JUST half a century ago Heinrich Julius Holtzmann, then *ordentlicher Professor der Theologie* in Heidelberg, in the most thorough-going treatment which the epistle to the Colossians has ever received, reduced its original text to the following proportions:[1]

Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῖς ἐν Κολοσσαῖς ἁγίοις καὶ πιστοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ· χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν.

Εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν προσευχόμενοι, ἀκούσαντες τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν (ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ) καὶ (τὴν ἀγάπην ἣν ἔχετε εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους διὰ) τὴν ἐλπίδα (τὴν ἀποκειμένην ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἣν προηκούσατε ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας) τοῦ

[1] H. J. Holtzmann: *Kritik der Epheser- und Kolosserbriefe auf Grund einer Analyse ihres Verwandtschaftsverhältnisses.* Leipzig, 1872. The reconstructed text is given on pp. 325—330. It is reprinted by von Soden, in more convenient and corrected form (as above) in the *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie* 1885, pp. 323—325. The four phrases in parenthesis in the first sentence Holtzmann, moved by criticisms of J. Koster, had in 1877 removed as not original, and the phrase in brackets he had restored as genuine. For these corrections, cf. Holtzmann in *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 1877, col. 612, and von Soden *ut supra*, p. 323, note 1. It may be added that the present article was written in 1922, as a slight recognition of Holtzmann's service, on the semi-centennial of his publication.

εὐαγγελίου τοῦ παρόντος εἰς ὑμᾶς (καθὼς καὶ ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ ἔστιν καρποφορούμενον καὶ αὐξανόμενον καθὼς καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν) ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας [ἠκούσατε τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ καθὼς] ἐμάθετε ἀπὸ Ἐπαφρᾶ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ συνδούλου ἡμῶν, ὅς ἐστιν πιστὸς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διάκονος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ καὶ δηλώσας ἡμῖν τὴν ὑμῶν ἀγάπην.

Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐ παυόμεθα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν προσευχόμενοι, περιπατῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς ἐρρύσατο ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σκότους καὶ μετέστησεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδόκησεν καταλλάξαι καὶ ὑμᾶς ποτὲ ὄντας ἐχθροὺς ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς πονηροῖς, νυνὶ δὲ κατηλλάγητε ἐν τῷ σώματι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ θανάτου, εἴ γε ἐπιμένετε τῇ πίστει ἐδραῖοι καὶ μὴ μετακινούμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὗ ἐγενόμην ἐγὼ Παῦλος διάκονος κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι εἰς ὑμᾶς πληρῶσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ὃ καὶ κοπιῶ ἀγωνιζόμενος κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐνεργουμένην ἐν ἐμοί.

Chap. 2. Θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ἡλίκον ἀγῶνα ἔχω περὶ ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ καὶ ὅσοι οὐχ ἑώρακαν τὸ πρόσωπόν μου, ἵνα παρακληθῶσιν αἱ καρδίαι αὐτῶν. τοῦτο δὲ λέγω ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς παραλογίζηται. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῇ σαρκὶ ἄπειμι, ἀλλὰ τῷ πνεύματι σὺν ὑμῖν εἰμὶ, χαίρων καὶ βλέπων ὑμῶν τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὸ στερέωμα τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως ὑμῶν.

Ὡς οὖν παρελάβετε τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον, ἐν αὐτῷ περιπατεῖτε, καθὼς ἐδιδάχθητε, περισσεύοντες ἐν εὐχαριστίᾳ. βλέπετε μή τις ἔσται ὑμᾶς ὁ συλαγωγῶν διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας, κατὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου καὶ οὐ κατὰ Χριστὸν, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ, συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε διὰ τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν· καὶ ὑμᾶς νεκροὺς ὄντας ἐν τοῖς παραπτώμασιν συνεζωοποίησεν σὺν αὐτῷ, χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ παραπτώματα, ἐξαλείψας τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον ὃ ἦν ὑπεναντίον ἡμῖν καὶ αὐτὸ ἦρκεν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου, προσηλώσας αὐτὸ τῷ σταυρῷ.

Μὴ οὖν τις ὑμᾶς κρινέτω ἐν βρώσει καὶ ἐν πόσει ἢ ἐν μέρει ἑορτῆς ἢ νουμηνίας ἢ σαββάτων, εἰκὴ φυσιούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ νοὸς τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ. Εἰ ἀπεθάνετε σὺν Χριστῷ ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων τοῦ κόσμου, τί ὡς ζῶντες ἐν κόσμῳ δογματίζεσθε· μὴ

ἅψῃ μηδὲ γεύσῃ μηδὲ θίγῃς, ἃ ἐστιν εἰς φθορὰν τῇ ἀποχρήσει πρὸς πλησμονὴν τῆς σαρκός;

Chap. 3. Ἀπεθάνετε γὰρ, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν κέκρυπται σὺν τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν τῷ θεῷ. Ἐνδύσασθε οὖν ὡς ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἅγιοι καὶ ἠγαπημένοι σπλάγχνα οἰκτιρμοῦ, χρηστότητα, ταπεινοφροσύνην, πραΰτητα, μακροθυμίαν, ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων καὶ χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς ἐάν τις πρός τινα ἔχῃ μομφὴν, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐχαρίσατο ὑμῖν οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς. καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι ἐὰν ποιῆτε ἐν λόγῳ, ἢ ἐν ἔργῳ, πάντα ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ πατρὶ δι' αὐτοῦ.

Chap. 4. Τῇ προσευχῇ προσκαρτερεῖτε γρηγοροῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ, προσευχόμενοι ἅμα καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν, ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ἀνοίξῃ ἡμῖν θύραν τοῦ λόγου λαλῆσαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς δεῖ με λαλῆσαι. Ἐν σοφίᾳ περιπατεῖτε πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω, τὸν καιρὸν ἐξαγοραζόμενοι. ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν πάντοτε ἐν χάριτι, ἅλατι ἠρτυμένος, εἰδέναι πῶς δεῖ ὑμᾶς ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ ἀποκρίνεσθαι.

Τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ πάντα γνωρίσει ὑμῖν Τύχικος ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ πιστὸς διάκονος καὶ σύνδουλος ἐν Κυρίῳ, ὃν ἔπεμψα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἵνα γνῷ τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν καὶ παρακαλέσῃ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν.

Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ συναιχμάλωτός μου, καὶ Μάρκος ὁ ἀνεψιὸς Βαρνάβα, περὶ οὗ ἐλάβετε ἐντολὰς, ἐὰν ἔλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δέξασθε αὐτὸν, καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰοῦστος, οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς. οὗτοι μόνοι συνεργοὶ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, οἵτινες ἐγενήθησάν μοι παρηγορία. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Ἐπαφρᾶς ὁ ἐξ ὑμῶν, δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, πάντοτε ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν. μαρτυρῶ γὰρ αὐτῷ ὅτι ἔχει πολὺν πόνον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεραπόλει.

ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Λουκᾶς ὁ ἰατρὸς ὁ ἀγαπητὸς καὶ Δημᾶς.

ὁ ἀσπασμὸς τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ Παύλου.

μνημονεύετέ μου τῶν δεσμῶν.

ἡ χάρις μεθ' ὑμῶν.

Which is, being translated:[2]

Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus through the will of God, and Timothy our brother, to the saints and faithful brethren

[2] The *American Revised Version* is followed, so far as Holtzmann's text allows.

in Christ *that are* at Colossae: Grace to you and peace from God our Father.

We give thanks to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, praying always for you, having heard of your faith (in Christ Jesus) and of (the love which ye have toward all the saints, because of) the hope (which is laid up for you in the heavens, whereof ye heard before in the word of the truth) of the gospel which is come unto you (even as it is also in all the world, and it is bearing fruit and increasing, as *it doth* in you also) since the day [ye heard the grace of God, even as] ye learned of Epaphras our beloved fellow-servant, who is a faithful minister of Christ on your behalf, who also declared unto us your love.

For this cause we also do not cease to pray for you, that ye walk worthily of God, who delivered us out of the power of darkness and translated us into the Kingdom of his Son. For it was the good pleasure *of the Father* to reconcile also you, being in time past enemies in your evil works, yet now ye have been reconciled in the body of his flesh through death, if so be that ye continue in the faith, stedfast and not moved away from the gospel whereof I Paul was made a minister, according to the dispensation of God which was given me to you-ward, to fulfil the word of God, whereunto I labor also, striving according to his working which worketh in me.

Chap. 2. For I would have you know how greatly I strive for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face, that their hearts may be comforted. And this I say, that no one may delude you. For though I am absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit, joying and beholding your order and the stedfastness of your faith in Christ.

As therefore ye received Christ Jesus the Lord, *so* walk in him, even as ye were taught, abounding in thanksgiving. Take heed lest there shall be any one that maketh spoil of you through his philosophy, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ; for in him ye were circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands; having been buried with him in baptism, wherein ye were also raised with him through the working of God who raised him from the dead. And you,

being dead through your trespasses, did he make alive together with him, having forgiven us all our trespasses, having blotted out the bond that was against us, which was contrary to us; and he hath taken it out of the way, nailing it to the cross.

Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a feast day or a new moon or a sabbath day, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind. If ye died with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, do ye subject yourselves to ordinances: Handle not, nor taste, nor touch, which things are to perish with the using unto the indulgence of the flesh?

Chap. 3. For ye died, and your life is hid with Christ in God. Put on, therefore, as God's elect, holy and beloved, a heart of compassion, kindness, lowliness, meekness, long-suffering, forbearing one another, and forgiving each other, if any man have a complaint against any; even as Christ also forgave you, so also *do* ye. And whatsoever ye do, in word or in deed, *do* all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father through him.

Chap. 4. Continue stedfastly in prayer, watching therein, withal praying for us also, that God may open unto us a door for the word, to speak the mystery of Christ, as I ought to speak. Walk in wisdom toward them that are without, redeeming the time. Let your speech be always with grace, seasoned with salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer each one.

All my affairs shall Tychicus make known unto you, the beloved brother and faithful minister and fellow-servant in the Lord; whom I have sent unto you for this very purpose, that he may know your state and that he may comfort your hearts.

Aristarchus my fellow-prisoner saluteth you, and Mark, the cousin of Barnabas (touching whom ye received commandments; if he come unto you, receive him), and Jesus that is called Justus, who are of the circumcision; these only are my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God, men that have been a comfort unto me. Epaphras, who is one of you, a servant of Christ Jesus, saluteth you, always striving for you. For I bear him witness that he hath much labor for you and for

them in Hierapolis. Luke the beloved physician and Demas salute you.
The salutation of me Paul with mine own hand. Remember my bonds. Grace be with you.

Johannes Weiss wrote, more than twenty years ago,[3] "Es ist sehr bedauerlich, dass keiner der neuesten Kommentare eine genaue *exegetische* Auseinandersetzung mit Holtzmanns Interpolationshypothese noch für nötig hält." What was true in 1900 continues to be true in 1922. The commentaries cite Holtzmann's hypothesis in their introductions as an erroneous and antiquated view, and go on to explain the text as if its integrity had not been seriously questioned. It is probable that few present-day students have really worked through Holtzmann's book, and that fewer still will do so in the future. The one thorough-going examination which it has received was from Hermann von Soden, who in a series of articles in the *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie* for 1885,[4] tested carefully Holtzmann's decisions in detail, verse by verse, almost word by word. Holtzmann, starting from the obvious literary parallels between Colossians and "Ephesians," had become convinced that, whereas in general the priority belonged to Colossians, yet in certain not inconsiderable passages the "Ephesians" text was the original. The conclusion of his investigation was, briefly, this: An original short (less than half our present text) letter of Paul to the Colossians had been used by a later Paulinist as model for writing "Ephesians;" then from "Ephesians" the same writer interpolated extensively the original Colossians text.

This somewhat complicated procedure seems not very probable outside the field of literary theory, and von Soden was able to show that even as a literary theory it would not hold water. The resultant "original" text, as given above, was a very unconvincing piece of Greek composition, as the English translation will indicate even to the layman. But von Soden himself, after the most conscientious examination of the text, was forced to

[3] *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Sept. 29, 1900, col. 555.
[4] Pages 320—368, 497—542, 672—702.

agree with Holtzmann that Col. 1 15–20 was a later addition to what Paul had written. He further found certain interpolations in the second chapter: the whole of verses 10 and 15, and in verse 18 the words *θέλων ἐν ταπεινοφροσύνῃ καὶ θρησκείᾳ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἃ ἑώρακεν ἐμβατεύων*, a famous *crux interpretum*. But six years later, when he published his commentary on Colossians,[5] he had grown more conservative in his analysis, and rejected as a probable gloss only the words *τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται· καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν πρὸ πάντων καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν* in 1 16 b–17, and these on grounds of composition and style. After fourteen years, however, von Soden reverted to his original view that the whole passage 1 15–20 was an interpolation, again mainly on grounds of composition.[6] This seems to have been his final view.

A view similar to Holtzmann's had been suggested by Weisse and developed in some detail by Hitzig.[7] Adolf Hausrath briefly gave his adherence to the same conclusions.[8] Otto Pfleiderer considered our present Colossians a later composition, probably on the basis of a genuine letter of Paul to this church, which it is impossible now, however, to reconstruct.[9] In the same year in which Holtzmann's book appeared W. Hönig published an article strongly defending the priority of the text of Colossians over against that of "Ephesians," at the close of which he said,[10] "Wir schliessen mit der einfachen Aufstellung der Ansicht, deren Begründung wir der Zukunft überlassen, dass auch der Kolosserbrief interpoliert ist, und dass alle diejenigen Stellen als Interpolationen zu betrachten sind, von denen nachzuweisen ist, dass

5 Holtzmann's *Hand-Commentar*, Vol. III, Part I: Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon, Pastorals, by von Soden, 1891, 2nd Ed. 1893, *ad loc.*

6 *Urchristliche Literaturgeschichte*, 1905, pp. 51, 53. Eng. tr. p. 105.

7 As early as 1856. References to Weisse and Hitzig in Holtzmann, pp. 22 f., notes.

8 *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*: Die Zeit der Apostel. 2nd Ed., 1875. Vol. II, p. 358. Eng. tr. 1895, Vol. IV, p. 118.

9 *Das Urchristentum*, 1887, pp. 682 f. More confidently in the 2nd Ed., 1902. Vol. I, pp. 190 f. Eng. tr. 1906, Vol. I, pp. 268 f.

10 W. Hönig: Über das Verhältnis des Epheserbriefes zum Briefe an die Kolosser. In *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Vol. XV (1872); quot. from p. 87.

sie vom Verfasser des Epheserbriefes nicht gekannt sind." That Hönig ever returned to the subject, however, does not appear.

Johannes Weiss, reviewing T. K. Abbott's commentary on Ephesians and Colossians, in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (September 29, 1900) insists that any serious exegesis of the text of Colossians leads to the conclusion, "dass eine Paulinische Grundlage in Überarbeitung vorliegt." The *Bearbeiter*, if he were not the *autor ad Ephesios*, was at least dependent on "Ephesians," and wrote to catholicize the Colossian letter at the time when it was taking its place in the growing Pauline canon and needed to be adapted for the use of the whole church. As samples of the interpolated passages, Weiss (in part following Holtzmann) cites *οὗ ἠκούσατε . . . . . τὸν οὐρανόν* in 1 23, *ἣν προηκούσατε . . . . . καθὼς καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν* in 1 5 f., *καὶ ὅσοι . . . . . ἐν σαρκί* in 2 1; the pronoun following *καρδίαι* in 2 2 he thinks was originally *ὑμῶν* instead of *αὐτῶν*. In *Das Urchristentum* (1914) Weiss expresses himself more briefly to similar effect, but he treats the anti-heretical passages of chapter two and the Christological passages of chapter one without reserve as Paul's own.[11]

Professor Ezra P. Gould of the Episcopal Divinity School in Philadelphia, in his *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*,[12] omitted any mention of Colossians and Ephesians in his presentation of Paul's thought, treating their Christology later as an expression of post-Pauline Alexandrianism in the church. For Colossians, however, he assumed composite authorship, the "practical parts" being Pauline, the Christological and anti-heretical passages being due to a subsequent editor. Gould argues that the Colossian church is too young to be invaded by a heresy of the indicated type, and that the high doctrine urged in rebuttal is not attributable to Paul.

A further notable contribution to this discussion was made by Wilhelm Soltau in 1905.[13] This critic offers a radical reconstruction of the text of Colossians by the excision of two groups of passages. The first group consists of a considerable number

[11] Pp. 108 f., 296—298, 370 f.

[12] Published 1901, cf. especially pp. 134 f.

[13] Die ursprüngliche Gestalt des Kolosserbriefes, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Vol. 78 (1905), pp. 521—562.

of brief phrases which were originally only interpretative glosses and parallels written on the margin of a manuscript, later copied in as a part of the text. Not a few of these, notably those of greater length, were based on passages in "Ephesians." The other excisions are two extended passages (1 21–29 and 3 5–4 9) which come from the letter to the Laodiceans and which, surviving the loss of that letter as a whole, formed the basis for the pseudo-Pauline "Ephesians." The reconstructions offered by Soltau of the original Colossians and the original Laodiceans are extremely interesting—and extremely precarious. Most students seem to have felt that the complicated literary processes underlying these reconstructions tax our powers of belief quite as much as the acceptance of the letter as a substantial unity.

And yet any serious examination of the text must compel the conviction that it is *not* a perfect unity. Apparently all students agree that we no longer possess this letter just as Paul indited it. Westcott and Hort candidly remark, "This epistle, and more especially its second chapter, appears to have been ill-preserved in ancient times."[14] Similarly J. O. F. Murray remarks that "in one or two places, notably in 2 18 and 23, it is difficult, if not impossible, to accept any of the attested readings,"[15] and L. W. Grensted agrees that "in the second chapter the difficulty of translating is very great, and it is possible that in some cases the text has suffered from corruption lying further back than all our existing manuscripts."[16] James Moffatt concedes that "the possibility of such changes being made during the second century is to be admitted, especially as scribes had always the temptation of conforming Colossians to Ephesians."[17] Sanday also had suggested such primitive textual corruption as the plausible explanation of insurmountable difficulties in the present form of the letter.[18] Granted, then, that the text has suffered, it is

[14] Westcott-Hort: *The New Testament in the Original Greek.* Vol. II, p. 127.

[15] Article "Colossians," in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.*

[16] Article "Colossians," in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church.*

[17] *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament,* 1915, p. 156. On this page Moffatt gives some account of various suggested emendations.

[18] Article "Colossians," in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible,* 2nd Ed., 1893.

open to us to inquire how seriously and in what way. The step from "primitive corruptions" in certain verses to such thorough reshaping as Holtzmann or Soltau suggests is only quantitatively important. If their reconstructions have not stood the test of time and of the renewed study of other investigators, they have at least made all future occupation with the problem easier, and it is only a pious tribute to their worth—in grateful memory especially of Holtzmann—when one who has entered into their labors modestly ventures another attempt at solution.

In the first place, the present writer is convinced of the hopelessness and essential fallaciousness of the processes of detailed literary criticism by which the interpolated passages are to be precisely distinguished from the original text. The *criteria* employed are inevitably far too subjective; in the hands of each new investigator they lead to results widely divergent from those of every predecessor. Other considerations, chiefly derived from the general content of the letter rather than from its specific phrasing, and bearing on the historical situation involved, must give the decision. "Ephesians" may be practically ignored, as it is (so the writer is convinced) in its entirety pseudo-Pauline, dependent on Colossians but not a source for it, valuable chiefly in this connection as its earliest commentary.

What, then, does the letter indicate as to the historical situation behind it? What of place and time of writing? Recent investigations have made it overwhelmingly probable that Colossians, with Philemon and Philippians, came not from Rome or Caesarea, but from a period of imprisonment in Ephesus during the third journey. The literature of this demonstration is increasing. The present writer tried to present its main contentions in the concluding volume of the American Journal of Theology.[19] The bibliography there given can now be considerably augmented, notably by Paul Feine's detailed and highly persuasive argument as to Philippians.[20] The scholarship of the future is apt to reconstruct its picture of the apostolic age at

[19] C. R. Bowen: Are Paul's Prison-Letters from Ephesus? *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. 24 (1920).

[20] Paul Feine: *Die Abfassung des Philipperbriefes in Ephesus.* Gütersloh. 1916.

this point, to take leave of Paul where Acts takes leave of him, and to regard the great letter to the Romans, with the contemporary note to Ephesus which in our Bibles forms its sixteenth chapter, as his latest extant communications. Without laboring this point further here, since it has been elaborated elsewhere, let us begin to read Colossians as the product of the Ephesian period. Immediately much of its phraseology becomes luminous and a perfectly clear historical situation confronts us. During Paul's three-year stay in the metropolis of Asia, not only was the city itself evangelized, but "all they that dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord" (Acts 19 10). Demetrius complains (Acts 19 26) "that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people." In writing First Corinthians from Ephesus, to his own greetings Paul adds (16 19) those of "the churches of Asia." In such passages as Rom. 16 5 and 2 Cor. 1 8 he refers to his work during this period as done in "Asia" rather than in "Ephesus." This evangelization of the province was probably, however, for the most part the work of his colleagues and assistants rather than of Paul himself. With him at this time were Aquila and Priscilla (1 Cor. 16 19; Acts 18 26), Timothy and Erastus (Acts 19 22), Gaius and Aristarchus (Acts 19 29), Sosthenes (1 Cor. 1 1), Titus (2 Cor. 8 *passim*), Apollos (1 Cor. 16 12), besides Ephesian friends like Tychicus and Trophimus (Acts 20 4), visitors like Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus from Corinth (1 Cor. 16 17), who at home (1 Cor. 16 15–18) are vigorous workers for the church, and doubtless are such abroad. Other such visitors, "brothers, fellow-workers, fellow-soldiers" are Epaphras of Colossae and Epaphroditus of Philippi. In Col. 4 10–14 we learn also that both Luke and Mark, the traditional evangelists, were with Paul at this period, besides Jesus Justus and Demas; of such as these he gratefully speaks as "fellow-workers unto the Kingdom of God, men that have been a comfort unto me." Others we shall meet in "the prison-letters." Thus "all the brethren that are with me" (Gal. 1 2) are an impressive number. To their company must be added that considerable company named in the note to Ephesus now disguised as an appendix to the Roman letter. Besides Priscilla and Aquila,

twenty-two persons are there referred to by name, not including any mentioned above. Seventeen of these seem to be men. Of the five women named, four are especially stated to have "labored in the Lord;" two of them "labored much." Of the men, Andronicus and Junias have been Paul's fellow-prisoners and are "of note among the apostles." Urbanus is a "fellow-worker in Christ." Indeed, one gets the impression that all these people were active in one way or another in the spread of the gospel, and the same would seem to be true also of others, alluded to without name, like the mother of Rufus and the sister of Nereus. That makes all told a list of thirty-seven helpers in Asia known to us by mention, mostly appreciative, of their names. Even those scholars who still refuse to separate Romans sixteen from the rest of that epistle, and assume what Jülicher calls "a sort of general migration of Paul's eastern communities" to a city of which he himself had never come within five hundred miles, will have a list of fifteen valued co-laborers of the apostle in Asia, including such experienced and efficient helpers as Aquila and Priscilla, Timothy and Titus, Mark and Luke. Out of the work of these co-laborers grow "the churches of Asia," Troas, Miletus (probably), Colossae, Laodicea, Hierapolis, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardes, Philadelphia and surely others. There is no indication that Paul himself visited any of these churches at this time, although later we find him at Troas (2 Cor. 2 12; Acts 20 6 ff.; in Acts 16 8—cf. v. 6—there is no preaching at Troas) as also at Miletus (Acts 20 15 ff.). Indeed the indication is rather that he did not. Writing to the believers at Colossae (2 1) he states definitely that they and their neighbors at Laodicea, with a number of other churches as well, have not seen his face in the flesh. This latter clause καὶ ὅσοι οὐχ ἑώρακαν κ. τ. λ. cannot naturally refer to individual churches or isolated Christians scattered about over the world who have not known his personal ministrations, but rather to a group of churches in his own territory, which would naturally look to him as leader, to which he would naturally address counsels, by letter or by messenger, even though he had not, in actual presence, been among them.

Among these Asian churches, then, whose actual establishing Paul had delegated to certain of his assistants, is the church at

Colossae, with its neighbors at Hierapolis and Laodicea. We learn the name of the man most concerned in planting the gospel in the Lycus valley. It is Epaphras who has thus acted as Paul's proxy (*πιστὸς διάκονος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*, correct reading in 1 7) in his home city and region. Influential also in Colossae is Philemon, whose son (as it seems, Phm. 2) Archippus is especially noted also as actively at work (Col. 4 17). Philemon certainly (Phm. 19) and Epaphras probably, had been a convert of Paul's. Both men are thus personally known and personally dear to him. If we suppose that Epaphras and Philemon, well-to-do citizens of the provincial town, visiting Ephesus the metropolis, come under Paul's influence there and are converted, it is most natural that they should, on returning home, carry the propaganda thither also. Epaphras is Paul's dear fellow-slave and faithful server of Christ in his stead (Col. 1 7), himself one of the Colossians, who had much labor for them and the associated churches near by (4 12 f.). Philemon is a "beloved fellow-worker" with a son who is a "fellow-soldier," with a church gathered under his roof, notable for his faith and his love, through which the hearts of the saints had been refreshed (Phm. 1 f., 5–7). The situation is clear and natural. According to the Colossian letter Epaphras has now returned to Paul, bringing news of the church's growth in faith and love, and of its warm concern for the apostle himself (1 3–8; cf. also the *καὶ ἡμεῖς* in 1 9 and 4 7–9). Finding Paul imprisoned, he is himself put under arrest and becomes the apostle's *συναιχμάλωτος* (Phm. 3); the detention from his important work at home is exceedingly painful to him. He is *ἀγωνιζόμενος* over his precious churches, that they may, deprived for a time of his support, "stand perfect and fully assured in all the will of God" (Col. 4 12).

The clear implication of this situation and of all the language of the letter is that these churches are *new*, that Paul is for the first time learning of their founding, in short, that Epaphras' visit to Paul, here recounted, is truly, as we assumed, a visit to Ephesus, during the three-year mission there, no long time after he has planted the gospel in the region where he lives. The letter to the Colossians is, in its tone and content, clearly Paul's first reaction to the news of that planting. He introduces himself

to the Colossian Christians as one who, a personal stranger to them, is just cultivating their acquaintance. He explains who he is and why he addresses them (1 23 b—2 5). The phraseology of 1 6–8 clearly means that "the gospel has now at length come" to the Colossians; the day they "heard and knew the grace of God in truth" lies not far back; no long interval can possibly separate the *ἐμάθετε ἀπὸ Ἐπαφρᾶ* and the *δηλώσας ἡμῖν*. Epaphras has just reported his own recent work of evangelization. So all the moral counsels of the letter are adapted to an infant community, just learning the Christian way of life. The injunctions of 3 5 f. suggest a new group, still the object of much curious questioning from pagan neighbors. Any one who will read the letter with the purpose of learning, if possible, when the church was founded, cannot escape the impression that the founding is recent. Note especially the language of 1 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 21 f. (*ποτὲ . . . . . νυνὶ δέ*), 23; 2 1 f., 5, 6, 7; 3 7 f. (*ποτὲ . . . . . νυνὶ δέ*), 9 f. (*ἀπεκδυσάμενοι . . . . . ἐνδυσάμενοι*). There are in these eighteen verses some fourteen direct allusions to the Colossians' conversion. All this is the language of fresh and vivid reaction upon that happy event; it is absolutely incompatible with the supposition that the experiences in question lie five or six years back, whether known or unknown to Paul in the meantime. Every reader of the letter would have this impression, were it not for the influence of the tradition which assigns it to a Roman imprisonment at the end of Paul's life. No, at the time the letter is written the Colossian church has been in existence only a period of weeks or of months at most.[21]

The establishment of this fact is important here, not primarily for the chronology of the letter, but for the determination of its original content. In its present form a large part of chapter two, and indirectly of chapter one, is directed against the inroads of an elaborate and dangerous heresy. It may be submitted as in the highest degree unlikely that a church which has been only a brief time in being is already so seriously invaded by heresy.

[21] The writer is here making use of his article in the *American Journal of Theology*, 1920, cited above. Holtzmann also (p. 15) reads out of 1 3-5, 9; 2 6 f. that Paul is addressing an "erst kürzlich gegründete Gemeinde."

Christian heresies, especially heresies of the general type revealed in this letter, do not arise until the church has been long enough in existence to have developed a sufficiently self-conscious faith to be perverted, a definite orthodoxy from which heresy may be clearly felt to deviate. In short, a fundamental discrepancy runs through the present text of the letter. The anti-heretical passages posit a developed situation and a late date; most of the rest of the letter posits a primitive situation and an early date. Indeed, the letter seems at times almost to go out of its way to declare that the Colossians' faith is eminently satisfactory. The language of 1 3–8, for example, is hardly compatible with the idea that heresy is threatening the life of the church. "Thank God for your faith! You heard the word of the gospel's *truth*; it has come to you and is growing and bearing fruit among you, and has been doing so since the day you heard and recognized the grace of God *in truth*, from its authorized spokesman Epaphras, my proxy among you." The next verse (1 9) offers a prayer for the development of the readers in all wisdom and spiritual understanding, but this is not that they may understand doctrine correctly, but that they may recognize God's will so as to walk worthily and bear fruit in good work. The whole interest is in life and conduct. So "continue in the faith" (1 23) clearly means, in its context: continue in Christian living, not: continue in correct belief. The same note dominates 1 28, where the burden of all the apostle's admonitions and teachings "in all wisdom" is to furnish every man perfect in Christ. τέλειος here is almost certainly not a mystery-term, but has the force of "morally complete," the exact parallel and exegesis being the words of 1 22 παραστῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους καὶ ἀνεγκλήτους κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ. Even 2 2, where begins the deviation to doctrinal concern, is preoccupied at first with the moral interest. Especially is 2 5 notable in this connection, where the absent apostle, on the basis of all he can learn of the situation, joys in the τάξις (*well-drilled order*) and στερέωμα (*solidity*) of the Colossians' faith in Christ. So the natural understanding of 2 6 f. finds in its language no warning against false doctrine, but only an injunction to go on to fuller development in the same path in which they have already begun so promisingly to walk. Very

different is the apostle's tone when he is really combating false teaching, as in Galatians!

It is frequently noted with some surprise by commentators that chapters three and four of the letter have no hint of heresy in the church. Haupt, for example, points out that this portion of the document "gibt, ohne jede erkennbare Beziehung auf diese Irrlehrer, ethische Mahnungen."[22] These simple ethical counsels are precisely suited to an infant church, but they do not remotely suggest a church overwhelmed with a dangerous heresy, nor have these two chapters any back-references to the matter of the first two. Indeed, chapter one has no positive reference to the heresy, except indirectly, on the assumption that the lofty Christology is deliberately set over against derogatory views of Christ among the heretics.[23] It is to be observed also that the note to Philemon, sent to the same community at the same time, lacks any hint of heresy in the church of which Philemon is an honored leader, in whose house the congregation (or *a* congregation) assembles, to whom Paul gives grateful acknowledgement "of the faith which thou hast toward the Lord Jesus and toward all the saints," praying "that the fellowship of thy faith may become effectual, in the knowledge of every good thing which is in you, unto Christ" (Phm. 5 f.). The special message (Col. 4 17) to Archippus (probably Philemon's son) to fulfil the ministry which he has received in the Lord, also lacks the slightest hint that the most pressing task of his ministry must be to protect the church against heresy.

The suggestion of these and similar observations is simply this: All the allusions to heresy in the letter (chiefly, if not exclusively, in chapter two), all the anti-heretical polemic, all the lofty Christology which is set forth as a counter-claim to erroneous views—all this belongs, not to Paul's original letter to the nascent Colossian church, but to a later enlarged edition

[22] E. Haupt: *Der Brief an die Kolosser.* (Meyer's Commentary) 1897, p. 167. Cf. also S. R. Macphail: *The Epistle of Paul to the Colossians*, 1911, p. 14.

[23] Von Soden, in *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*, 1885, p. 340, urges strongly that even 1 15-20 is not intended as a refutation of false teaching.

of it, circulated as a tract for the times, in the days when false teaching actually had become a danger. If this be true, we need no longer try to make plausible the rise of so elaborate a heresy in Paul's own life-time, when the church is new. Now all the phenomena of the letter fall into line. We understand now (what on any other hypothesis is incomprehensible), why we have here an altogether different method of opposing false views from that used elsewhere by Paul, in Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, for example. Never once, in the refutation in Colossians, is the Old Testament quoted, or any "rabbinical" argument brought into play. Indeed, the whole letter contains no single Old Testament citation, but at most five formal reflections of Scriptural language (2 3, cf. Is. 45 3; 2 22, cf. Is. 29 13; 3 1, cf. Psalm 110 1; 3 10, cf. Gen. 1 26 f.; 3 25, cf. Deut. 10 17). Nor does the word *νόμος* ever occur. And all this despite the fact that the heresy combated is of a marked Jewish cast; in so much that Hort, Peake, Eadie and others regard it simply as orthodox Judaism, and Soltau as the Alexandrianism of Philo. There are allusions to circumcision (which is spiritualized rather than attacked), to "traditions of men," to "the bond written in ordinances," to "new moon and sabbath days" and the like. How could the Paul who wrote Galatians or Romans try to refute such Judaism without one appeal to the Scriptures which were final authority for himself and his opponents alike?

Nor is it in the least probable that the real Paul would denounce so vigorously a false teaching of which he was apparently able to give no more clear and definite account than we find in the second chapter of Colossians. We are irresistibly reminded of the *Irrlehrer* of the Pastorals, who will doubtless remain an inexhaustible theme for the speculation of students as long as the New Testament is studied. The Pastoral discussions of heresy, we understand, are not Paul's, but the product of a mind much less clear and penetrating in the field of religious thought. It is similarly no compliment to Paul to suppose that his was the intellect that set out to warn the Colossians against a dangerous *φιλοσοφία*. He would have known what he was fighting, and by the same token so would we his readers. We see very clearly what was being taught in Galatia; but what was

wrong in Colossae? Who can say with any confidence? In identifying the heretics, as Moffatt says, the compass has been pretty well boxed. Orthodox Jews, Alexandrian Jews, theosophic Jews, gnostic Jews, Essenes, Baptists, Ebionites, Gnostics, pagans with Oriental or Pythagorean affinities, devotees of Mithra—all these and many more are suggested. Jülicher takes refuge in calling them "mysteriosophists," and Moffatt "plays safe" with his inclusive statement of a "syncretistic theosophy, a blend of disparate elements rife within the popular religion of Phrygia, together with notions and practices current among Jewish circles which were sensitive to semi-Alexandrian influences!"[24] We may submit that if Paul were the writer of the polemic in question we should know more precisely than this at whom he was aiming, and guesses so antipodal as orthodox Judaism and Mithraism would not be possible. And such a conglomeration of disparate "notions and practices," Jewish and pagan, making headway in a young Christian church in the fifties (or at latest, the very early sixties) of the first century it is surely difficult to make plausible. Nothing so developed and dangerous, so elaborate and complicated, can have attacked the Colossian church in its very cradle, so that Paul hears of the founding of the church and of the heresy that threatens its young life at the same time. Epaphras "declared unto us your love in the spirit" (1 8). Did he also declare that "ye subject yourselves to ordinances: handle not, taste not, touch not" (2 20 f.)? When Paul "heard of your faith in Christ Jesus and of the love which ye have toward all the saints" (1 4), did he hear also of "one that maketh spoil of you through his philosophy and vain deceit" (2 8)? It does not seem probable. Every allusion in the letter (1 4; 1 8; 1 9; 2 5 may serve as examples) to Paul's having *heard something* about the Colossians, to his having had news, refers to news about their founding or about their stedfastness, growth and faith, never once to a report of their defection to heresy. If he had actually had news of such defection, would he not be likely to express as much, in some such phrase as, "It hath been

[24] *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, 1915, p. 152. For a list of other views and their sponsors, *cf.* p. 153.

signified unto me, brethren, by them" etc. (1 Cor. 1 11)? Galatians, without naming authorities, yet makes clear at every point that it rests on exact information; there Paul fights as not beating the air.

The present writer, therefore, to whom the main portion of Colossians is indubitably and profoundly Pauline, would attempt to discriminate the non-Pauline accretions, not by exact literary analysis of style and vocabulary, not by meticulous comparison of passage with passage, or of the Colossians text with the "Ephesians" text, not even by researches into the Christology of the letter, but primarily on the basis of the historical situation out of which the letter must assuredly come. Each of the other avenues of inquiry is important and valuable and if intelligently and scientifically followed will lead to some useful result. But in all, the danger of subjectivism and arbitrariness is very great. The line of investigation here chosen is at least somewhat more open to control.

A word, however, may be said as to the style and vocabulary of chapters one and two; (it should be remembered that *all* the difficulties belong to these two chapters, the last two being as innocently Pauline as anything in Galatians or First Corinthians). That there are very great difficulties here no exegete would dream of denying. It is illuminating to note the proportion of space given to the two halves of the letter by the commentators. The length of chapters one and two is to the length of chapters three and four about as thirteen to ten. Yet Abbott gives 86 pages to the first part, only 30 to the second; Haupt gives respectively 118 and 68, Klöpper 328 and 91, and others in similar proportions. The last two chapters are smooth sailing. As to vocabulary, the counting of *hapax legomena* is relatively unimportant. It is, however, of some interest to note that of the 33 listed by Holtzmann (p. 105) as found in Colossians, 24 are found in the first two chapters. More impressive is Holtzmann's list (p. 107) of forty words and phrases common in Paul elsewhere but totally absent here. It includes words like δικαιοσύνη, σωτηρία, ἀποκάλυψις, πιστεύειν, νόμος, καυχᾶσθαι, δύνασθαι, as well as particles like οὐδέ, οὔτε, ἔτι, διό, οὐκέτι, διότι, ἄρα. The failure of the particles is of course more serious than that of

the nouns and verbs, but, on the whole, no conclusive argument can be based on these statistics.

The matter of style is more important. Chapters one and two are not written as Paul usually writes, whatever explanation be offered. The movement of expression is slow, even sluggish, heavy, involved, piling up never-ending sentences by attaching clause to clause with relatives of one sort or another, the successive clauses constantly branching off on a tangent to some new line of thought. The sentences do not aim at the expression of one specific idea, as Paul's do elsewhere (though he may be halted before he gets the specific idea out). They simply drag on from one idea to another, as the words suggest a new thought, with no notion where the sentence is coming out and no reason for ever stopping. The end of such a sentence has no remotest relation to its beginning. Examples are 1 3–8; 1 9–23; 1 24–29; 2 8–12; 2 13–15. Let the student try reading aloud chapter one in three sentences! There is no real parallel to this except in "Ephesians," certainly not in Rom. 1 1–7 or 2 4–11, sometimes cited as such. Phrases pile up cumbrously, with much repetition, as in 1 5; 1 12 f.; 1 24; 1 27; 2 2; 2 14 f.; 2 19; 2 23. Whether these sentences are Paul's or not, they are not expressed in his usual style. Then come the fearful obscurities of phrasing in certain parts of chapter two, such as verses 16–19 and 22 f. Is this a primitive corruption of text, as so many commentators allege in despair, or is it the unskilful work of an editor? If the former, why did just these passages suffer just this peculiar corruption? Here at least we must agree that some reconstruction of text is necessary before we can approximate what Paul wrote. The difficulties are of such a nature that they cannot be resolved by merely tinkering with the text and substituting one word for another. They are involved in the whole context, in what the sentences are used to say, however obscurely. Only a drastic excision will be of use in these passages.

And what shall we say of the Christology of this letter? In particular, what of the Christology of 1 15–20, a section unrelated to its context before or after, which Holtzmann, von Soden and Soltau agreed in calling an interpolation, which in many ways marks the highest point attained by Christology in the New

Testament? It is difficult to say, categorically: this thought concerning Jesus *cannot* be Paul's. It is, however, not at all difficult to say: it *is not* Paul's, in the other letters which are most certainly from his pen. In the last analysis, our judgment of the genuineness and integrity of the letter may depend on our ability to attribute its Christology to the writer of the letters to Galatia and Corinth and Rome, to Thessalonica and Philippi. Let Peake speak for all the commentators: "The Christology, it is true, presents an advance on what we find in the earlier epistles."[25] Let Kennedy describe it: "Here, unquestionably, [Paul] has in view what must be called a 'metaphysical' relationship. It represents something more than perfect mutual understanding, completely reciprocated love."[26] The best evidence that we have here other conceptions of Jesus than those expressed elsewhere by Paul is the monumental and laborious attempt of the exegetes to find points of contact between Colossians one and two and the other letters. That such points of contact may be found only brings into clearer relief the conclusion that we have here the utterance of a Paulinist, not of Paul. To believe that the Colossian letter lies before us in a second, enlarged edition, rather than in its original form, relieves us from this toilsome task of harmonizing the cosmic figure in whom all the *pleroma* of the Deity dwells bodily with the one man Christ Jesus who, though he is exalted for a space to be κύριος, is yet the first-born among many brethren. It relieves us also from the necessity, when reconstructing the Christology of the apostle, no simple thing at best, of embodying as a consistent part of it such *data* as are offered in Colossians 1 15–20 and 2 9 f. This is no small gain. But the Christology of the epistle is a theme for itself, too large to be approached in these pages; it is adduced here only as one more aspect of the letter which, if on other grounds it can be shown to be partially un-Pauline, will gain enormously in intelligibility.

The present writer cannot escape the conclusion that what happened is this: After Epaphras' own conversion by Paul at

[25] A. S. Peake: *The Epistle to the Colossians* (Expositor's Greek Testament) 1903, p. 489.

[26] H. A. A. Kennedy: *The Theology of the Epistles*, 1920, pp. 81 f.

Ephesus, he had gone back to his home in Colossae, to sow the seeds of the gospel there and in the cities near by. When, as a result, three promising churches had developed in the Lycus valley, he returned to Ephesus to report the success of his labors to Paul. Whereupon Paul, being at the time held in a confinement which Epaphras himself was forced to share, sent off letters to the groups in Laodicea and Colossae, together with a note to Philemon of the latter city, who was, like Epaphras, a convert of his own, and whose family and circumstances he knew. The letter to Laodicea is wholly lost; the most improbable of hypotheses is that which identifies it with the document now known as "Ephesians." The letter to Colossae was brief; there were no personal problems or community difficulties in these new congregations to be settled, and their own leaders, Epaphras, Philemon, Archippus and others, were abundantly able to care for their needs. Paul only desires to express his joy at the tidings of these new groups of believers, to reciprocate their greetings and good wishes, and to add some earnest moral counsels for their guidance in the new life. This letter, brought to Colossae by Tychicus and Onesimus, was assuredly received with grateful appreciation there, was read also at Laodicea and perhaps at Hierapolis, then was laid carefully away as a precious memorial. The church was comparatively small and unimportant; it did not figure as one of *the* seven churches of Asia, as its neighbor Laodicea did, so that its letter had for a long time no general circulation. Then came the days, perhaps early in the second century (so Holtzmann, von Soden, *et al.*) when that part of the world began to be overrun with syncretistic types of gnosticism, in which angel-veneration and many Jewish elements were blended with contributions from local pagan cults. Then the old letter is brought out and re-edited by some zealous church-leader, who, to meet the great need of the time, desiderates supremely a message from the apostle to whose memory he is altogether devoted. This Paulinist editor is not very original or very clear in his intellectual grasp, but he is tremendously in earnest and he is a faithful reflector of the orthodoxy of his day and place, shaped as that is by the pressure of heresies around. He feels certain that he is expressing Paul's mind when he

expands the actual words of the apostle to the Colossians into fuller explication of what he believes is implicit in them. And this all the more as he reenforces the words to this church by quotation or reflection of many sayings (not always in the original sense!) in other messages of Paul now at his disposal, like Romans, Galatians, First Corinthians. He is quite unconscious that he is saying anything that Paul had not said, in substance, or had not meant, or would not be saying now if he were present. Thus the nameless editor sends out this revised and enlarged edition of Paul's letter to the Colossians, as a sorely-needed letter to the Colossians of his own time and to their neighbors. Such a procedure is quite common in that age, quite intelligible, quite praiseworthy. Up to this time the old Colossian letter has not been read generally among the churches; the new Colossian letter, with its vital message for the time, is widely circulated, widely valued, widely influential. It is in this enlarged form only that the letter lives on in the church and finds a place in the developing canon. We must agree with von Soden, "daß es nicht auffallen kann, wenn der alte Paulinische, wenig verbreitete, vom Verfasser der Apokalypse und des Hebräerbriefes nicht gekannte Kolosserbrief durch den zeitgemäß interpolierten Brief rasch verdrängt wurde, so daß sich keine Erinnerung an dessen ursprüngliche Gestalt mehr erhielt."[27] As Holtzmann points out at length (pp. 193—199), such procedure has many analogies, in the Old Testament, in the apocrypha, in the gospels and elsewhere in the New Testament, in the patristic literature. That a canonical document has come down to us, not in the simple text of its autograph, but in a form enlarged and adapted to the needs of the growing church, is not in any sense a reason for undervaluing that document; it is rather a tribute to its worth, the evidence of its vitality and its usefulness. It is coming

[27] *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*, 1885, p. 702. *Cf.* also Soltau, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Vol. 78 (1905) p. 543: "Der Kolosserbrief muß lange Zeit nur in intimen Kreisen, innerhalb der Gemeinde, kursiert haben, und hat dabei dann, aus interpretatorischen und erbaulichen, zum Teil auch aus dogmatischen Rücksichten, Ergänzungen erfahren." Similarly Holtzmann (p. 284) says that the letter is "erst in Folge seiner Überarbeitung in weiteren Kreisen bekannt geworden."

increasingly to be seen that what the church canonized was not primarily what the apostles had said to their own generation, but what they were saying to the churches which were finding their messages to be holy Scripture.[28]

To restore the autograph text of Paul to the Colossians is of course not possible. To regard "Ephesians" as prior to our present text and the source of some of its readings, as do Holtzmann, von Soden, Soltau, Johannes Weiss and others, seems to the present writer very precarious. The first two chapters have been pretty thoroughly re-written, and the separation in detail of what is new from what is old is a task which the present study would not attempt. The *style* of these chapters is undoubtedly in part that of the later editor; we may feel greater confidence in dealing with the *matter*, and suggesting what passages seem actually to have been added. The original letter, then, is most probably to be found within the material of 1 1–14, 21–25 (omitting in 24 f. the words ὅ ἐστιν ἡ ἐκκλησία ἧς ἐγενόμην ἐγὼ διάκονος), 28 f.; 2 1 f. (as far as συνβιβασθέντες ἐν ἀγάπῃ), 5–7, probably some of the phraseology of verses 11–13 and 20 (but this section now contains only fragments of the original text, much mutilated and set in new connections); then chapters three and four, in substantially their present form, close the letter.

It must be repeated that this suggestion covers only the *material* of the text, not its actual wording and structure, which even in the surviving "original" passages owe something to the redactor, particularly in the way of looseness and redundancy. Thus the words of 1 6 a (καθὼς καὶ ἐν παντί . . . . . καθὼς καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν), which at best are parenthetical (they are so punctuated by Dibelius and others) may well be part of the redaction in a generation succeeding Paul's. Much can be said against their originality. The construction is difficult, especially the redundant καθὼς καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν, which curiously doubles the comparison back upon itself. Scribes tried to alleviate this (the T. R. has inserted a καὶ after κόσμῳ), showing that the difficulty was early felt. The reference to the growth and fruitfulness of Christianity ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ is more natural for a later writer (despite Rom. 1 8; 1 Thess. 1 8; 2 Cor. 2 14). The repetition of "fruitbearing

[28] *Cf.* Johannes Weiss: *Das Urchristentum*, 1914, p. 109.

and growing" a few sentences below (v. 10) seems odd, and of the two, the phrase seems more original the second time. The periphrastic construction in v. 6 (*ἐστὶν καρποφορούμενον καὶ αὐξανόμενον*) is very rare in Paul, and the middle voice of *καρποφορέω* is *hapax legomenon* not only in Paul but in all known Greek writing. It is probable, therefore, even if not certain, that these words did not stand in the original, but are an editorial parenthetical comment.

Other questions rise, so soon as we thus begin to look at the text. There is no antecedent for *αὐτοῦ* in 1 9. Because the reference to *God's* will is so clear, is it probable that Paul himself originally made the grammatical slip? Who is "thanking the Father" in 1 12? *Εὐχαριστοῦντες* may refer to *ἡμεῖς* or to the Colossians. Probably the latter are meant, but this is simply one example out of a considerable number in chapter one where phrases may be connected in more than one way. So *πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν* (v. 3) may go with *εὐχαριστοῦμεν* or with *προσευχόμενοι*; in v. 5 *διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα* may go with *εὐχαριστοῦμεν* or with *τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην*; in v. 10 *ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ ἀγαθῷ* may go with *περιπατῆσαι* or with *καρποφοροῦντες*; in v. 11 *μετὰ χαρᾶς* may go with *ὑπομονὴν καὶ μακροθυμίαν* or with *εὐχαριστοῦντες*, etc., etc. The absolute use of *ὁ πατήρ* for God in 1 12 is without parallel in Paul (Eph. 2 18 is pseudo-Paul), whence some scribes have prefixed *θεῷ* and some exegetes have explained the meaning as "*Christ's* Father," harking forward, as it were, to "the son of his love" in v. 13. To what term in the context does *ἐν τῷ φωτί* (v. 12) attach? The phrase "kingdom of his son" (v. 13) is without parallel in Paul, who everywhere else makes the kingdom the possession of God. Is *ἐν ᾧ* (v. 14) "in the Father" (coordinate with *ὃς ἐρύσατο*) or "in the son of his love?" Is the very close parallel in 1 12–14 to a speech of Paul in Acts 26 18 due to Paul or to a redactor who knew Acts? There would clearly seem to be some literary relationship, and it is certain that the author of Acts does not know the Pauline letters. How shall we punctuate and construe the complicated structure of 1 21 f.? It ignores verses 15–20 and (to quote T. K. Abbott *ad loc.*) "obviously begins a new paragraph, resuming the thought from which the apostle had digressed in 15." Then what governs

ὑμᾶς in v. 21? From what is παραστῆσαι (v. 22) dependent? Westcott-Hort produce an island of lucidity by an arbitrary parenthesis in v. 22 (νυνὶ δέ . . . . . τοῦ θανάτου), but at the cost of leaving the context more chaotic than ever. Scribes, in efforts at alleviation, fluctuate between ἀποκατήλλαξεν, ἀποκατηλλάγητε, and ἀποκαταλλαγέντες (v. 22). Is the phrase ἐν τῷ σώματι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ (v. 22) which slips out of its context leaving no trace of excision, which has no parallel in Paul and is often understood as a tacit correction of docetic heresy, perhaps a redactional touch? And is the likewise easily detachable phrase (v. 23) τοῦ κηρυχθέντος ἐν πάσῃ κτίσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν the language of a later day than Paul's, as ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ (v. 6) may be? 1 28, with its curious but effective three-fold repetition of πάντα ἄνθρωπον, arouses a question, especially since it uses the language of 3 16, νουθετοῦντες . . . . . καὶ διδάσκοντες . . . . . ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ. The connection of ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ is perhaps different in the two passages, but we may have here the language of chapter three used by an editor in chapter one, *exactly as the language of the whole letter is used by the author of "Ephesians,"* the words being taken over, with new contexts and new significances, to serve new purposes. In 2 6 the phrase τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον is unparalleled; is it Paul's own? These are questions, not answers; they arise, in much greater number than these examples indicate, upon any careful reading of the text, even of those passages whose general content we have kept as part of the original letter. They may serve to justify the position that the *text* of Paul's friendly note to Colossae is not now to be reconstructed, especially its first part, although those portions of our document which contain the *substance* of that original note may with some degree of certainty be indicated. Especially is it negatively clear which passages of the document Paul is least likely to have written.

We refrain, then, from offering even a tentative reconstruction of the original Greek text. But the substance of what we conceive Paul to have written to the Colossians was something like the following. The contrast to Holtzmann's reconstruction, given at the beginning of this article, may serve to indicate the divergent avenue of approach.

Paul, apostle of Christ Jesus through God's will, and Timothy our brother, to the saints and faithful brethren in Christ at Colossae: Grace to you and peace from God our Father.

We thank God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, always praying for you, having heard of your faith in Christ Jesus and of your love unto all the saints because of the hope laid up for you in the heavens, of which you have already heard in the word of the truth of the Gospel that is present with you since the day you heard and recognized the grace of God in truth, even as you learned from Epaphras our beloved fellow servant, who is a faithful minister of Christ on our behalf, who also declared unto us your love in the spirit.

Therefore we also, since the day we heard it, do not cease praying for you and supplicating that you may be filled with the knowledge of his will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding, so as to walk worthily of the Lord unto all pleasing, bearing fruit in every good work and increasing in the knowledge of God; strengthened with all power according to the might of his glory unto all endurance and long suffering; giving thanks with joy unto the Father, who qualified us for the sharing of the lot of the saints in light, who rescued us from the power of darkness and set us over into the kingdom of the son of his love, in whom we have Deliverance, the forgiveness of sins. And you, being once estranged and enemies in mind in your evil works, yet now you have been reconciled through his death, to present you holy and unblemished and irreproachable before him, if you continue grounded and stedfast in the faith and not moved away from the hope of the Gospel which you heard, of which I Paul was made a minister.

Now for your sakes I rejoice in my sufferings and fill up for my part that which is lacking of the afflictions of Christ, in my flesh, for the sake of his body, according to the dispensation of God which was given to me with respect to you, to fulfil the word of God, which we proclaim, admonishing and teaching in all wisdom, that we may present every man

complete in Christ, to which end also I labor, striving according to his working that works within me mightily.

For I would have you know how great a striving I have for you and for those in Laodicea and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh, that their hearts may be encouraged, as they are knit together in love. For though I am absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit, rejoicing and beholding your order and the solidity of your faith in Christ. As therefore you received Jesus the Lord, walk in him, rooted and builded up in him and established in faith according as you were taught, abounding in thanksgiving.

[. . . . . you were circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands, in the stripping off of the body of flesh, in the circumcision of Christ . . . . . having been buried with him in baptism, wherein you were also raised with him through faith in the working of the God who raised him from the dead. You, then, being dead through your trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, you did he make alive together with him, having forgiven us all those trespasses . . . . . If you died with Christ . . . . .].[29]

If then you were raised with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is, seated at God's right hand. Set your mind on the things that are above, not on the things that are on earth. For you died, and your life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ our life shall be manifested, then shall you also be manifested with him in glory. Put to death, then, your members that are on earth: fornication, uncleanness, passion, evil desire and the greediness that is idolatry, on account of which things comes the wrath of God upon the sons of disobedience, in which you also once walked, when you were living in these things. But now put off, you also, all these things: wrath, fury, malignity, slander, foul speech from your mouth. Lie not one to another, since you have stripped off the old man with his actions and have put on the new man that is renewed unto knowledge according to

[29] The section in brackets is fragmentary and uncertain. Here the redactor treated the text most drastically.

the image of his creator, where there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, slave, freeman, but all in all is Christ.

Put on, then, as chosen of God, consecrated and beloved, a heart of compassion, kindness, humility, gentleness, patience, forbearing one another and forgiving each other, if any one have a complaint against any one; even as the Lord forgave you, so also do you. And over all these put on love, which is the bond of completeness. And let the peace of Christ be dominant in your hearts, unto which also you were called in one body. And be thankful. Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, in all wisdom, as you teach and admonish one another in psalms and hymns and songs that are spiritual, in the grace singing in your hearts to God. And whatever you do, in word or in deed, let it all be in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father through him.

Wives, be in subjection to your husbands, as is fitting in the Lord. Husbands, love your wives, and be not harsh toward them. Children, obey your parents in everything, for this is well-pleasing in the Lord. Fathers, provoke not your children, that they be not discouraged. Slaves, obey in everything those who are in the flesh your masters, not with eye-services as man-pleasers, but in sincerity of heart, fearing the Master. Whatever you do, work heartily, as to the Lord and not to men, knowing that from the Lord you shall receive the reward of the inheritance. To the Lord Christ be slaves! For he that does wrong shall get back the wrong that he did, and there is no respect of persons. Masters, render to your slaves what is just and fair, knowing that you also have a master in heaven.

In prayer be constant, watching in it in thanksgiving, praying at the same time also for us, that God may open unto us a door for the word, to speak the mystery of Christ, for the sake of which also I am in bonds, that I may make it manifest as I ought to speak. Wisely walk with respect to the outsiders, redeeming the time. Let your speech be always in graciousness, seasoned with salt, so as to know how you should answer each one.

All my affairs shall Tychicus make known to you, the beloved brother and faithful minister and fellow-servant in the Lord, whom I am sending to you for this very purpose, that you may know our situation and that he may encourage your hearts, along with Onesimus the faithful and beloved brother, who is of your company. All matters here they shall make known to you.

Aristarchus my fellow-prisoner greets you, and Mark, Barnabas' cousin (about whom you received orders; if he come to you, receive him), and Jesus called Justus, who are of the circumcision. These only are my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God, who have been a comfort to me. Epaphras of your own company greets you, a servant of Christ Jesus, always wrestling for you in his prayers, that you may stand fast, complete and perfect in all God's will. For I bear him witness that be has much toil for you and for those in Laodicea and for those in Hierapolis. Luke the beloved physician greets you, and Demas.

Salute the brethren in Laodicea, and Nymphas and the congregation at their house. And when the letter has been read among you, have it read also in the church of the Laodiceans, and the one from Laodicea do you also read. And say to Archippus: Take heed to the ministry which you received in the Lord, that you fulfil it.

The greeting of me Paul with my own hand. Remember my bonds. Grace be with you.

SOME INFLUENCES OF APOLLOS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT, I

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IN the pages of the New Testament Apollos is not made prominent. In Acts 18 24–28 and 19 1 his coming to Ephesus and residence at Corinth are described. He is there said to be an Alexandrian, eloquent, fervent of spirit, and mighty in the Scriptures. At the time of his arrival at Ephesus he was still a member of the John the Baptist sect, but was won to Christianity by Priscilla and Aquila, after which he crossed to Corinth and greatly strengthened the infant Church at that place, "powerfully confuting the Jews, . . . showing by the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ." His residence at Corinth was one of the causes of the growth of party spirit there, which St. Paul found it necessary to correct in 1 Corinthians 1—4. Apart from these passages he is mentioned but twice in the New Testament (1 Cor. 16 12 and Titus 3 13).

That Apollos had considerable influence at Corinth is unquestionable. That he had some influence in the Apostolic Age has been recognized by such scholars as Pfleiderer,[1] Mc Giffert,[2] Harnack,[3] Bacon,[4] Kirsopp Lake and Foakes Jackson,[5] but a study of the Alexandrian antecedents of Apollos, especially of Philo, and a study of certain ideas in the New Testament, makes it probable that the influence of Apollos was much more

1 *Urchristentum*, 1887, 148 ff.
2 *The Apostolic Age*, 292 ff.
3 *Expansion of Christianity*, I, 79.
4 *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*, 1920, pp. 454 and 464.
5 *The Beginnings of Christianity*, II, 288.

widespread and fundamental than has been suspected. That Apollos was a man of much force of character is proved by his influence at Corinth, where he took his place in the estimation of the Christians beside St. Peter and St. Paul. He had arrived at Ephesus in the summer of the year 53; his stay at Corinth could not have been many years, for by the Passover season of 56 or 57 he had been again in Ephesus sufficiently long so that the Corinthians were asking that he might return to them once more (see 1 Cor. 16 12). If Apollos mediated Alexandrian modes of thought to the Pauline churches, he did it after the year 53.

As Apollos was an Alexandrian, if he exerted any influence on primitive Christian thought, it should be sought in phases of thought which were characteristic of Philo, the one Jewish writer of Alexandria of this period who has left a considerable body of writings. Philo probably died soon after the year 40 A. D. We know that he made a journey to Rome in the year 39—40, when he was an old man. He was at the height of his fame and power, therefore, while Apollos was growing up at Alexandria. Apollos, if influenced by him, need not follow him slavishly; no man of originality would do this. To trace the probable influence of Apollos we do not need to find the thought of Philo reproduced exactly; it will be enough to find traces of ideas and ways of treating subjects which, though not identical, have a general kinship to the thought of Philo, and which, in the circle of the Pauline churches, the presence of Apollos will account for better than any other known influence. Apollos, like Philo, was mighty in the Scriptures. It is clear from 1 Cor. 1—4, especially from what St. Paul says about wisdom, that the Corinthians regarded Apollos' teaching as much more intellectual than St. Paul's. He seems never, so far as we know, to have founded churches. He was not a missionary; his function seems to have been that of a teacher and an expounder of Scripture. It is hardly possible that such a man, arriving from Alexandria, should not have brought many new ideas and interpretations into the Christian circles of Greece and Asia, and, if he did, that they should not be embedded in the New Testament; for at the time of his coming only two, or at the most

three, of the Pauline Epistles had been written, while most of the other books were still to be composed.

If, then, we are to trace the influence of Apollos, we should seek it in phases of thought which appear in Philo or are related to Philonic ideas. We should seek to find traces of Philo's Logos doctrine, of his way of accounting for the birth of remarkable personages, of his eschatological conceptions, and of his allegorical method of interpreting the Old Testament. Let us take up these points briefly one by one, beginning with the one that has been least studied, the ideas concerning the birth of extraordinary personages.[6]

Philo makes it very clear in several passages of his writings that children granted by God as the result of prayer, or children born according to divine promise, or even children of divinely commissioned and divinely guided men were begotten of "divine seed" even though they had human fathers. In Philo's understanding of such births, there was a sense in which such children could be said to be born to God and not begotten by a mortal, even though they had human fathers. This is proved by the following passages:

In his tract *Quod Deus sit Immutabilis*, ch. 2, Philo says:[7] *Τούτου γίνεται μαθητὴς καὶ διάδοχος Ἄννα, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δώρημα σοφίας ἑρμηνεύεται γὰρ χάρις αὐτῆς. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐγκύμων εγένετο παραδεξαμένη θείας γονὰς καὶ τελεσφόροις ἐχρήσατο ὠδῖσι, τὸν τεταγμένον ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ τάξει τρόπον ἀποχυήσασα, ὃν ἐπιφήμισε Σαμουήλ*, i. e. "His disciple and successor was Hannah, the gift of the wisdom of God, for 'her grace' it [her name] is translated. When she was pregnant, having become a recipient of divine seed, and experienced due labors, she brought forth in the manner appointed in the ordering of God one whom she called Samuel."

This is Philo's interpretation of 1 Samuel 1 19: "And Elkanah knew Hannah, his wife; and Yahweh remembered her." Hannah had been barren; she had prayed for a son; hence Philo, because her barrenness was cured by Yahweh, regarded Samuel as

[6] The subject is so large that only this one topic is treated in the present paper. In future papers the writer hopes to deal with the others.

[7] Edition of Paul Wendland, Berlin, 1887.

begotten of "divine seed," even though he had a human father. It was far from Philo's thought to say that Samuel had no human father; Philo was an orthodox Jew and did not question the text of Scripture. He was only interpreting the facts as best he could.

Again in his treatise *De congressu Eruditionis Gratia,* ch. 1 and 3 we find the following:

Σάρα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ Ἀβραὰμ οὐκ ἔτικτεν αὐτῷ . . . . . διὰ τοῦτο οὗ φησι μὴ τίκτειν τὴν Σάραν, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ τινι μὴ τίκτειν; i. e. "Sarah, the wife of Abraham, did not bear him children . . . . . On this account he does not say that Sarah did not bear children, but that she did not bear to a certain one."

Again in *De Mutatione Nominum,* 23:

εἵπετο δ' εὐθὺς ἡ γένεσις Ἰσαάκ· καλέσας γὰρ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Σάρραν ἀντὶ Σάρας φησὶ τῷ Ἀβραάμ· δώσω σοι (ἐξ αὐτῆς) τέκνον. ἐν μέρει δ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβωτέον. ὁ τοίνυν κυρίως διδοὺς ὁτιοῦν ἴδιόν τι πάντως ἑαυτοῦ δίδωσιν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀψευδές ἐστι, γένοιτ' ἂν Ἰσαὰκ οὐχ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ὁ συνώνυμος τῆς ἀρίστης τῶν εὐπαθειῶν, χαρᾶς, γέλως, ὁ ἐνδιάθετος υἱὸς θεοῦ τοῦ διδόντος αὐτὸν μείλιγμα καὶ εὐθυμίαν εἰρηνικωτάταις ψυχαῖς.

I. e. "There followed straightway the birth of Isaac; for having called his mother Sarah instead of Sara he [God] said to Abraham 'I will give to thee a child (from her).' Each thing must be examined thoroughly in turn. He, then, who is rightfully giving anything whatever, should really give something that is his own; and, if this is true, Isaac would not be a man, but being synonymous with the best of pleasures, joy, laughter, the regular son of God, who gives him as a gladdener and cheerer to peace-loving souls."

Once more in *De Congressu Eruditionis Gratia,* 2 he says: *Σάρα οὖν, ἡ ἄρχουσά μου τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετή, ἔτικτε μέν, ἐμοὶ δ' οὐκ ἔτικτε . . . . . εἴωθε γὰρ θεῷ μόνῳ τίκτειν.* I. e. "Sarah, the virtue which rules my soul, brings forth indeed, but she does not bring forth to me . . . . She is accustomed to bring forth to God alone."

It is clear from these passages that Philo interpreted the account of the birth of Isaac in Genesis to mean that Isaac,

although he had a human father, was the product of a supernatural birth. In the third of the passages quoted above he refers to Genesis 17 16, and in the context from which the second of them is taken he quotes Genesis 17 17. He goes to the verge of denying that Abraham was the father of Isaac as the text of Genesis states, and he does assert that, under the circumstances, both Abraham and Sarah being past the age when they could expect to be parents, Isaac was really supernaturally born—was really the son of God, though born to Abraham. The next extract will make this clearer.

Both Samuel and Isaac were children into whose coming into the world the Old Testament had stated that an unusual, or supernatural element entered, but Philo extends the principle to at least two other instances. These were cases in which he regarded the fathers as persons who stood especially near to God, viz: Moses and the Patriarch Judah. These points are made clear in the following passages:

A passage in *De Cherubim*, 13 reads: *παρέξω δὲ τῶν λεγομένων ἐγγυητὴν ἀξιόχρεων τὸν ἱερώτατον* Μωυσῆν· *τὴν γὰρ Σάρραν εἰσάγει τότε κύουσαν, ὅτε ὁ θεὸς αὐτὴν μονοθεῖσαν ἐπισκοπεῖ. τίκτουσαν δ' οὐκέτι τῷ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν πεποιημένῳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ σοφίας τυχεῖν γλιχομένῳ, οὗτος δὲ* Ἀβραὰμ *ὀνομάζεται . . . . πάλιν* Ἰσαὰκ *τοῦ πανσόφου τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύσαντος, ἐκ τοῦ ἱκετευθέντος ἔγκυος ἡ ἐπιμονὴ* Ῥεβέκκα *γίνεται. χωρὶς δὲ ἱκετείας καὶ δεήσεως τὴν πτηνὴν καὶ μετάρσιον ἀρετὴν* Σεπφώραν Μωυσῆς *λαβὼν εὑρίσκει κύουσαν ἐξ οὐδενὸς θνητοῦ τὸ παράπαν.* I. e. "I will bring forward as a surety of the remarkable things that have been said the most holy Moses: for he introduces Sarah as becoming pregnant at the time when God looked upon her in solitude, but as bearing the child, not at all to him who did the looking, but to him who was striving to attain wisdom, who is called Abraham . . . . Again, when Isaac, the all-wise, entreated God, Rebecca, who is perseverance, became pregnant from him who was entreated. But without supplication and prayer Moses, taking Zipporah, winged and exalted virtue, finds her pregnant absolutely from no mortal."

Again, in his treatise *De Mutatione Nominum*, 23, in speaking of the amour of Judah with Tamar in Genesis 38 by which

Perez and Zerah were begotten he says: *ἡ δὲ Θάμαρ ἐγκύμων τε γενομένη θείων σπερμάτων καὶ τὸν μὲν σπείραντα οὐκ ἰδοῦσα . . . . . τὰ δὲ σύμβολα καὶ τὰ μαρτύρια διαθοήσασα καὶ παρ' αὑτῇ δικάσασα, ὅτι θνητὸς ταῦτ' οὐ δίδωσιν, ἀνέκραγεν· οὗτινος ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχω.* I. e. "And Tamar, when she had become pregnant with divine seed and did not know the begetter, ... when she saw the tokens and evidences deciding within herself that no mortal gave these things, cried 'to whomsoever these things belong, by him I am with child'."

It is clear from these quotations that, to Philo's thinking, human paternity was not inconsistent with divine paternity. One could be begotten of divine seed and yet have a human father. Of the four instances cited by Philo, that of Isaac clearly appealed to him most strongly. He comes back to it in various writings in different ways, and at times clearly says that Isaac was really the son of God and only nominally the son of Abraham. It is difficult to tell how literally Philo meant this to be taken, because he so mingles allegory with fact, or transmutes fact into allegory. Isaac is joy, or laughter; Sarah is wisdom; Rebecca is perseverance; Abraham is "one who is striving to attain wisdom." It is, perhaps, because he is thinking of the allegory, that he says that Sarah did not bring forth to Abraham, but to God, and yet, the circumstances described in Genesis make it possible that he meant this literally. The age of both Abraham and Sarah made parenthood in the natural way impossible, and Philo may well have thought that the coming of the angel, the utterance of the promise of God, and the consequent birth of Isaac, made Isaac really God's son, and only nominally Abraham's. Whatever view one may take of these possibilities, it is clear that we have here some interesting points of comparison for the narratives of the birth of Jesus and of John the Baptist in the Gospels.

It is well known that the Gospel of Mark, which I would date about the year 50, contains no account of the birth of Christ. In it "the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ" was the revelation of his Messiahship at his baptism. St. Paul, too, as late as the year 58, when he wrote his Epistle to the Romans, accepted the view that Jesus was born in a normal way—he

was "the seed of David according to the flesh" (Romans 1 4). Harnack has, I think, shown that the Acts of the Apostles were written in the year 63 A. D. If this be so, the Gospel of Luke—the earliest Gospel to contain an account of Christ's birth—was probably written at Caesarea between 58 and 60 A. D., while St. Paul was imprisoned there, and St. Luke was his companion. This was between five and seven years after the coming of Apollos into the circle of the Pauline company. Had St. Luke met him, or come into contact with his writings? Let us see.

In Luke, chs. 1 and 2, we have an account of the births of John the Baptist and of Jesus; the Gospel of Matthew relates the circumstances connected with the birth of Jesus only. Why should Luke be so much more interested in the Baptist? Apollos had himself been a member of the John the Baptist sect (Acts 18 25) before he became a Christian, and, as the Baptist was regarded by Christians as Christ's forerunner, he would naturally continue to reverence the Baptist after he became a Christian, since it was the Baptist who prepared him for the greater Master's discipleship. No one is mentioned in the whole New Testament who would be so likely as Apollos to glorify the Baptist by giving a glowing account of his birth.

A closer examination of the narrative of the circumstances of John's birth confirms this first impression. Zacharias and Elisabeth, we are told, were both well advanced in years (Lu. 1 7), and were childless, because Elisabeth was barren. They had prayed for a son (v. 13), but their prayers had not been granted. One day as Zacharias was ministering at the altar an angel appeared and told him that his prayers had been heard, and that Elisabeth should conceive and bear him a son. Zacharias, like Sarah, was incredulous, and became dumb until the prediction had been fulfilled. In due time it was, however, fulfilled, and the child was born. The parallelism with the birth of Isaac, which, as we have seen, was so popular with Philo, and of which doubtless Apollos had often been led to think during his years of study at Alexandria, is complete. In both cases we have a son born to parents by supernatural means after the natural period of child-bearing was passed. Thus Apollos, one may suppose, intended to suggest that a divine element entered into

the nature of John the Baptist and prepared him for his exalted mission.

We may note one striking difference between the Apollos-Lucan account of this birth and Philo's treatment of similar topics. Philo allegorizes at times all personality away from the characters of whom he speaks; Sarah becomes virtue, Isaac, laughter, etc. In this narrative, however, there is no allegory; Zacharias, Elisabeth, and John are all vividly personal. Such a difference we might expect. A disciple does not usually follow his teacher in all things; if he has any originality at all, he deviates from his teacher in some important features. The absence of allegory from the account of the birth of John is not, therefore, a serious objection to the theory that Apollos was its author.

In Luke chs. 1 and 2 the birth of Christ is also narrated, and the account differs in some important respects from the story of the birth of John. As might be expected, it is more supernatural. It nevertheless presents such likenesses to the Philonic conceptions already traced as to make it very probable that this also comes from the hand of Apollos. It relates (Lu. 1 26 ff.) how the angel Gabriel appeared to a virgin (*παρθένος*) and made to her the Annunciation that she should conceive and bear a son and should call his name Jesus. *Παρθένος*, like the Hebrew עלמה, originally designated a young woman, whether married or unmarried, and in the Iliad, II, 514, is used of a young married woman. This meaning survived in Jewish Greek, as the use of *παρθένος* in Isa. 7 14 as the translation of עלמה shows. Apollos, and after him Luke, used it in the same sense, as their elastic use of *μνηστεύειν*, treated more fully below, proves. They make it clear, however, by the attendant circumstances which they describe that in the case of Mary the *παρθένος* had not yet cohabited with her husband. Had they not done so, the birth of Christ would, from their point of view, have been less miraculous than that of John the Baptist.

The *παρθένος* is said to have been betrothed (*ἐμνηστευμένην*) to a man named Joseph. When the angel predicted that she should become a mother, she asked "How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?" A strange question for a betrothed maiden, who might naturally suppose that the prediction referred to the

fruit of her approaching marriage. The reply to this question was "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee: wherefore also that which is born shall be called holy, the Son of God."

St. Luke gives no account of the marriage of Joseph and Mary, but in ch. 2 4 he tells us that they travelled together from Nazareth to Bethlehem. Both St. Luke and Apollos knew very well that girls in that age did not travel alone before marriage with men to whom they were betrothed. The fact of this journey together implies marriage. Indeed, in verse 5 Mary is described as (Μιριὰμ ἡ ἐμνηστευμένη) a word which is usually employed to denote betrothal, and is often supposed to signify only wooing or betrothal, but which is sometimes applied to a married woman. The verb μνηστεύειν is employed in Greek from Homer down in the meaning of "woo", "betroth." In the Septuagint it is employed as one of the words by which אָרַשׂ is translated.[8] אָרַשׂ, or some form of it occurs in the following passages: Ex. 22 15; Dt. 20 7; 22 23, 25, 26, 28; 2 Sam. 3 14; Hos. 2 21, 22 and 1 Macc. 3 26. In Hosea אָרַשׂ and μνηστεύειν are both applied to a faithless wife who has left her husband and whom he wishes to woo back again. If we translated "I will marry thee to me forever, and I will marry thee to me by righteousness and by justice and by mercy and by love; I will marry thee to me in faithfulness and by knowledge of Yahweh", we should do fuller justice to the passage in its context than the ordinary translation does. One does not betroth a wife to him forever; at some time the betrothal leads to a marriage or it is dissolved. In 2 Sam. 3 14 אָרַשׂ is applied to the transaction described in 1 Sam. 18 25–29, whereby Michal, Saul's daughter, became the wife of David. Here there was no betrothal; David, when he had fulfilled the conditions laid down by Saul, simply took Michal for his wife. The ordinary Hebrew word for taking a wife is לָקַח, and the Septuagint translators show that they think a marriage was indicated by the Hebrew ארש, for they translate it by ἔλαβον, the Greek equivalent of לקח.[9]

[8] The root ארש, Assyrian *erišu*, meant "to wish for", "desire."

[9] The Authorized Version rendered μνηστεύειν by the word "espoused," which may mean either betrothed or married. This is a happier rendering than that of the Revised Version.

It is clear, therefore, from the evidence of the contexts, that both ארש and μνηστεύειν were employed for betrothal and also for marriage, especially a recent marriage. In Luke 2 5, then, it is not strange to find it applied to a married woman. Doubtless Apollos, if he was the author of the passage, intended to indicate that the girl who was παρθένος, when the annunciation was made to her, was still παρθένος, when she reached Jerusalem; that she was married to Joseph, but that they had not cohabited. Thus the birth of Jesus was as supernatural as that of John, but in a different way; John was supernaturally begotten because his parents were past the age of begetting and childbearing; Jesus, because he was conceived before his parents had ever come together.

When we consider this narrative of the birth of Jesus and of John against the background of Philonic thought and the scientific ideas of the first century, it is not clear whether Apollos regarded the birth of Jesus as more miraculous than that of John. Apollos was, however, a Christian; he no longer regarded John as the equal of Jesus. Jesus was the Son of God in a sense in which John was not, and so, in order to make this perfectly clear, he tells of the appearance to the shepherds of the angelic host at the time of Jesus' birth, and of their song of praise to God, because he was now to bring peace to the earth by expressing through this child his good will toward men (Lu. 2 13, 14). Just as Philo represents Isaac as God-begotten, so Jesus and John were God-begotten. This did not mean that Mary did not bear Jesus to Joseph, for Joseph and Mary are later spoken of as his "parents" (Lu. 2 41) and Joseph is called his "father" (Lu. 2 48). His genealogy is also traced through Joseph (Lu. 3 23–38), whose son, it is said, Jesus "was supposed" to be. Some scholars have thought the words ὡς ἐνομίζετο a later gloss, added by some one who misunderstood the main purpose of the context.[10] If the main contention of this paper is right, however, no such supposition is called for. The text as it is is quite in the Philonic manner and is quite what we might

[10] Of course the chronological data in Lu. 2 1, 2 and 3 1 do not come from Apollos, but were added by St. Luke.

expect Apollos to write. Philo regarded Isaac as really God-begotten, though born to Abraham. While he does not specifically say that Isaac was only supposed to be the son of Abraham, his statements contain all the elements of such an assertion. It was doubtless the intention of Apollos to follow in the footsteps of his teacher, and we need not be surprised that he made the statement specific.

So far as our extant sources inform us, this view of the birth of Jesus and of John was comparatively new to the Christian public when the Gospel of Luke was composed between the years 58 and 60 A. D. The Gospel of Mark, written some ten years earlier, had represented the "beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God" as his baptism, when there broke in upon his consciousness with such power the realization that he was the "Son of God." Mark clearly had never heard of the "Annunciation," for he tells us (Mk. 3 21–33), how Mary as well as Jesus' brothers thought him out of his mind and tried to stop his work. Schmiedel,[11] Lobstein,[12] and Berguer[13] have all pointed out how difficult, if not impossible, it is to suppose that, if Mary had really had the experience before Jesus' birth described in Lu. 1 26 ff., she could ever have thought him out of his mind, and this difficulty does not seem to be fully met by the considerations urged by Box.[14] As Schmiedel has noted, the saying of Jesus "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country, among his own kin, and in his own house" (Mk. 6 4), has in it a personal note, and seems to imply that no one in the family circle at Nazareth understood or sympathized with him. Another important point no one, so far as I know, has noted. In Mark 15 40 it is said that two Marys were at the Crucifixion, Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James the less (i. e. the younger) and Joses. As James and Joses were brothers of Jesus (Mk. 6 3), their mother must have been his mother, but she seems to have been so out of sympathy with her great Son that in this older Petrine tradition Mary Magdalene, who was

[11] *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, Col. 2955.
[12] *The Virgin Birth of Christ*, New York, 1903, p. 50.
[13] *Some Aspects of the Life of Jesus*, New York, 1923, p. 102.
[14] *The Virgin Birth of Jesus*, pp. 140 ff. and 228.

devoted to him is mentioned before her, and she is not even called the mother of Jesus. This seems to imply that her idea that he was beside himself was not the expression of momentary psychological doubt and bewilderment, but was the result of a deep-seated misunderstanding of him which ran throughout his ministry. An echo of the early tradition that there was such misunderstanding appears even in the Fourth Gospel (John 2 4), and accounts for the otherwise inexplicable harshness with which Jesus is there said to address his mother. The appearance of harshness in this passage is the more striking from the fact that the Fourth Evangelist represents Mary as anxious to exhibit the miraculous power of her supernatural son.

It may plausibly be urged that Mary's failure to understand Jesus is not psychologically inconsistent with the historicity of the Annunciation; that her misunderstanding may have been due to the fact that she expected Jesus, as Messiah, to be an earthly king, and that, when he persisted in wearing himself out in lowly works she naturally thought the divine plan, so supernaturally disclosed, was being thwarted and that the very fact of the Annunciation intensified her feeling of disappointment and disgust. If, however, all this be granted, it still remains true that this earliest tradition knew nothing of the Annunciation, and probable that, had it known of it, the knowledge would have led those who transmitted the narratives to soften the harshness of Mary's opposition to Jesus.

The fact is (and that is all that is here being insisted upon) that in this earliest tradition, which goes back to Peter, a disciple who belonged to the innermost circle of Christ's intimate companions, there is evidence that the Virgin Birth was unknown, and that the profound misunderstanding of Jesus on the part of his mother was one of the tragedies of his life.

St. Paul's view was similar to this. He declares that Jesus was "of the seed of David according to the flesh" and that it was the Resurrection which determined that he was the Son of God (Rom. 1 4). Further, St. Paul states very clearly that he believed that the divine nature of Jesus was given him [or given back to him] because of the way he met temptation. In Phil. 2 5–11 he contrasts Christ with Adam. Adam was made in the image of

God; he was tempted to become like God, he grasped at the prize and lost his Eden. Jesus was in the "form" (μορφῇ) of God [St. Paul accepted his pre-existence], Jesus did not think equality with God a prize to be grasped at, but emptied himself [of his divine attributes] becoming obedient to death, the ignominious death of the cross. Therefore (i. e. in consequence of this), God highly exalted him and gave to him "the name that is above every name," i. e. the name Yahweh, represented in the Greek by Κύριος, a name which carried with it, according to Jewish modes of thinking, the attributes of deity (cf. Lev. 24 11). St. Paul could not assert more emphatically than he does in this passage his belief in the deity of Christ, nor could he state more clearly his belief that that deity was given back to him because of the choices he made as a man. As in Romans 1 4, he makes it quite clear that it was at Christ's Resurrection, after he had humbled himself and become obedient to death—the death of the cross—that God exalted him. As he had emptied himself of divinity that he might "be found in fashion as a man" before the Incarnation, and did not receive "the name that is above every name" until the Resurrection, it follows that St. Paul thought of Jesus as having been during his earthly life a man; that he came into the world like other men, and received back his divinity at the Resurrection.

It is hardly possible that Apollos should have elaborated this account of the birth of Jesus between the years 53 and 58, while working at Corinth and Ephesus, during the period of St. Paul's residence at Ephesus and his second and third visits to Corinth, without St. Paul knowing about it. The fact that in writing Romans he deliberately rejected it, and in Philippians shows that he believed the pre-existent Christ came into the world otherwise, indicates that he did not regard it as resting on authority as good as the older Petrine view.

We have, then, this situation. The early tradition which goes back to St. Peter, held that the divine nature of Jesus came upon him at the time of his baptism and temptation. The first departure from this view in the literature is found in the Gospel of Luke, in which both John the Baptist and Jesus are represented as miraculously begotten. St. Luke's account was

written five or seven years after Apollos came into the circle of the Pauline churches. We know that it was St. Luke's literary method to embody his sources with comparative entirety. Presumably, therefore, he found the material on this subject ready to his hand practically in the form in which it lies before us in his Gospel. That material, as we have seen, is controlled by conceptions of supernatural birth of which we have parallels only in Philo. The one disciple of the Philonic school of whose presence we know in that region during the years which immediately preceded the writing of the Gospel of Luke was Apollos. Apollos had been a member of the John the Baptist sect; here only in the New Testament is the birth of John narrated and made divine—almost as divine as that of Jesus himself. In view of all these facts it is difficult to escape the conviction that Apollos was the real author of Luke's source for this material. The conviction is confirmed by the abundant knowledge of the Old Testament which the material betrays, for Apollos was "mighty in the Scriptures" (Acts 18 24),[15] and Luke, a Gentile, converted in the year 50, could hardly have been.

[15] It has often been conjectured that St. Luke obtained his information about the Annunciation from the Virgin Mary. While it is not impossible that she lived until after 52 A. D., it is doubtful whether she left Palestine and migrated to the Aegean region where Apollos could meet her. It is possible, however, that between 52 and 58 A. D. he may have made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem at one of the festal seasons when he may have met her. We know that her son James continued to live at Jerusalem until his martyrdom in 62 A. D. (Jos. Ant. xx, 9 1). If she were alive when Apollos first made his appearance in the circle of the Pauline churches, she would have been at least 75 years old—a great age for a person of that period, though not an impossible one. Had she lived, however, she would probably have lived with one of her children. The only one of these of whose whereabouts the sources of the period give us any information is James, who was looked upon as the head of the Church in Jerusalem. Mary is not mentioned in the New Testament as living with him; nevertheless, she may have done so. Had she lived with him, and had the information come from her, it would seem more likely that it would have formed a part of the Petrine tradition than of that which came through Apollos or Luke. However, if one were to accept the view that either from Mary herself, or from some one who had talked with her, Apollos obtained the facts which he reports here, the Philonic features of the narrative would still be due to the manner of reporting

If this view is correct, the work of Apollos fell into the hands of Luke and appealed to him. He gave it currency in his Gospel. If that Gospel was written at the date and place we have supposed, we may suppose that St. Paul became familiar with the material, for presumably during the years of imprisonment at Caesarea, St. Luke and St. Paul would talk of such a matter. In spite of this, St. Paul never accepted the story. As we have seen, when two or three years later he wrote his Epistle to the Philippians, he still held to the older Petrine tradition, which he doubtless regarded as more historical. How did the story of Apollos fare with others? Let us see what we can discover.

It has often been assumed that the author of the Gospel according to Matthew had a source for the Infancy narratives other than that which Luke had. Apart from oral sources for some parts of his narrative, this seems an unnecessary supposition. It is clear from the main features of the Gospel of Matthew that its author was a Palestinian Jewish Christian, deeply interested in the fulfilment of Messianic prophecy. There is no evidence that he had ever been a member of the John the Baptist sect. When he compiled his Gospel, probably Apollos' account of the Infancy was known to him either in an oral or a written form. His knowledge of the Greek version of Isaiah 7 led him at once to see in Apollos' use of the word παρθένος a fulfilment of Isa. 7 14. He rejected, however, Apollos' account of the birth of John the Baptist, as that made John appear to be too nearly on an equality with the Messiah. He also rejected Apollos' line of ancestry for Joseph and substituted another which traced that ancestry through the line of Judaean kings, since the Messiah should come of the line that had actually occupied the throne. For similar reasons he substituted Bethlehem for Nazareth as the home of Joseph and Mary before the birth of Jesus, because the royal parents should live at the royal city. Other features concerning Herod and the Magi were added from oral tradition. One feature of Apollos' Philonic

the facts, at least in part, and the probability would remain that Apollos was the narrator. Had Apollos or Luke been aware, however, that the substance of the narrative came from Mary herself, it seems probable that they would have convinced St. Paul of the fact.

representation he retained. He still counted Joseph as the father of Jesus, going so far as to say, in a reading that the Sinai Syriac and the "Ferrar Group" have preserved (Matth. 1 16), "Joseph, who was espoused to Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus." He thus preserved, in spite of his transformation of the main parts of this story, the Philonic view that Jesus, though begotten by God, was nevertheless the son of Joseph.

By the time the Gospel of John was written the Logos idea, which it is proposed to treat in another paper, had, through St. Paul's mediation in his Epistle to the Colossians of an idea which Apollos had doubtless mediated to him, entered into the conception of the person of Christ entertained in Asia Minor, and the author of the Fourth Gospel employs it, rather than the theory of supernatural birth, to express his conception of the deity of Christ. In spite of the fact that he considers Jesus as the incarnate Logos, he speaks of him as the "son of Joseph" (ch. 1 45 and 6 42), thus perpetuating the Philonic method of mingling divine and human parentage, which Apollos had introduced from Alexandria. He further intimates (ch. 1 12, 13), that through the agency of Jesus Christians experience a birth that is similarly supernatural.

Early in the second century the Apollos view of the birth of Christ had supplanted the Petrine-Pauline view of it. The causes of this were complex. In the first place the views of Apollos lay before every Christian reader in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, while the opposite view was not clearly expressed in Mark, and its expression by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians was so oratorical and involved that it probably was not generally realized that he really expressed a view divergent from that of the Gospels. This is also true of most modern readers of the New Testament. Another reason for the general acceptance of the view of Apollos was the appeal that it made to the love of the supernatural. A third and final reason was the conflict with the Docetic heretics, who reduced the earthly life of Christ to unreality. Jesus was not really divine; he only seemed to be. His divine nature came down upon him for atime at his Baptism, but it left him, when on the cross he cried "My power, my power, thou hast left me" (Gospel of Peter, ch. 5).

The Petrine-Pauline view of the birth of Jesus and of the time his divine nature came to him readily lent itself to this heresy. It is probably no accident that The Gospel of Peter became the Gospel of the Docetists. In combatting this heresy Ignatius naturally fell back upon the Infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke. Thus we find him saying in *Ad Ephes.* 18: "For our God, Jesus Christ, was conceived by Mary, according to a dispensation, from the seed of David and the Holy Ghost, who was born and baptised in order that he might purify the water by his suffering."[16] Docetism made the triumph of the conceptions of Jesus' birth set forth by Apollos necessary, if in the second century the life of Christ were to continue to seem real.

These forces so fixed the views of Apollos in Christian belief that, though in the struggle with Marcion, which soon followed, it would have been an advantage to have vindicated the reality of the humanity of Jesus by asserting that he was born like other men, the confession of faith, which was adopted at Rome for this purpose, continued to say that Jesus was born of a Virgin. In course of time this was elaborated into the Apostles' Creed and has come with authority to our own time, thus transmitting even to us, if we are not mistaken, the thoughts and influence of Apollos.

[16] "The entire list of passages in which Ignatius refers to the Birth of Christ is as follows: *Ad Ephes.* 7; 18; 19; *Ad Magnes.* 8; *Ad Trall.* 9; *Ad Smyr.* 1. Of these Ad Trall. 9 sounds so much like an anticipation of the Apostles' Creed that it is worth quoting: "Be ye deaf, therefore, whenever any one speaks to you apart from Jesus Christ, who was of the race of David, who was the son of Mary, who was truly born and ate and drank, was truly persecuted in the time of Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died in the sight of those in heaven and those on earth and those under the earth; who was also truly raised from the dead, his Father raising him, who in like fashion will so raise us who believe on him—his Father will raise us up in Christ, apart from whom we have no genuine life."

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Josephus' Account of Nehemiah

THERE is a well known discrepancy between the Old Testament and Josephus regarding the time it took Nehemiah to repair the wall of Jerusalem. Neh. 6 15 says, "So the wall was finished on the 25th Elul in 52 days." This was in the 20th year of Artaxerxes (Neh. 1 1; 2 1, 11). Josephus asserts, "And this trouble he underwent for two years and four months; for in this time the wall of Jerusalem was built, in the 28th year of the reign of Xerxes, in the 9th month" (Ant. XI. 5, 8). According to the preceding Nehemiah had returned to Jerusalem in the 20th year of Xerxes (XI. 5, 7). Which of these texts is correct, Nehemiah's or Josephus'?

We must keep in mind that Josephus had no other source for his account of Nehemiah than our Book of Nehemiah and that he used the Greek translation. The presumption therefore is that both Nehemiah and Josephus had originally the same figures. But which text has preserved the original?

The text of Josephus can be explained by scribal corruption of the Greek text. Thus the 25th year of the king—with the question of Xerxes (Josephus) or Artaxerxes (Nehemiah) we are not concerned here—is due to dittography of ϵ, κϵ′ ἔτος for κ′ ἔτος = 20th year.—Again, the 9th month (ἐνάτῳ) in which the wall was completed according to Josephus was originally the 6th (ἕκτῳ) which corresponds to Elul in Neh. 6 15. Whether this error arose from a confusion of ἐνάτῳ with ἕκτῳ or of C = 6 with Θ = 9 is immaterial, either could happen very easily.—Further, the 28th year of the king in Josephus does not tally with his other dates. If we subtract from the 9th (or 6th) month of the 28th year the time of repair, two years and four months,

we get the 5th (or 2nd) month of the 26th but not the 25th year, in which Nehemiah arrived according to the present text of Josephus. That he should have waited several months before beginning the repair of the wall is contrary to the story in Josephus as in Nehemiah.

The point where the mistake came in is in connection with the two years (ἐπὶ ἔτη δύο). This reading is due to the dittography of ἐπί and the confusion of ν′ (the numeral 50) with η′ which resulted in ἐπὶ ἔτη β′ for the original ἐπὶ νβ′. Thereupon the text was corrected in accordance with this, ἡμέρας was read as τέσσαρας, and καὶ μῆνας was inserted. Thus the whole now reads: ἐπὶ ἔτη δύο καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας.

This necessitated a further correction in the following. If the repairs lasted two years and four months, and Nehemiah arrived in the 25th year, the completion of the wall fell into the 28th year according to the calculation of the scribe. So he changed the 20th into the 28th year (κ′ to κη′). Fortunately, he overlooked the tell-tale ἕκτῳ (now corrupted to ἐνάτῳ).

If these observations are correct, *there was no discrepancy between the original text of Josephus and of Nehemiah. Both attested that the rebuilding of the wall lasted 52 days.* The original text of Josephus read ἐπὶ νβ′ ἡμέρας . . . εἰκοστῷ τῆς Ξέρξου βασιλείας ἔτει μηνὶ ἕκτῳ.

Another question about Josephus' account of Nehemiah is, whence he derived his knowledge that the governor of Syria, Phenicia and Samaria at that time was called Addaios.[1] Josephus says, "Accordingly the king called for him the next day and gave him a letter to be carried to Addaios the governor of Syria and Phenicia and Samaria, wherein he sent (orders) to him about the honor (to be paid) to Nehemiah and about the supply for the building" (XI. 5, 6). "He came to Jerusalem in the 25th year of the reign of Xerxes . . . and when he had shown the letters to God, he gave them to Addaios and the other governors."

Keeping in mind that Josephus had no other source for his story of Nehemiah than the Old Testament we must assume here also a textual error. In Neh. 2 8 the official to whom the

[1] A. Bertholet, *Die Bücher Esra und Nehemiah.* (1902.)

king addressed a letter in order that he might supply Nehemiah with building material is called Asaph. This name to which Josephus affixed the Greek ending, ΑCΑΦOC, was corrupted to CΑΛЄOC, CΑΛΛΑIOC, ΑΔΔΑIOC. See Niese's edition for these variants. Josephus gave this name to the governor, Nehemiah had given it to the keeper of the royal forest.

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The River Sud in the Book of Baruch

In the introduction to the Book of Baruch (1 4) there occurs for the river, by which the exiles of the year 597 dwelt, the otherwise entirely unknown name SUD (Coυδ).

> "And Baruch read the words of this book in the hearing of Jechonias king of Judah, and in the hearing of all the people that came to hear the book, and in the hearing of the mighty men, and of the kings' sons, and in the hearing of the elders, and in the hearing of all the people, from the least unto the greatest, even of all them that dwelt in Babylonia by the river SUD."

No ancient writer or modern scholar has been able, as far as I know, to discover this Babylonian river. The latest editor of the Book of Baruch, Professor Whitehouse,[2] says about it: "We know nothing of the locality of Sud. Grotius conjectures that it refers to the city Soïta. Bochart would emend to *Sur*, i. e. the city Sora. S, in fact, renders 'river of Ṣûr' which may be founded on the original צור, but it is precarious to base a conclusion on the Syr. treatment of proper names. Cheyne's suggestion of Shihor (in *Encycl. Bibl.*) is pure conjecture. L and Ar. follow G in reading Sud; so also characteristically $S^{Hex.}$."

The solution is found not by archaeology or geography but by textual criticism.

It is certain that the author of the Book of Baruch had no other source for his history of Baruch than the Old Testament.

[2] In R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.* Vol. I (1913), p. 583.

Now one of the rivers in Babylonia by which the exiles dwelt is called in Ezra 8 15, 21, 31 אהוא. The Greek transliteration of this is either AOYA or EOYE or EOYA.[3] This was misread by a scribe as COYΔ.

Thus the riddle of the river SUD is solved. Sud was originally nothing else but Ahawa.

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These twenty years, etc.

To the beginner in Hebrew such a phrase as זה עשרים שנה Gen. 31 38, which he finds universally translated "these twenty years," is a stumbling-block, defying, according to the translation, all laws of syntax. Have our grammarians done much better? In Gesenius-Buhl, p. 193 b, which may be cited as giving the latest pronouncement, זה in such cases is understood as "jetzt," with comparison of עתה־זה "now then." But in the latter case זה is purely enclitic and so necessarily postpositive (cf. *cet homme-ci*), as is also the pronoun in the Greek parallel adduced, *τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον ἔτος τουτί*. But זה is simply what Nöldeke calls a "demonstrative-relative-pronoun," *SG* § 209. It is both here and in Syriac the exact equivalent of the ancient Arabic ذُو "that-of," for the survival of which in classical Arabic see Wright, *Arabic Gr.* 2, p. 203. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, p. 152, cites an entirely parallel phrase to the Heb. idiom, ذَا صَبَاح "eines Morgens." Cf. also the preposition مُنْذُ of time, "since," = *min dû*, see Wright, 2, § 61. The idiom is frequent in Syriac, e. g. Gen. 43 10 ܙܒܢܐ ܗܕܝܢ = זֶה פַּעֲמָיִם exactly. Cf. ܗܫܬܐ "to-day," ܗܫܐ "now," and ܙܒܢܝ "temporal" (*Clem. Rom.* ed. Lagarde, p. 28, l. 21). The Biblical phrase equals the English "a matter of 20 years."

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[3] See Bewer, *Der Text des Buches Ezra.* (1922), p. 75.

Some Text-Critical Notes on the Elihu-Speeches, Job 32—37

In addition to the textual changes suggested in my little Commentary on Job in the Bible for Home and School, I would suggest the following:

In Job 34 6 for אֲכַזֵּב read with the LXX יְכַזֵּב; for חצי read with the LXX חץ, making the verse: עַל־מִשְׁפָּטִי יְכַזֵּב אָנוֹשׁ חֵץ בְּלִי פָשַׁע:

"Concerning my just case he counts me a liar,
Though wounded by an arrow while without transgression."

In 34 16 read בִּנְתָם for בִּינָה, and שִׁמְעוּ for שִׁמְעָה, so that the verse will run

"And if you have understanding hear this;
Give ear to the voice of my words!"

In 34 2 the address is directed to "wise men;" by changing the verbs in v. 16 to the plural it is not necessary to regard the verse as a gloss as I formerly did.

Ch. 35 3 is, when amended, as formerly suggested, really impossible Hebrew. The whole v. should be omitted with the LXX. It is probably a gloss introduced from 22 2 as a hit at Eliphaz. When it is omitted, v. 4 connects admirably with v. 2.

In 36 18 for כִּי read with LXX וְ, omit פֶּן, and for אַל read לֹא, so that the verse will read

"And wrath will allure thee into chastisement,
And a large ransom will not reach thee."

In the second stichos of 36 21 omit עַל with Sym. Syr. and Vulg. The meaning thus secured is: "For this thou hast chosen rather than affliction."

In 36 24 for תִּשְׁגִּיא read שְׁגִיא with LXX, Cop. Syr. and Arab., making the stichos, "Remember that his work is great."

Ch. 36 33 is hopelessly corrupt; omit it with the Coptic version.

In 37 7 for אַנְשֵׁי read אָנוֹשׁ; then the verse would run

"Upon every man he sets a seal,
That every man may know his work."

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Parts III and IV (1

THE POLEMIC AGAINST IDOLATRY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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NO religion claiming possession of a divine revelation can afford to be tolerant. When the law of Moses embodied in the Deuteronomic Code was brought to Josiah king of Judah in 621 B. C., an inspired charter was granted to a nation for the first time, so far as we know. Then and there Judaism was born, and the former tolerance of foreign cults gave way to unyielding condemnation. Here was the oracle of God through Moses; there the sins, errors and blindness of heathenism.

Idolatry necessarily became a paramount issue. The use of images had never been condemned as the most repulsive apostasy. After the promulgation of Deuteronomy imageless worship became gradually, in the eyes of the masses, the distinguishing trait of Judaism. This date naturally divides the history of idolatry in Old Testament times into three periods: before 621; from 621 to 520; after 520.

1. *Idolatry before the Deuteronomic Reform.*

In the extant Hebrew literature prior to 621 B. C. poems and laws (for the latter, see below note 35) contain no reference to idolatry; the other writings may be roughly divided into narrative and prophetic.

The *J Document* in its present form betrays no knowledge of sacred images; nor does it mention artificial cultic objects of any kind. The nearest approach to such things are a heap

of stones[1] and the menhirs of Gilgal[2]: these together with crude altars constituted the ritual paraphernalia of prehistoric times.

The idols of our *E Document* are small private images, perhaps a sort of *lares et penates*, the תרפים.[3] Stone pillars of rugged appearance are the only symbols of the divine presence whose use in the worship is recorded by E.[4] This document does not censure these practices[5] and betrays no knowledge of idols set up and worshipped in public. I am well aware of the fact that the stories of the golden calf[6] and of the brazen serpent[7] are commonly assigned to this source. Both these narratives relate the origin of an idolatrous worship of a later day: the one condemns the installation of Jeroboam's golden bulls at Dan and Bethel; the other excuses the superstitious homage paid to Nehushtan until the reign of Hezekiah.[8] Both have an ax to grind: the exaltation of the Jerusalem temple and the repudiation of the royal sanctuaries of the Northern Kingdom. Is not this the burden of Deuteronomy? That an Israelite of the time of Jeroboam II (E) should have gone out of his way in order to discredit his own national shrines (after relating at great length the glorious origin of one of them)[9] in order to extol the temple of an insignificant rival kingdom, is difficult to believe without the strongest kind of evidence. Anyhow, the story of Aaron's

[1] Gen. 31 51, where מצבה is interpolated.

[2] Josh. 4 20. According to Robertson Smith (*Religion of the Semites*, p. 211, note 2) these stones were identical with the פסילים of Jud. 3 19, 26. Vernes (*Revue Archéologique*, vii, 283) sees in the Gilgal stones a "solar or zodiacal circle."

[3] Gen. 31 19, 34 f.

[4] Gen. 28 18; 31 13, 45; 33 20 (read מצבה instead of מזבח: see Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 50. Cf. below, note 51); 35 14, 20; Josh. 24 26 b-27.

[5] Gen. 35 2, 4, with its condemnation of "strange gods" and "earrings," has clearly been worked over by a later hand.

[6] Ex. 32.

[7] Num. 21 8.

[8] 2 Ki. 18 4.

[9] Gen. 28 10 ff. (cf. Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, p. 271 f.).

golden calf in its present form must be assigned, on internal grounds, to a redactor; E probably contained the story of a political upheaval rather than of a religious apostasy. The injection of religion into almost any historical incident is typical of late historical writers (cf. below, note 18). Another story, written in like vein to vilify the sanctuary of Dan, has been shown to be a post-exilic concoction.[10]

The *early historical books* were equally laconic on the subject of idolatry, and no less innocent of iconoclastic zeal. Domestic images are mentioned as a matter of course;[11] the gods of the uncircumcized evoke no reproach.[12] There is no trace of animus against pillars and posts.[13] Sporadically some kings destroyed a particular idol,[14] but there is no indication of a widespread crusade against image worship before the reign of Josiah. The motives of Asa were no doubt political rather than religious: the desecration of the private chapel of the queen dowager and the destruction of the mysterious מפלצת[15] set up in it, were simple means to curb her power. To the bewilderment of the pious redactor of the Book of Kings "the high places were not removed" by Asa.[16] Possibly Isaiah advised Hezekiah to destroy Nehushtan.

In two other instances the mainspring of religious reform was a political motive. The profanation of the Baal temple

10 Jud. 17 2-4; see Arnold, *Ephod and Ark*, p. 105.

11 Jud. 17 5; 18 14, 17 f., 20; 1 Sam. 19 13, 16. 1 Sam. 15 23 is post-exilic (see Arnold, *Ephod and Ark*, p. 130 f.).

12 1 Sam. 5 2-5; 2 Sam. 12 30. In 1 Sam. 31 9 (and possibly in 2 Sam. 5 21, cf. LXX and 1 Chr. 14 12) it seems that אלהים of the text was changed into עצבים by a late scribe (cf. Smith, *Samuel ICC*, p. 253; Moore *Encycl. Bibl.* 2150); another possibility would be that a reader added on the margin את עצביהם (LXX: τοις ειδωλοις) which, under the influence of v. 10 was changed to the present Massoretic reading.

13 1 Ki. 7 15-21. In 2 Ki. 12 10 מזבח is a Jewish surrogate for מצבה (thus some Mss of LXX and hexaplaric Syriac; cf. below, note 51).

14 1 Ki. 15 13; 2 Ki. 18 4.

15 1 Ki. 15 13; 2 Chron. 15 16. Moore (*Encycl. Bibl.* 2130) considers it a surrogate for a more concrete designation of a sacred object.

16 1 Ki. 15 14.

in Samaria by Jehu,[17] and its counterpart in Jerusalem,[18] were intended as blows directed against the ruling party. Only incidentally did the religious syncretism of Ahab's family become an issue in the campaign. Hebrew history knows no wholesale destruction of idols before the reign of Josiah, it records no public worship of images other than Jeroboam's bulls and Nehushtan.

The extant prophetical writings prior to 621 B. C. confirm the data of the historical records. In the Northern Kingdom, *Amos* and *Hosea* upbraided Israel for degrading practices in connection with the cult, for superstitious trust in the *opus operatum,* for social villany and political chaos, but they were too keen observers of human behavior to fancy that imageless worship would work like a charm or even improve conditions at all. There is no reason for assuming that they inveighed against the golden bulls of Dan and Bethel.[19]

It is most tantalizing to note that idols (אלילים), in the genuine oracles of *Isaiah,* are mentioned only in two fragmentary texts: "And their land is full of idols . . ."[20] „And the idols . . ."[21] All that can be said is that the prophet

[17] 2 Ki. 10 26-27. In v. 26 מצבות may be an error for אשרה. Jehu was not an iconoclast (2 Ki. 10 29-31).

[18] 2 Ki. 11 18. Stade (*ZAW* v. 286-8) has shown that two accounts have been woven together in ch. 11: the older one knew of a rebellion of the pretorian guard against Athaliah; the destruction of the temple of Baal belongs to the later strand.

[19] The polemic against idolatry was injected later into the writings of these prophets. The following verses must be considered spurious: Am. 2 4; 5 5; 5 26. Hos. 2 10 c ("and the gold they make into the baal"); 3 4 f.; 4 17; 8 4 b; 8 5, 6; 9 10 b; 10 5 f., 8; 11 2; 13 1, 2; 14 4, 9.

[20] Is. 2 8 a. The rest of the verse was composed *ad hoc* to fill out the lacuna.

[21] Is. 2 18 a. The rest of the verse is the gloss of a scribe who found a lacuna: כליל יחלף ("the whole is gone"). Thus Assyrian scribes wrote *ḫipi* (broken) when the fragmentary condition of the tablet to be copied made it unintelligible. Peters (*JBL* xii, 47) noted a similar instance in the LXX of Ez. 42 3: διαγεγραμμεναι (to be erased) is a scribal gloss stating that the verse should be considered an interpolation. Curious annotations of similar nature were discovered by Bewer (*JBL* xxx, 61 ff.) in Hosea.

threatened the adherents of foreign cults with shame and ruin; the ultimate fate of the idols themselves was of no greater concern to him than to the victims of the final catastrophe.[22]

Micah, to the best of our knowledge, had nothing to say about idolatry.[23]

2. *The Deuteronomic Reform and the Exile.*

The *Deuteronomic Code* (D) was composed by a group of Zadokite priests at Jerusalem. They had appropriated the theology and social gospel of the reforming prophets. They differed, however, from Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and their school, not in doctrines and ideals, but in method. The nation was to be saved not primarily through a change of heart, but through a reform of the cult. The authors of the D Code believed that the worship of Yahweh could not be purified unless it be first centralized in one place, Solomon's temple. All other shrines must be condemned as idolatrous. The new law doomed to destruction:

a) All the Canaanite shrines "upon the hills and under every green tree," together with their altars, pillars of stone, wooden posts and graven images.[24]

b) Pillars and posts used in the worship of Yahweh.[25]

c) The worship of foreign gods, particularly astral deities.[26]

Although these enactments were unheard of before, they did not remain a dead letter, as did most of the exhortations of the prophets. Josiah immediately proceeded to enforce the new law:

a) The temple was cleansed of heathenish objects: the wooden post,[27] the chariot of Shamash,[28] the roof altars for

[22] Cf. Duhm, *Jesaia,* p. 14.

[23] Mic. 1 7 is a gloss originally written on both sides of the column and wrongly copied into text, just as Jud. 17 2-4 (see Arnold, *Ephod and Ark,* p. 105). The original order of the clauses was: *a c b d.* Mic. 5 12 f. is a late post-exilic text.

[24] Deut. 12 2-3.

[25] Deut. 16 21 f.

[26] Deut. 17 2-5.

[27] 2 Ki. 23 6.

[28] 2 Ki. 23 11.

astral cults[29] were removed and destroyed. The house of the hierodules was demolished.[30]

b) The shrines just outside of Jerusalem and those of the whole kingdom, from Geba to Beersheba, were defiled.[31]

Jeremiah witnessed the Deuteronomic Reform without much enthusiasm. This emphasis on externals was not to his liking. True to the prophetic tradition, Jeremiah had little to say about idolatry.[32]

Zephaniah condemns heathen practices that are not primarily idolatrous.[33]

The real polemic against idolatry begins with Ezekiel and the Deuteronomistic redactors. This iconoclastic propaganda was naturally the concern of priests rather than of prophets. In his holy rage, *Ezekiel* coined and used freely the word גלולים to express his utter contempt for every sort of image.[34]

The literary activity of the *Deuteronomistic School* was chiefly editorial. The old codes and the ancient narratives were published anew, with corrections, additions and explanations to bring them up to date. The condemnation of idolatry was naturally missed in the older literature and abundantly supplemented in these new editions.

[29] 2 Ki. 23 12.

[30] 2 Ki. 23 7.

[31] 2 Ki. 23 8.

[32] Jer. 2 27, 28a, according to Arnold (*Ephod and Ark*, p. 76 2) is part of a genuine oracle addressed to North Israel. The references to the worship of the "Queen of Heaven" in Jer. 7 and 44 contain a genuine kernel, but do not mention any idol. Jer. 13 25, 27 may be authentic; if idolatry is condemned there, it is done in the vaguest of terms. The following verses, frankly censuring image worship, are spurious: Jer. 1 16; 2 5-11 (?); 2 28c; 3 24; 4 1; 5 7 (?); 8 19b; 10 1-16; 11 13, 17; 14 22; 16 18, 19-20; 17 2; 18 15; 25 6, 7; 32 30b, 34 (50 2, 38; 51 17f., 47, 52).

[33] Anyhow, although Cornill (*Einleitung in das A. T.*, 7th edition, p. 207; cf. Duhm, *ZAW* xxi, 93) dates the oracles of this prophet about 630, it is not unlikely that Zeph. 1 4f., 8f. should be assigned to the time of the Deuteronomic Reform.

[34] The following passages illustrate Ezekiel's attitude toward idolatry: Ez. 5 11; 6; 7 20 (see below, note 52); 8 3, 5f. (8 10 is a gloss from Deut. 4 17f.); 8 12, 17; 11 18, 21; 14 3, 7 (v. 4 is a corrupt doublet of v. 7); 14 11; 16 15ff.; 18 6, 12, 15; 20 7, 8, 16ff.; 22 3, 4; 23 14; 26 11; 30 13; 33 25f.; 36 18, 25; 37 23 (see below, note 52); 43 7, 9; 44 10, 12.

All the *Pentateuchal laws* prohibiting the manufacture and worship of idols are later than 621 B. C.[35]

Successive accretions have swollen the original D Code to the present *Book of Deuteronomy.*[36] Iconic objects were scarcely mentioned at all in the original D Code and in the story of Josiah's reforms, but they grow in prominence in the later polemic, until even the ancient pillars and posts are thought to be real images. The Jews came in contact with genuine idolatry during the exile; idols were uncommon in the shrines of ancient Canaan.

The Deuteronomistic Editor of the *Book of Judges* has written down his philosophy of history: violations of the D Code are the causes of military reverses and national downfall.[37] This theory he applies to the stories of the judges, just as the editor of the *Book of Kings* passes judgement upon practically every monarch on the basis of the same standard.[38] In the case of the kings of Israel the verdict is always "Guilty!"[39] The story of Jeroboam's bulls as we have it[40] was written by the Editor (R^d); the "sin of Jeroboam" fairly obsessed him.[41] He supplemented the account of Josiah's reforms with new details: the desecration of Bethel,[42] the profanation of Tophet,[43] and the abolition of other forms of heathenism.[44]

[35] Ex. 20 4 (= Deut. 5 8); 20 23; 23 24; 34 13, 17 are all Deuteronomistic. Holiness Code: Lev. 19 4; 26 1, 30. P^s: Num. 33 52. For D (oldest prohibition of idolatry) see notes 24—26.

[36] The following texts deal with idolatry: D^s: Deut. 4 15 ff.; 29 16 f.; 31 16, 29. D^g: 7 5, 25 f.; 9 12, 16, 21 a (on v. 21 a cf. note 52); 13 13-19. Post-exilic: 27 15; 32 17, 21 (on v. 17 cf. note 56).

[37] Jud. 2 11-19; cf. 3 7, 12; 4 1; 6 1; 8 33; 10 6; 13 1.

[38] See the convenient table in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible,* ii, 858 f.

[39] Shallum, who ruled only one month (2 Ki. 15 13), is the only king of Israel whose record is not explicitly censured.

[40] 1 Ki. 12 28-30.

[41] With the exception of Elah (1 Ki. 16 8, 13), Shallum (cf. note 39), and Hoshea (2 Ki. 17 1 f.), the editor explicitly states that every king followed the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat. R^d's attitude toward idolatry is illustrated by the following passages: 1 Ki. 11 5, 7 f., 33; 13 32; 14 9, 15 f., 22, 24; 15 12; 16 13, 26, 33; 19 18; 2 Ki. 13 2, 6; 16 3; 17 16; 21 2 f., 7 (on v. 7 see note 56); 21 11, 21.

[42] 2 Ki. 23 15-20.

[43] 2 Ki. 23 10. The old source may have related the same incident.

[44] 2 Ki. 23 13 f., 24.

3. *The post-exilic polemic against idolatry.*

Two circumstances contributed to modify the statements on idolatry after 520 B. C. As time progressed, all the information concerning the worship in the ancient shrines of Canaan had to be obtained from the literary sources as we have them; we therefore know more about the religion of the time of David than the Chronicler did. The Jews came to consider themselves the one chosen people and all other nations were deemed accursed. Far worse than the heathen, the Samaritans, "the scum of men, the hate and scourge of God," were the object of unspeakable detestation: verbal abuse was the only coin by which the Jews could pay back the military attacks of their stronger rivals. This explains why cloudy and confused notions prevailed on the matter of ancient sacred objects, and why anything foreign evoked, in the circle of the pious, utter contempt and vehement rage.

The attitude of the *Chronicler* on the subject of idolatry is revealed by his use of the books of Samuel and Kings. Already in his day, the very names of certain idols and gods were deemed to be defiling to the lips.[45] The chronicler had few scruples about changing his sources: he freely inserted new stories,[46] omitted what he disliked,[47] exaggerated the wickedness

[45] The asherah of 2 Ki. 21 7 becomes "the idol" in 2 Chr. 33 7. The term אשרה meant in classical Hebrew "wooden post"; in post-exilic times the term was confused with עשתרת and became the name of a goddess. Conversely, עשתרות is confused with אשרים in the LXX of 1 Sam. 7 3; 12 10 (τα αλση; cf. 7 4: τα αλση Ασταρωθ). Although a name *Abd-Ashratum* occurs in the Amarna correspondence, there is no reliable evidence showing that the ancient Hebrews knew a goddess by this name (see Moore, *Judges*, *ICC*, p. 86f.; and cf. his article *Asherah* in *Encycl. Bibl.*; Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, p. 294f.; P. Torge, *Aschera und Astarte*, Leipsic, 1902). The Chronicler seems to have regarded עשתרות (1 Sam. 31 10) as a proper name and substituted אלהיהם (1 Chr. 10 10). He avoids the word מצבה (cf. note 51); he changes מצבות (2 Ki. 23 14) to חמנים (2 Chr. 34 4; cf. 14 4; 34 7). This last word is not found before Ezekiel and in late texts it takes the place of מצבה (cf. also Is. 17 8; 27 9), which in Chronicles is only used twice (2, 14 2; 31 1) in a Deuteronomistic formula (Deut. 7 5).

[46] 2 Chr. 24 18; 25 14; 33 15.

[47] The destruction of Nehushtan (2 Ki. 18 4) being rather unflattering to Moses was deemed worthy of oblivion.

of idolatrous kings,[48] and enhanced the holy zeal of pious rulers.[49]

These tendencies are typical of the time. Words of vituperation were read in the Synagogues instead of the names of Baal, Astarte, Melek,[50] and other heathen gods.[51] Marginal abuse addressed to heathen images found its way into the text.[52] Idols were vilified to such an extent that presently Jewish exegesis interpreted every word meaning idol in the Old Testament as an invective:

[48] The assertion that Ahaz "made also molten images for the Baalim" (2 Chr. 28 2) is purely gratuitous, and malicious at that. Baal and Asherah of 2 Ki. 21 3 become plurals in 2 Chr. 33 3.

[49] David did not merely remove the Philistine idols (2 Sam. 5 21), but burned them (1 Chr. 14 12). Asa removed the high places (2 Chr. 14 2), in spite of the statement to the contrary in 1 Ki. 15 14 (misinterpreted in 2 Chr. 15 17), and made a covenant with the Lord (2 Chr. 15 8-15). Likewise, Jehoshaphat is made a reformer (2 Chr. 17 6: a gloss? cf. ועוד) in spite of 1 Ki. 22 44 and 2 Chr. 20 33. Josiah shows his piety when sixteen years old (2 Chr. 34 3a), purged the land from idolatry six years before the discovery of the law (v. 3b); his reforms extended to North Israel (v. 6), but the temple (if הבית in v. 8 be not a gloss) receives only a passing allusion: had it not been purified by Manasseh (33 15 f.)?

[50] These names were read *bosheth* (shame): in the case of Astarte and Melek, this reading affected only the Massoretic vocalization *Ashtoreth, Molech*). Baal, in such proper names as Eshbaal, Meribbaal, Jerubbaal, is written *bosheth* in the Book of Samuel (except 1 12 11). Similar surrogates of Baal are not uncommon in the Greek and Syriac versions (see Dillman, *Monatsber. der Berl. Akad.*, 1881, pp. 601-620). Perhaps *Tophet* is a "bosheth" vocalization. In very late texts *bosheth* was used instead of baal (Jer. 3 24; 11 13; Hos. 9 10). In Hos. 7 16 לא על is a surrogate for לבעל.

[51] In Am. 5 26 *Kēwān* (Assyrian *Kaiwānu*) and *Sakkūt* were read *shiqqūṣ* and are now vocalized thereby; this pronunciation seems to be subsequent to the LXX, for the latter (cf. Acts 7 43) has Ραιφαν (an error for Καιφαν possibly going back to the Hebrew manuscript used in the translation) and *την σκηνην* (סכת instead of סכות). Even a word like מצבה was wilfully changed (cf. above, notes 4, 13, 17, 45): מזבח (Gen. 33 20), מצב (Jud. 9 6), מצפה (Gen. 31 49) are surrogates for it (cf. Moore, *Judges*, p. 244). און is used for idol (Is. 41 29; 66 3) and for *el* (in Bethel) (Josh. 7 2; 8 12; 1 Sam. 13 5; 14 23; Hos. 4 15; 5 8; 10 5; cf. Am. 5 5). In 1 Ki. 11 5, 7 (cf. 2 Ki. 23 13) שקץ is a surrogate for אלהים. אשמת שמרן (Am. 8 14) is probably a surrogate for "the god of Bethel" or the like.

[52] שקוציהם (Ez. 7 20); שקץ (Ez. 8 10; this verse in the prototype of the LXX contained two additional interpolated invectives: הבלים שקוצים);

אלילים: this is one of the ten derogatory names by which idols are called: אלילים because idols are pierced (חלולים); פסל because they are carved; מסכה because they are melted; מצבה because they stand; עצבים because they are made limb by limb (נעשים פרקים פרקים); תרפים because they decay (מרקיבים); גלולים because they are abominable (מגעלים); שקוצים because they are detestable; חמנים because they stand in the sun (עומדים בחמה); אשרים because they receive beatitude from others (מתאשרים מאחרים).[53]

Thus etymology was enlisted in the holy war against heathenism!

The insertion of stories about idolatry[54] and of descriptions of heathen practices[55] was by no means a monopoly of the Chronicler. These horrors strangely fascinated the pious readers of the sacred books. The temptation to elucidate,[56]

כתעבתיהם (Ezr. 9 1, cf. M. Lambert, *REJ* xlix, 297). "With their abominations and with all their transgressions" (Ez. 37 23) is a gloss still lacking in the LXX. In Hos. 10 8, either און חטאת is a gloss (Wellhausen) or "the sin of Israel" is interpolated (in which case *aven* stands for *Beth-aven*, cf. note 50). את־חטאתכם (Deut. 9 21) is interpolated (place ואת־העגל at the beginning, cf. Ex. 32 20).

[53] *Siphra, ad* Lev. 19 4 (Ugolini, *Thesaurus*, xiv, 1338).

[54] Jud. 17 2-4 (cf. note 10); 18 17 b, 30 f. (Arnold, *Ephod and Ark*, p.105); 1 Sam. 4 8 (Arnold, *op. cit.* p. 35); Jer. 7 30 (based on 2 Ki. 21 7); Hos. 9 10 b (where the glossator misunderstood Num. 25 3 by making of Baal-Peor the name of a place); 13 1 (written long after 722); Neh. 9 18 (quotes Ex. 32).

[55] Hos. 2 10 c (cf. note 19); Is. 44 9-20; Jer. 10 1-16.

[56] The following are explanatory marginal notes: "Wood and stone" (Deut. 28 64); לא אלה (Deut. 32 17); "The two calves" (2 Ki. 17 16); "The golden calves at Bethel and Dan" (10 29); פסל 21 7; 2 Chr. 33 7); "They are no gods" (Jer. 2 11); "The altars are for *bosheth*" (11 13; cf. 2 28 b and LXX. See note 50); "Every form of creeping thing and beasts" (Ez. 8 10 quoting Deut. 4 17 f.); Ez. 14 4-6 (cf. note 34). In Am. 5 26 (cf. note 51) the proof that the words כוכב אלהיכם were originally a marginal gloss is furnished by the LXX, whose Hebrew prototype had the words in a different place. 2 Ki. 23 13 is based on 1 Ki. 11 7. Is. 10 10-12 is an insipid elucidation of v. 9. Nah. 1 14 b misunderstands "he is utterly cut off" (2 1), although it was jotted down on the margin to explain it; it therefore refers to Judah (with Procksch, Sellin, Nowack) and not to Nineveh (Arnold, *ZAW* xxi, 255). "The blood of their sons and their daughters which they sacrificed to the idols of Canaan" (Ps. 106 38) is a well known gloss to "innocent blood."

to supplement,[57] to harmonize[58] biblical texts proved often irresistible.

Post-exilic Judaism used, in its polemic against idolatry, the simple and commonplace arguments familiar to all iconoclasts: if idols are not divine beings and do not even have life, then the claims of their worshipers are but vain delusions.

Idols are not gods:[59] they have not made the heavens,[60] they cannot grant rain.[61] Although they are worshiped[62] they are deaf to prayer,[63] they cannot prophesy[64]; in a word they can avail nothing[65] nor benefit their followers in any way.[66]

Men have life, but idols are nothing but dead matter: gold and silver,[67] wood and stone.[68] They are the work of human hands,[69] being fashioned by carpenters[70] and founders.[71] There is no life in them: they "neither see, nor hear, nor eat, nor smell;"[72] they neither breathe[73] nor speak.[74] Being unable to

[57] The name of female deities was sometimes added to the mention of gods for the sake of completeness: *Asheroth* (Jud. 3 7); "400 prophets of Ashera" (1 Ki. 18 19; cf. LXX in v. 22); *Ashtaroth* (Jud. 2 13; 10 6; 1 Sam. 7 3; 12 10).

[58] פסל and מסכה were added harmonistically throughout Jud. 17-18 after the story of 17 2-4 had come in from the margin.

[59] Deut. 32 17, 21; 2 Ki. 19 18; Jer. 2 11; 5 7; 16 20; Hos. 8 6.

[60] Jer. 10 11 (an Aramaic gloss).

[61] Jer. 14 22.

[62] Is. 2 20 (a gloss on "and the idols" of v. 18); 44 15, 17, 19; 45 20b; 46 6b. Idols are kissed (Hos. 13 2; cf. 1 Ki. 19 18).

[63] Is. 46 7 c.

[64] Is. 48 5b.

[65] Jud. 10 13 f.; 1 Sam. 12 21; Is. 45 20b; Jer. 2 28; 11 12.

[66] 1 Sam. 12 21; Is. 44 10; Jer. 2 8; 16 19; Hab. 2 18.

[67] Ex. 20 23; Deut. 29 16; Is. 2 20; 30 22; 31 7; 46 6; Jer. 10 4, 9; Hos. 8 4b; Hab. 2 19; Ps. 135 15. Gold: Ex. 32 24; Hos. 2 10 c. Silver: Jud. 17 3; Hos. 13 2.

[68] Deut. 4 28; 28 36, 64; 29 16; 2 Ki. 19 18; Jer. 2 27a; Hab. 2 19. Wood: Is. 44 15, 16 f., 19; 45 20b; Jer. 10 3, 8.

[69] Deut. 4 28; 31 29; Is. 2 8b, 20; 17 8; 31 7; 2 Ki. 19 18; Jer. 1 16; 2 28a; 25 6, 7; 32 30b; 44 8; 51 18; Hos. 14 4; Am. 5 26; Hab. 2 18; Ps. 135 15.

[70] חרש (carpenter or smith): Deut. 27 15; Is. 40 19; 41 7; 44 11-13; 45 16; Hos. 8 6; 13 2; Jer. 10 3, 9. Cf. the *faber* of Horace, *Sat.* I, 8, 2.

[71] צרף: Jud. 17 4; Is. 40 19; 41 7; 46 6; Jer. 10 9, 14; 51 17.

[72] Deut. 4 28.

[73] Jer. 10 14 = 51 17; Hab. 2 19; Ps. 135 17.

[74] Jer. 10 5; Hab. 2 18 f.; Ps. 135 16.

walk, they are carried in procession[75] and laboriously moved from place to place.[76] They are but vanity[77] and falsehood;[78] they become a sin[79] and profanation[80] to the country.

But the final punishment of idolatry is imminent.[81] The Lord, whose indignation the idols have aroused,[82] will at last judge[83] and defeat them;[84] they must then bow down before his majesty[85]. The idols will go into exile,[86] they will be broken,[87] they will be cast away,[88] they will utterly perish.[89] Total disgrace will overtake the idols,[90] those who trust in them,[91] serve them,[92] and make them.[93]

The return to the Lord[94] and the purification of the land from the abominations of idolatry[95] are among the glorious promises of a happier future.

75 Is. 45 20 b; 46 1; Am. 5 26.

76 Is. 46 7 a; Jer. 10 5.

77 Deut. 32 21; 1 Sam. 12 21; 1 Ki. 16, 13, 26; 2 Ki. 17 15; Jer. 2 5; 8 19; 10 8, 14 f.; 14 22; 16 19; 51 18.

78 Jer. 10 14; 16 19; 51 17; Am. 2 4; cf. Hab. 2 18.

79 Is. 31 7.

80 Jer. 16 18.

81 2 Ki. 22 17; Jer. 1 16; 11 17.

82 Deut. 4 25; 9 18; 31 29; 32 16, 21; 1 Ki. 14 15; 16 13, 26; 2 Ki. 22 17; Jer. 8 19; 11 17; 25 6 f.; 32 30.

83 Jer. 51 47, 52.

84 Is. 19, 1, 3.

85 Ps. 97 7 c (gloss to v. 9 b).

86 Is. 46 2; Hos. 10 6.

87 Hos. 8 6.

88 Is. 2 20 (see note 62); cf. 17 8; 30 22.

89 Jer. 51 18; cf. 10 11.

90 Jer. 50 2.

91 Is. 42 17.

92 Ps. 97 7 ab.

93 Is. 44 9, 11; 45 16; Jer. 10 14=51 17; Ps. 135 18.

94 Cf. Jer. 4 1.

95 Is. 27 9; Hos. 14 4, 9; Mic. 1 7; 5 12 f.

NOTES ON ECCLESIASTES

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THERE is no סוף דבר to books and notes on the Preacher. As I write I observe a paper by G. Margoliouth in the current *Expositor* containing some word-studies on that composition of perennial interest. My first five notes bear upon cases of *Aramaismus* in the Preacher.

(1) 3 1 חֵפֶץ. It has been rather ignored by modern commentators (e. g. McNeile translates "occupation") that ח׳ = BAram. and Syr. צְבִי, e. g. Dan 6 18. *Per contra*, ח׳ occurs in its ordinary Heb. sense as "pleasure" in 12 1, 10, this proving that Koheleth could use a word in more than one meaning. The observation has bearing on the disputed interpretation of עולם 3 11.

(2) הבל ורעות רוח. All possible roots and derivative meanings have been applied to the interpretation of רעות; e. g., McN. has "striving after," Barton "desire of wind." But the equivalent parallel רַעְיוֹן רוח appears in 1 17; 4 16. Now רעיון is "thought," as in 2 22, in BAram. Dan 2 30, and commonly in Syr. Since the unknown is to be deduced from the known, רעות should also mean "thought." Hence here "a vain thought."

(3) 3 18 is a crux. It reads: "on account of the sons of man that God may prove them" (of course Semitic idiom for, "in order that God may prove the sons of man"), and then ולראות שהם בהמה המה להם. Delitzsch follows 𝔐: "and to see that they are beasts, they for themselves (sie an sich selber)." McN., Bar. follow VSS in reading לְרָאוֹת, i. e., "to show (them) that they are beasts," omitting להם, which 𝔊 read with the next verse. But either statement, that God wishes to see, or to show

men, that they are beasts, transcends even Koheleth's pessimism. I suggest that שהם is a conflation of BAram. הן and Heb. אם "if," and that ש = Aram. די, the combination introducing an indirect question, "whether." Cf. Pesh. to Mt. 12 10, "asking whether (ܐܝ) it is lawful," etc. And so read: "to prove them and see whether they are beasts." Of course their end is that of beasts, but not of necessity their life.

(4) 9 15 מצא בה אדם. Some, e. g. Del., translate: "and he (the king = v. 14) found in it a man;" others treat מ׳ as impersonal, "there was found." But מ׳ = exactly here Aram. מטא, the meaning of which, whatever its relation to the Heb. vb., appears to have been attributed to מצא. See some possible examples BDB p. 593, b, and note Job 11 7 אם עד תכלית תמצא; here comm. would correct to תצא, but in any case the sense of מצא here as = מטא was valid to the Jewish readers.

(5) 10 1 יְקַר מחכמה מכבוד סכלות מעט. Recent comm. translate יקר by "more valued;" but this makes no sense in the parallelism. Del. is correct: "schwerer als Weisheit, als Ehre, wiegt ein wenig Narrheit." Or possibly, "a little folly is too heavy for wisdom to carry." יקר is here used in the Aram. sense of יקיר "heavy," which appears in Sachau's papyri, plate 46. Probably we should point here יַקַּר. Otherwise the root יקר is used in Heb. only in the sense "be valuable, honored."

The following are some casual notes.

(6) 1 5 אל מקומו שאף זורח הוא שם. I suggest reading אל מָקוֹם שֶׁאַף, and so, "unto the place where also he rises—there he is."

(7) 2 8 שדה ושדות. It is interesting to note that the various traditional interpretations have reasonable philological background. One of these is the Rabbinic interpretation as of "palanquins" or the like (s. Del. for the references). The interpretation is a correct reminiscence of a term parallel to the Akkadian *šaddittu* (rt. שדד), "portable chair."

(8) 3 15 והאלהים יבקש את נרדף. נ׳ as "persecuted" has no sense. Rather connect with Arab. *ridf*, *radif*, "rider *en croupe*," "sequence," etc. I. e., it is God's business to ascertain the result.

(9) 5 10 ראית Kt., ראות Ḳrê. The Kt. = רית in the Mesha Inscr., l. 12. The Ḳrê should be rectified to רָאוֹת, cf. חָזוֹת in Dan. The VSS, except 𝔖, read it as a verb, i. e. רָאוֹת.

(10) 8 10 ובאו ומִקום קדוש יהלכו. Ehrlich's point that the "holy place" is not the temple but a synagogue is now corroborated by the ʿAin Dûḳ Inscr., which twice refers to the synagogue as דין אתרה קדישה. The analogy requires correcting 𝔐 here to מָקום. I venture this rendering of the first part of the verse: "I saw wicked men buried, and they used to go in and out of the holy place they would go," i. e. the hypocrites had the run of the synagogue. The translation involves a syncrasis of the two clauses.

(11) 9 3 אחריו אל מתים. The comm. understand אח' as "after it," i. e. the man's life, etc. But אחרים = "end" as in 2 Sam. 2 23, אחרי החנית "the spear's end." Accordingly translate "his end is to (be with) the dead." So, I see, Ehr. has suggested. Symmachus read similarly (s. Field on the Syr. Hexaplar), but it is not necessary with Driver in Kittel's Bible to correct אחריו to אחריתו.

(12) 9 12 יוקשים בני האדם לעת רעה. This is generally translated: "Men are snared at an evil time," in which "evil" bothers the interpreters. But taking לעת as case of agent after the passive, the natural construction, we may render: "snared by an evil fate." Above in the same verse we can then translate: "man knows not his fate," and in v. 11 עת ופגע means "a fate of mischance." For in Eccl. עת essentially equals fate. In 3 1 עת = זמן, and the latter corresponds, according to some even etymologically, to OPers. *zrvân*, which = "time," then used of the absolute category of existence, and so identical with Fate.[1]

[1] This category of Time as the absolute existence appears in the apparently little known Syriac tractate *The Epistle of Mara son of Serapion*, published by Cureton in his *Spicilegium syriacum* (1855). An English translation accompanies the text (pp. 70ff.). Cureton makes no observation on the term, زمنا, which he translates "the Time." Such passages as these may be cited: "Time forbade us to complete those things which were resolved upon in our mind;" "Let us be obedient to that dominion which Time has assigned to us;" and the concluding witticism in answer to the question what Mara was laughing at: "I was laughing at Time, because, without having borrowed any evil from me,

(13) 10 19 כסף יענה את הכל. Generally translated: "Money answers to all things." But the verb occurs in 1 13 as a denominative: "It is an evil business (ענין) that God has given to the sons of man to be concerned with (לַעֲנוֹת בּוֹ)." And so here: "Money concerns all (or, everything)"; i. e. it is the constant business of the world, unlike the feasting and drinking cited in the first half of the verse.

(14) 11 2 לא תדע מה יהיה רעה. The usual translation is: "thou knowest not what evil shall be." But rather מה = "whether," as in Song 8 4, where it corresponds to אם in the identical phrase 2 7; 3 5. The development is similar to that of Greek μή. The same construction is found in Jer. 2 5 מה מצאו אבותיכם בי עול "did your fathers find in me wrong?". I may refer to my note on מי יקום יעקב Am. 7 2, *JBL* 1904, p. 95, where I argued that מי = מה. Probably there as here מה = μή, i. e. "can J. rise?". The same particle appears in Syriac ܡܢ = *da* + *ma*.

(15) 11 3 יְהוּא. The Kt., read as יָהֻוֵא from the Aramaic vb. הוה, "will be," is entirely valid in the sentence. Probably the present pointing is due to the attempt to disguise a pronunciation which was identical with that of the Tetragrammaton, a disguise parallel to the artificial להוא of BAram.

(16) 12 11 "Wise men's words are like goads and like nails implanted בַּעֲלֵי אֲסָפוֹת. The current interpretations of these last words are in vain. What is required is: nails driven into the top (= עלי?) of a club. Some such word may be concealed in אספות. A forceful metaphor is used to indicate the stimulating character of the words of the wise!

it repays me." For the nature and early rise of this theologumenon of Time, testified to for the Persian religion by Eudemos a pupil of Aristotle, see Cumont, *Monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, pp. 20, 74; E. Meyer, *Ursprung u. Anfänge d. Christentums*, 2, 83—86; and for the Parsee Zervanite sect, Scheftelowitz, *Die altpersische Religion*, pp. 52, 230.

BABYLONIAN PARALLELS TO THE SONG OF SONGS

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IN an article recently published, "Canticles and the Tammuz Cult,"[1] I pointed out a few of the many Greek, Egyptian and Babylonian parallels to Canticles, of which the most striking is probably the text published by Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, Heft IV, No. 158. At the time of writing my earlier article I had access only to Barton's partial translation[2] and had not seen the original copy. Barton translates the text as a single hymn, but it is rather a catalog of a large collection of hymns and liturgies. Accordingly, instead of having one parallel to Canticles we have many, but unfortunately we have the first lines only and not the complete texts. Enough is given, however, to indicate the decided similarity between Canticles and these *irtu*-songs, as they are called.

The text is a difficult one. Ebeling[3] had attempted a partial translation before Barton, and more recently Langdon[4] has essayed another. That three representative Assyriologists of three different countries should differ so radically in their translations is surprising and not a little disconcerting. I venture to add still another translation, which differs considerably from the others, but is, I trust, more faithful to the original. I give

[1] *AJSL*, XXXIX, 1—14, since elaborated by another article, "Canticles and the Fertility Cult," to be published presently by the Oriental Club of Philadelphia in *A Symposium on the Song of Songs*.

[2] *Archaeology and the Bible*, 3rd edition, pp. 464 ff.

[3] *MDOG*, No. 58, pp. 49 f.

[4] *JRAS*, 1921, pp. 183 ff.

here only those lines that are pertinent to our purpose, viz. Rev., Col. II, which is strictly Col. III, since the columns on the reverse ought to be numbered in the opposite order from that given by Ebeling, his Col. I giving a summary of the contents of the whole tablet and hence being the last column of the text. From this column, lines 45 ff., we learn that there was a goodly number of songs in the catalog of Col. II, but the exact number has not been preserved. Col. II, however, retains the first lines of 51 of them, a few partly broken. They are called *irâtu*, plural of *irtu* (Sumerian, *gab*). This term Langdon takes as meaning secular love-songs, but they are rather religious songs connected with the Tammuz-Ishtar cult, as Ebeling and Barton have already noted. This is indicated by the direct reference to Nana (Ishtar) in line 38, by the religious character of the catalog in general, and by the whole tenor of the songs themselves. The word *irtu* is ordinarily used of the male breast, but it is also used of the female.[5] It is frequently used of mother earth and of the underworld and would seem to have that connotation here. Other words are used for the human breast.

KAR, IV, No. 158, Rev., Col. II.

1. [*ap*]-*lu-us-ka-ma* . . . . . .
   I beheld thee (*masc.*) and . . . . . .
2. *up-ḫa ki-i kakkab bu-*[*ru-me*(?)].
   Shine out like a star of the sky!
3. *i-na ṣi-iḫ-ti ša ṣi-e-k*[*a*].[6]
   In a dirge over thy (*masc.*) death.[7]
4. *an-nu-u ṣi-bu-tu ša ḫu-du ka-bat-ti.*
   This is the desire that rejoiceth my heart (*lit.* liver).

[5] So Holma, *Körperteile*, pp. 44 ff., as against Langdon, *loc. cit.*, p. 183.

[6] From the root צוּא, "to destroy," Delitzsch, *HWB*, 565b, and not the hypothetical *ṣe'u* of Langdon, *loc. cit.*, p. 183, note 2. Cf. *ṣi-i šam-ši* = *e-rib šamši*, i. e. "destruction (setting) of the sun," *CT*, XVIII, 30, Col. IV, 21 f.

[7] The reference here is to the death of Tammuz, the symbol of vegetation. For the same idea in Canticles, see my articles quoted above.

5. *ip-šu pi-i-ka at-mu balâṭi-ia šum-me-ḫa-ni-ma.*
   The utterance of thy (*masc.*) mouth is the word of my life; prosper thou me![8]
6. *napḫar 23 i-ra-a-tu ša e-šir-te.*[9]
   A total of 23 *irtu*-songs for the decachord.[10]
7. *ki-e ṣi-ḫa-a-ku a-na na-aḫ-ši.*[11]
   How I do long for the bountiful one!
8. *û-um e-en im-ni-ia iš-ḫi-ṭa-an-ni.*
   The day that the lord of my right hand embraced me.
9. *i li-ḳi a-ma-aṣ-ṣi*[12] *a-na ma-a-ri.*[13]
   Come, take me! I give welcome to the son.[14]
10. *ma-te-ma be-lu te-ru-ba i-na-an-na.*
    At any time, O lord, thou mayest enter now.
11. *ḫi-i-pa-a-ku a-na da-di-ka.*
    I am pressed to thy (*masc.*) breast.
12. *it-ti šim-ta-a-at*[15] *mu-ši-ti.*
    With the fates of night.
13. *šumu-u ša ma-a-ru šamma šam-ša-a-ku.*[16]
    By the name of the son I revive(?) the vegetation.[17]

[8] Clearly a reference to Tammuz, the life-giving god. The same idea is frequent in Canticles; see my articles quoted above.

[9] On this see Langdon, *loc. cit.*, p. 183.

[10] Of these 23 songs only the first lines of the five given above have been preserved.

[11] I. e., Tammuz; cf. Obr., II, 7: *a-na na-aḫ-ši amêlrê'î a-ṣa-ia-aḫ*, "I long for the bountiful one, the shepherd."

[12] Literally, "I spread (the feet;") cf. Ez. 16 25 and the Hebrew word פִּלֶגֶשׁ, "concubine," Cant. 6 8, 9, evidently a derivative from פלג, "to divide, spread," the ש being originally the fem. ending ת.

[13] The regular appellation of Tammuz in the liturgies and an element in his name, *Dumu-zi*, "true son."

[14] A reference to the marriage and union of Tammuz and Ishtar to the end that there might be a revival of life in nature; so also lines 10, 11, 16, 50 below; cf. Cant. 1 2ff.; 2 6; 4 16; 7 12ff.; 8 1ff.

[15] False pl. of *šîmtu*. We have a reference here to the death of Tammuz, as in line 3 above; cf. the Babylonian expression for dying, *alâku ana šîmat mûši*, "to go to the fate of night," i. e. to the underworld where all is dark.

[16] From *šamâšu*, found only here; the root probably of *šamšu*, "sun."

[17] Cf. one of the titles of Tammuz, *Ab-ú* "father of vegetation," Zimmern, *Der babylonische Gott Tamûz*, p. 8; Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 8.

14. *a am-mar ša-ma-an irṣi-ti.*
Ah, I behold the fat[18] of the land.
15. *û-mu ub-la bu-su-ra-tu-ma ḫu-ud lib-bi.*
The day bringeth gladness, even joy of the heart.[19]
16. *e-la-ia*[20] *ma-a-ru lu na-me-ir*[21] *ir-ba.*
Upon me may the son beam; come thou in!
17. *la-a me-ḫi-ir-ti iš-nu-na-an-ni.*
Not a rival (*fem.*) equalled me.
18. *ᵃˡni-ip-pu-ri-ti*[21a] *la-ḫa-na-tu da-šu-up-tu.*
My Nippurite is a jar of sweetness.
19. *šu-up-pi ḫu-ul-li.*[22]
Be joyous, be happy!
20. *da-am-ša-aš-ni*[23] *be-la-ni.*
Thou hast caressed me; be thou my lord!
21. *sa-am-mu-ut e-ri-ni ra-am-ka be-lu.*
The fragrance of cedar[24] is thy love, O lord.
22. *a-na bâb e-ni ta-al-li-ka*[25]*-am-ma.*
To the door of the lord[26] she did come.

[18] I. e. "fertility;" cf. Heb. שֶׁמֶן, from the root "to be fat, fertile." Cf. Isa. 5 1 (like Canticles originally belonging to the fertility cult) and Cant. 1 3, "The fat of *turaḳ* (cf. Babyl. *tarruku*, apparently some kind of plant used for incense) is thy name (i. e. thy being); therefore do the maidens (votaries) love thee."

[19] A sentiment frequent in the Tammuz liturgies and in Canticles. The reference is to the joy occasioned by the revival of life and vegetation in the world.

[20] A variant of *elî*, not the prep. *elâ* as Langdon, *ad. loc.*

[21] Not Piel, as Langdon, but simple Perm. with *lû* precative.

[21a] I. e. Ishtar, cf. *RA*, XII, 82, 43 where Ishtar is called "the queen of Nippur."

[22] Cf. line 38 below; Rev. III, 6: *ḫu-di-i be-li-it-ni šu-li-li*, "Rejoice, O our lady (i. e. Ishtar), make song;" *KAR*, III, No. 144, Rev. 1: *ḫu-di-i u ri-ši*, "Rejoice and jubilate," likewise addressed to Ishtar. In Canticles cf. 1 4; 2 12, discussed in my articles quoted above.

[23] For *tamšaš*, Prt. of *mašâšu*, on which see Langdon, *loc. cit.*, p. 186, note 11.

[24] The cedar is everywhere connected with the fertility cult and appears in Cant. 1 17.

[25] Ebeling has *al*, manifestly an error for *ka*.

[26] I. e. in the netherworld, whither the goddess, Ishtar, was thought to go in search of her lord, Tammuz. The netherworld is frequently

23. *a-na mu-ši-ti an-ni-ti a-na li-la-ti an-na-ti.*
For this night, for these evenings.
24. *napḫar 17 i-ra-a-tu ša ki-it-me.*[27]
A total of 17 *irtu*-songs for the *kitmu*-instrument.
25. *ki-e na-aḫ-ša-at ki-e nam-ra-at.*
How gorgeous she is; how resplendent she is!
26. *i-še-'*[28] *as-ma kirâ*[29] *la-li-ka.*
She seeketh out the beautiful garden of thy (*masc.*) abundance.
27. *û-ma lib-bi me-lu-la ni-gu-ta.*
Today my heart is joy (and) gladness.
28. *a ri-id kirâ šarri ḫa-ṣi-bu e-ri-ni.*
O, come down to the garden of the king (which) reeks with cedar.[30]
29. *at-ta ma-a-ru ra-i-mu da-di-ni.*
Thou, O son, art a lover of my bosom.
30. *e-bir-tu nâri a-lu me-li-li.*[31]
On the other side of the river[32] is the city of lamentation.

represented as the house of Tammuz; see, e. g., Meissner, *SAI*, 3292, where it is called *bît* ^{d}*dumu-zi*, "house of Tammuz;" cf. II R. 61, No. 1, 18, *ê a-ra-li*, "house of the underworld;" and *BE*, XXVII, No. 1, IV, 40, where Tammuz is called ^{d}*ligir-si ê a-ra-li-ka*, "bridegroom of the house of the underworld." In Canticles cf. 2 4, "Bring me to the house of wine and look upon me with love."

[27] On this see Langdon, *loc. cit.*, p. 184, note 2.

[28] Literally, "he seeketh," but manifestly masc. for fem., as is frequent in Babylonian, and is likewise characteristic of Canticles, see Cannon, *The Song of Songs*, pp. 142 ff.

[29] Manifestly the netherworld to which Tammuz has gone, *kirû* being one of the many names applied to the netherworld; see, e. g., Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder*, No. 26, VII, 4, 6; and cf. Albright, *AJSL*, XXXVI, 280 ff.; Radau, *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to God Dumu-zi* (*BE*, Series A, XXX, Part I), pp. 19 ff., 52 f. Below cf. lines 28 and 35 and in Canticles cf. 6 2, on which see note in the second of my articles quoted above.

[30] Cf. Cant. 4 16. "King" in Canticles, as in the vegetation liturgies the world over, is the title regularly applied to the vegetation god. In early Babylonia, when kings were deified, they were nearly always thought of as forms of the vegetation god, probably because they were mortal even as he was mortal.

[31] From the root *elêlu*, "to make music," from which comes another

31. *aš-ru un-ni*[33] *ta-gu-ša araḫ ṣi-ḫa-ti.*[34]
To the place of sorrow thou (*masc.*) didst go in the month of lamentation.[35]

32. *ul-la a-li-ik ma-a-ru.*
Joyously come, O son![36]

33. *ki-i za-ra-at*[37] *ša at-ḫa-at-ti.*
Like the pavilion of the maidens.[38]

34. *iṣ-ṣur aladi ti-id-ku*[39] *ur-ri lal-la-ru ri-gim-ki.*
O bird of child-bearing, harbinger of light, honey is thy (*fem.*) voice.[40]

35. *ša-an-da-ba-ak kirî ṣi-ḫa-ti.*
O watchman of the garden of lamentation.[41]

derivative, *malîlu*, "flute." Both words are regularly used in connection with the liturgical wailing over the death of Tammuz; e. g. *Descent of Ishtar*, Rev. 56 f.

[32] I. e. the river Hubur, the mythical river of the underworld. With the Babylonians, as with most peoples, there was a river or sea separating this world from the next.

[33] Piel Inf. of *enû*, Heb. ענה, "to lament." For *ašru unni* = the netherworld, cf. Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder*, No. 26, VI, 37, *ki sir-ra*, "place of lamentation," a name of the netherworld.

[34] Against the translations of Ebeling, Barton and Langdon *ṣîḫtu*, pl. *ṣîḫâti*, is the technical word in Babyl. for "lamentation" (Sum. *isiš*), and the context here and elsewhere in the text indicates this clearly as its meaning.

[35] I. e. the fourth month, "the month of Tammuz," earlier called "the month of the festival of Tammuz," when there was liturgical wailing for the dying god, the symbol of the waning of life in nature.

[36] A phrase very frequent in Canticles, e. g. 2 17; 7 12; 8 14; cf. 2 10, 13; 4 8.

[37] Cf. the *zarâtu* (Sum. *dúr*, the root meaning of which is "to dwell"), "stateroom, pavilion," on the procession-ship of Marduk in which in the rôle of Tammuz he was carried in the New Year's festival to be united in marriage with the mother goddess, *East India House Inscription*, IV, 4; *Wadi Brisa Inscription*, III, 25, 37; cf. also Cant. 1 12, 17; 3 7 ff.

[38] I. e. the Ishtar votaries; cf. "the maidens" so frequently referred to in Canticles.

[39] Evidently a derivative of *dikû*, "to set in motion." The reference is to Ishtar. A striking parallel in Canticles is 2 14.

[40] A sentiment frequent in Canticles; e. g. 2 14; 4 11; 5 1.

[41] The Babylonians, like most peoples, thought of the underworld as guarded by watchmen; see, e. g., *Descent of Ishtar*, Obv. 42 ff. In Canticles cf. 3 3; 5 7; 8 11.

36, 37. *û-um-uš*(?) *i-na* ^{al}*la-ar-sa-an ṣi-ḫa-tu i-zi-ḳa.*
Every day in Larsa lamentation abounds.[42]

38. *ri-i-ši* ^{ilat}*na-na-a i-na kirî e-babbar ša ta-ra-mi.*
Rejoice, O Nana,[43] in the garden of Ebabbara, which thou lovest.

39. *me-ir-tu*[44] *ub-la lib-ba-ša šu-a-ra.*[45]
The maiden whose heart bore lamentation.

40. *ka-ia-nam-ma ki-i sak-ta-ku-ma.*
How can I always keep silent!

41. *a ṣi-iḫ-ku ma-an mârê* (TUR. TUR).
O, I long for the couch of the sons.[46]

42. *bar-ma-a-tu*[47] *ênâ*^{pl}*-ia im-da-la-a ši-it-ta.*
My eye-lids are full of sleep.

43, 44. *ra-am-ka lu-u* ^{aban}KA[48] *ṣi-ḫa-tu-ka lu-u ḫurâṣu.*
Thy (*masc.*) love is indeed a jewel; thy longing is indeed gold.

45. *ra-a-mi ni-i-ru muš-na-me-ru ṣilli.*
My love is a light, illuminating the shadows.

46. *mu-u-ša aḫ-su-us-ka-ma.*
By night I thought of thee (*masc.*).[49]

47. *ip-šu pi-i-ka.*[50]
The utterance of thy (*masc.*) mouth.

[42] I. e. during the time that Tammuz is in the netherworld. This song was evidently a Larsa recension of the liturgy; cf. also line 38 below, where Ebabbara, the temple of Shamash in Larsa, is mentioned.

[43] I. e. the goddess Ishtar.

[44] I. e. Ishtar; cf. Obv. II, 22, where she is so called.

[45] This word appears again only in *Creation Epic*, I, 24; cf., however, *Šu'aru*, one of the names of the netherworld, the abode of Tammuz.

[46] A euphemistic name for the male votaries of the fertility cult; cf. Cant. 2 3:
Like the apple-tree among the trees of the forest, so is my Dod among the sons. In his shadow I love to dwell, and his fruit is sweet to my taste.

[47] So called because the lids darken (*barâmu*) the eyes. So far as I know, the word appears only here in this form but is identical with *burmu*. Ebeling, Barton and Langdon all failed to perceive its meaning.

[48] On this stone, as yet unidentified, see Streck, *ZA*, XVIII, 180 f.

[49] Cf. Cant. 3 1. Also Rev., III, 19: *ši-it-tu at-la-ki ma-a-ra lu-ṭi-ir*, "O sleep, come, that I may embrace the son!"

[50] This line is identical with the beginning of line 5 above and would make it appear that the same song is cataloged twice but in different groups.

48. *iš-tu ṣa-al-la-ku i-na su-un ma-a-ri.*
After I lay in the bosom of the son.
49. *ri-bi-ka*[51] *ša* ^{aban}*ukni šadi.*
Thy (*masc.*) passion is of the lapis-lazuli of the mountain.
50. *ḫa-di-iš ak-ša šar-ru.*
Joyfully hasten, O king.
51. *mi-ig-ru ḫa-am-ru.*[52]
Welcome is the lover.
52. *i-na la-li-ki ḫu-un-bi.*
In thy (*fem.*) abundance flourish!
53. *u-ka-a-al ra-am-*[*ka*(?)].
I possess thy (*masc.*) love.
54. *i-na ša-a-ar* . . . . . .
In the breath of . . . . . .
55. *ti-* . . . . . .

(Rest of column broken.)

Even a casual perusal of the lines of the hymns listed above must convince the most skeptical of two things: (1) that these hymns were taken from the liturgy of the Tammuz-Ishtar cult, and (2) that the similarity between them and the songs in the book of Canticles is so close that both must belong together. The structure of the songs is the same (two lovers representing god and goddess wooing each other and alternating in the praise of each other's charms); the general theme is the same (love); many of the phrases are quite identical; the figures are introduced in similar fashion; the lines breathe the same delight in love; and the intent of all is manifestly to bring about the awakening of life in nature. Both are liturgies of the fertility cult. The only difference is that one group has come from Babylonia and the other from Palestine, where numerous influences tended to obscure and efface its original character.

[51] For the meaning see Langdon, *ad. loc.*

[52] One of the many names applied to Tammuz, "the lover of Ishtar," *ḫamer* ^{ilat}*ištar*; see, e. g., Zimmern, *Der babyl. Gott Tamūz*, p. 7; Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 28, note 2. Rather curiously Ebeling, Barton and Langdon all failed to identify this word.

THE INTERPRETATION OF ISAIAH 8 5-10

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THE section in Isaiah's prophecies, 8 5-10, is a veritable nest of grammatical, exegetical, and critical difficulties. This is most unfortunate, since in it the mysterious name, Immanuel, again occurs, and it is obvious that some sort of relationship, more or less intimate, must therefore exist between this passage and 7 14. In the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* for July, 1918, the writer discussed the data for the interpretation of Immanuel furnished by 7 1-17. But no solution of the problem of Immanuel can be regarded as final until the data in 8 5-10 are also examined. The present discussion is therefore intended as a supplement to the former one. Further, in view of the fact that no exhaustive treatment of 8 5-10 has been attempted, so far as I know, since Giesebrecht's famous essay in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* of 1888, a renewed consideration of it in all its various phases may not be untimely. The passage falls into two sections, vs. 5-8a and vs. 9-10, with a clause (v. 8b) intervening whose exact relationship to the other verses is ambiguous.

PART I

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF 8 5-8a

Three questions in these verses call for discussion: 1) the identification of 'this people' (v. 6a); 2) immediately connected with this, the critical origin and significance of v. 6b; and 3) the exact implication of the phrase 'it shall reach even to the neck' (v. 8a). In answering these questions there are really but two

methods to follow. Either the text is to be received as it stands, in which case the logic of it must be allowed to operate more freely than commentators are usually inclined to permit, or it must be regarded as revised, in which case the logic of the revision, and, conversely, the logic to be applied to the elimination of the secondary elements must be more frankly faced than is usually done. Compromise measures, here as elsewhere in Isaiah, afford no permanent satisfaction or sense of security.

I

The real key to the passage lies in the identification of 'this people.' If vs. 5-8a are examined by themselves, there are two and only two clues to the identification. These are found in what is said of it in v. 6. Two things are predicated of it: 1) that it rejoices with Rezin and Remaliah's son (Pekah, cf. II K. 15 27), and 2) that it has rejected the waters of Shiloah. The first of these statements is evidently figurative; the second is as evidently to be taken literally. It is the part of sound exegesis to start with the non-figurative statement, all the more so because it seems to connect the passage with the known historical background in which the other oracles in cc. 7 and 8 were spoken.[1]

A. The bearing of v. 6b on the identification of 'this people'

If v. 6b is accepted as it stands, the obvious way to construe it is to take *mesos* as the construct of a substantive used here as a verbal noun, and *'eth* as a preposition in the sense of *cum*, and to translate 'a rejoicing with Rezin and Remaliah's son.'[2]

[1] Cf. 7 1-9; 8 1-4; and 2 Kings 16.

[2] A reexamination of the *verba gaudendi*, *sus*, *samah*, *gil* and *'alaz*, and of the nominal derivatives from the same roots shows that the object or occasion of the joy is always introduced by prepositions or causal clauses, never by the accusative. These four verbs are found about 240 times, and about 110 times (exclusive of causal clauses) with the object or occasion of the joy introduced by a preposition. The only two passages outside of Is. 8 6 alleged in behalf of the construction with the accus. are Is. 35 1 and 65 18. The first of these is un-

In that case v. 6b can only refer to those who sympathize with Rezin and Pekah. Now at the time of the events described in cc. 7 and 8 these rulers were following an anti-Assyrian policy, while Ahaz, on the contrary, was pro-Assyrian. Thus the Syro-Ephraimitic coalition and Judah were brought into violent collision.[3] Under these circumstances those who rejoice with Rezin and Pekah must belong to one of two groups, either to an anti-Assyrian party in Judah itself, or to Israel.

1) That there might have been a party in Judah at this time which favored an anti-Assyrian policy[4], and therefore sided with the Syro-Ephraimitic alliance and opposed the policy of Ahaz cannot be regarded as in itself theoretically improbable. The situation created by the advance of Tiglath-pileser into Syria and Palestine was calculated to give rise to sharp differences

doubtedly corrupt. At 65 18, granting that the relative is an accus. and not a mistake for על אשר (so Marti, after Graetz and Cheyne), it is unsafe to argue from this to the construction of the *verba gaudendi* with nouns (Cf. König, *Syntax*, p. 18). Out of some 173 occurrences of the nominal stems of these four words there are only 13 (15?) instances in which the cause of the joy is indicated. In 12 of these it is introduced by prepositions. In the 3 remaining instances the construct relation is employed; but at Prov. 17 5 the genitive is not the equivalent of a simple objective genitive, but of the construction with ל after the verb (cf. Job 31 29; Ps. 35 19), and at Is. 13 3=Zeph 3 11 the genitive does not really denote the cause of the joy (see commentators). It is probably only a curious accident that in the more than 400 occurrences of the above *verba gaudendi* and their derivatives the preposition *'eth* in the sense of *cum* is found only at Is. 8 6 and 66 10. But in the latter case the meaning seems to be assured and probably finds an analogy in the construction of רצה with עם at Ps. 50 8, to which Ewald and Knobel long ago called attention. That *'eth* means *cum* at Is. 8 6 may be regarded as practically assured. The construct, מְשׂוֹשׂ, need occasion no real difficulty in spite of Gray's doubts (cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 130. 1, König, *Syntax*, p. 415).

3 2 Kings 16; Is. 7 1–10, and Tiglath-pileser's inscriptions.

4 So Gesenius (Ges), Ewald (Ew), Stade (*Gesch. I.* 596), Kuenen (*Einl.* II. 42), Wilke (*Jesaja und Assur*, p. 28). The references here and hereafter are to the works in the Bibliography appended to my article on *Viewpoints in the Discussion of Isaiah* (JBL XLI. pp. 4ff.). The abbreviations there used will be added at the first occurrence of the various works referred to.

of policy in Judah under Ahaz, just as it is known to have done at various times in Israel and the Philistine towns. But the fatal objection to the theory that an anti-Assyrian party is here referred to, that is, a party favorable to Rezin and Pekah and opposed to Ahaz, is the phrase, 'this people.' It is clear from 7 2ff. and especially from 8 11ff., where the very same phrase occurs again, that the mass of the people sided with Ahaz. If Isaiah had wished to refer to a small group within the nation opposed to Ahaz, he would not have done it by the phrase 'this people.' At v. 11ff. he *does* refer to a small group (this time his own followers) and he distinguishes it very clearly from 'this people,' that is, the people as a whole. Similarly, if he had intended to refer at v. 6 to a group within the nation, he would never have called it 'this people.' He would have distinguished it from them. 2) Accordingly, if v. 6b is retained unchanged, 'this people' must be identified with Israel.[5] This conclusion is further supported by another consideration. The description of the onsweeping Assyrian flood would seem, at least at first sight, to require a distinction between 'this people' (v. 6a) and Judah (v. 8a). The flood is said to come 'upon them' (עליהם), i. e. upon 'this people,' and then to overflow its banks and pass on (חלף)[6] through Judah. Judah is the climax. 'This people' suffers in the initial stages of the flood, but Judah is its high-water mark. The phrase, 'upon them,' unquestionably suggests such a distinction.[7] Thus the identification of 'this people' with Israel would seem to be demanded by any fair exegesis of the data thus far considered. But what, then, it may be asked, is the force of the statement that 'this people' has rejected the waters of Shiloah (v. 6a)?

[5] So Jerome *Commentar. in Jesaiam*, Ed. Migne Patrol. Latina Vol. 24, p. 119); De Dieu (cited in Cheynes *Commentary*); Diestel in Knobel (Kno); Nägelsbach (*Der Prophet Jesaja*); Cheyne (Che) in his *Commentary*, a view subsequently abandoned in his *Introduction* (p. 37, n. 1, see below).

[6] Cf. 1 Sam. 10 3.

[7] When Bredenkamp (Brdk) seeks to avoid this conclusion by bringing Judah at v. 8a into contrast with Israel at vs. 1–4, instead of with 'this people,' he is violating every sound principle of exegesis. For the above argument *cf.* especially Diestel in Kno., but also Delitzsch (De) and Che.

B. Bearing of v. 6a upon the identification of 'this people'

The exact phrase, 'the waters of Shiloah,' is found only here.[8] There can be no question, however, that it refers to the irrigating system that is fed by the only known spring in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem, the present Fountain of the Virgin.[9] This spring issues at the base of the southern spur of the temple mount on which the original City of David once stood. It is at the bottom of a rather deep cave. Its flow is intermittent and not very great, and its waters, conducted through conduits for the most part underground, were largely concealed from view even as early as Isaiah's day. This being the location and nature of the spring,[10] 'the waters of Shiloah' can be interpreted in two different ways. a) As a spring which issues from the base of the hill upon which the City of David was built, it might symbolize the Davidic dynasty.[11] b) Or it might symbolize in its gentle, inconspicuous

[8] But cf. Neh. 3 15.

[9] So substantially all commentators since Jerome. The differences among them concern only the question whether the phrase alludes more particularly to the spring itself, or to the pool of Siloam into which it now empties, or to the celebrated tunnel through which the pool is fed, or to the still earlier conduits which led from the spring along the southernmost slope of Ophel, extensive sections of which have been recently discovered. The last identification is the correct one. (*Cf.* Capt. Weill, *La Cité de David*).

[10] Jerome's description is as follows: "Siloe autem fontem esse ad radices montis Sion, qui non jugibus aquis, sed in certis horis diebusque ebulliat, et per terrarum concava et antra saxi durissimi cum magno sonitu veniat, dubitare non possumus, nos praesertim qui in hac habitamus provincia." It will be seen that Jerome lays emphasis upon its position, *ad radices montis Sion*, and its intermittent and underground character. The description is quite rhetorical and in particular the *cum magno sonitu* must be taken *cum grano salis*, just as Elisha once used a little salt in connection with another spring!

[11] This interpretation goes back to the Targum: "Because this people rejected the kingdom of the house of David who ruled over them in quietness as the waters of Shiloah which flow in quietness." It has been followed by a number of modern commentators. The point of the comparison with the still-flowing waters lies either in the greatly weakened political condition of the dynasty (Ges. Stade I. 596, and see for older

flow Jahweh himself, a spiritual and unseen power, whose temple stood upon the mount from whose "roots" this fountain bubbled forth.[12]

1) But if 'this people' is Israel, in what sense did Isaiah think that Israel had rejected the waters of Shiloah? Does he think of political apostasy or of religious apostasy, or is the phrase to be regarded as a vague, undefined generalization? a) A vague generalization, to begin with the third possibility, as if Isaiah were only criticising the general attitude of Israel toward Judah,[13] is not what we would expect in this situation. The crisis that was developing was altogether too dangerous. At that time the Syro-Ephraimitic coalition was carrying on a vigorous campaign against Ahaz and in the course of it actually laid siege to Jerusalem.[14] It was not a time for generalities. Furthermore, v. 6b suggests that the prophet had something very definite and concrete in mind. This clause, as we have seen, undoubtedly refers to the anti-Assyrian policies of Rezin and Pekah. It would seem natural to hold that v. 6a is also to be given a concrete application. We would expect it to refer, not simply to a general attitude, but at least to a general attitude that is manifested in some very concrete and realistic way. b) By the same token, v. 6b would suggest that v. 6a should be interpreted to refer to the political opposition of the coalition to the Davidic dynasty. But the verb *ma'as* (to despise or reject) is a curious one to use in this connection.

commentators Hackmann, p. 69, n. 1) or, more spiritually, in the gentle, peace-loving temper of the Davidic rule (Ew., Kno., Wilke, p. 28). Vitringa sees in the comparison a direct reference to the dynasty, but takes the dynasty, itself, as a symbol of the kingdom of God. H. Schmidt refers the figure to Jerusalem, which seemed very weak to 'this people' as compared with Assyria, but which Isaiah looked upon as the throne of Jahweh.

[12] So the great majority of commentators: Hitzig, Giesebrecht (Gies.), Brdk., De., Dillmann (Di) Kittel (Ki., in the sixth ed. of Di.), Duhm (Du), Hackmann (Hack. p. 68f.), Marti, Gray, Küchler (Ku. p. 33), Guthe (in Kautzsch's *Heilige Schrift des A. T.*, Ed.[4]); Cheyne (*Commentary*) combines both references, to the dynasty and to Jahweh.

[13] *Cf.* the allusions of Amos to 'the pride of Jacob (6 8; 8 7).

[14] 2 K. 16 5; Is. 7 1-9.

The very aggressive activities of the Allies are by no means adequately reflected in the statement that they *rejected* the waters of Shiloah. The expression in itself would more naturally refer, on the supposition that 'this people' is Israel, to the ancient schism between Israel and Judah,[15] Yet it is most unlikely that Isaiah would have assigned as a reason for the coming Assyrian invasion this old grievance which Judah had against its sister kingdom. For two centuries the Schism had been an accomplished fact. The political situation was altogether too tense for Isaiah to bring this rather academic accusation against Northern Israel. c) Finally, to interpret the rejection of the waters of Shiloah as referring to the religious apostasy of Israel from Jahweh is equally unsatisfactory. In what did this apostasy consist? How did it manifest itself? The worship of Israel was a Jahweh worship just as much as the worship of Judah was. Yet the phrase 'to reject the waters of Shiloah' would seem to draw a distinction between them. Does Isaiah imply that only at Jerusalem, where the waters of Shiloah refer, *ex hypothesi*, to Jahweh as worshipped in the temple on Mt. Zion, is the true worship? In that case v. 6a would appear to be an attack upon the calf-worship of Israel as contrasted with the true worship of Jahweh at the temple. But there is not a hint anywhere else in Isaiah's prophecies that he attacked the calf-worship as contrasted with the temple worship. Undoubtedly he denounces the idolatry of the Northern Kingdom; but he denounces the idolatry of Judah also.[16] He is equally impartial in his condemnation of the ethical degeneracy of the two kingdoms.[17] But if it had been Isaiah's purpose to explain Israel's destruction by Israel's apostasy in the sense in which the prophet thinks of that apostasy elsewhere, namely

[15] Cf. especially 1 K. 12 16; Is. 7 17.

[16] Cf. 17 10 (against Israel) and 2 6ff. (against Judah). The allusion at 17 10 is to the Adonis worship which seems to have been imported into Israel at the time of the Syro-Ephraimitic coalition. For the 'pleasant plants' see the "Hymn to Adonis" in Theocritus, *Idyl* XV, in which the poet refers to "delicate gardens arrayed in baskets of silver."

[17] Cf. 28 1-4, an oracle against the drunkards of Samaria, and 28 7-13, an oracle against the drunken priests and prophets of Jerusalem; or compare 9 7–20 (against Israel) with 2 6—3 24 (against Judah).

as an apostasy in fundamental morals and religion, it is questionable whether he would have described it as a *rejection* of the waters of Shiloah, for this phrase, if interpreted religiously and not politically, unavoidably suggests the distinction between the cult at Bethel and the cult at Jerusalem, provided 'this people' means Israel. We thus arrive at the following disconcerting conclusion: If we start from the assured meaning of v. 6b, which is, exegetically, the proper method to pursue, and identify 'this people' with Israel, we find ourselves in difficulties with the phrase 'to reject the waters of Shiloah.' To interpret the verb *ma'as* as describing a general attitude of contempt on the part of Israel for Judah does not seem to fit into the historical situation, which calls for a more specific accusation. To interpret it of religious apostasy is opposed by v. 6b and suggests trains of thought unlikely under the circumstances in which the words were spoken. To interpret it of the Syro-Ephraimitic coalition, though supported by v. 6b and not impossible, is difficult. One would expect Isaiah to use a different verb in such a connection. It is noticeable that commentators who identify 'this people' with Israel have never paid any attention to the subtle difficulties in the way of this interpretation occasioned by the statement that it rejected the waters of Shiloah.[18] But it may readily be admitted that if there were no other formidable objections to the identification of 'this people' with Israel and no rival theory to be considered,

[18] They interpret it primarily politically, but of course with a spiritualizing application. According to Jerome, Israel prefers to be subject to Rezin and Remaliah's son rather than to the stock of David. But *juxta anagogen*—and then he sails off upon the uncharted seas of the allegory! Diestel refers in general terms to the fact that Israel despises the weak Davidic dynasty and is proud of the alliance with Damascus. Nägelsbach spiritualizes: "The weak brooklet . . . represents the unobservable nature of the kingdom of God in the period of its earthly humility." But he continues: "The nation Israel . . . looks down contemptuously on the kingdom of Judah as on a weak-flowing brooklet (here the political aspect of Judah is in mind), and meanwhile with proud complacency rejoices in its own king and in the alliance with the Syrian king. This haughtiness shall not escape the avenging nemesis." Cheyne's interpretation in his commentary is even vaguer and more generalized.

the difficulties in the way of this identification need not be considered overwhelming. They awaken grave suspicion, but they are not necessarily fatal. It is next in order to examine the rival identification.

2) If v. 6b is, for the moment, ignored, the phrase, 'to reject' the waters of Shiloah, very strongly favors the identification of 'this people' with Judah. Only when this identification is made does the phrase gain a meaning which is at once precise, illuminating and vitally connected both with the historical situation in which the words were spoken and with Isaiah's fundamental religious message. It is no longer necessary to resort to a generalization of the meaning of the phrase. It must now refer either to the political or religious apostasy of Judah. That it refers to the former, that is, to opposition to the Davidic dynasty at that time is very unlikely. In that case we would be confronted with the same old difficulties encountered in connection with v. 6b. The phrase cannot imply a party in Judah because, as we have seen, 'this people' cannot be limited in this connection to a group within the nation. But to hold that the people of Judah as a whole were opposed to the Davidic dynasty is again to fly in the face of 7 1-9 and 8 11ff. Further, it is most unlikely that Isaiah would assign as a reason for the Assyrian invasion of Judah the opposition of the people to the Davidic dynasty at the very moment when he himself was in the hottest conflict with that dynasty.[19] On the other hand, if the phrase is interpreted of religious apostasy and this people is identified with Judah,

[19] Cf. 7 10-17 and Gies p. 244 ff. Wilke's view that Isaiah was resisting a popular demand to join the anti-Assyrian Syro-Ephraimitic coalition and was attempting to win adherence to the peace-policy of the Davidic dynasty (pp. 28—30) throws away the most important clue we have for the interpretation of cc. 7 and 8 for the sake of 8 6b. This clue is the pro-Assyrian policy of Ahaz (2 K. 16). To this policy Isaiah was firmly opposed. Instead of the prophet attempting to dissuade the people from an anti-Assyrian policy, every datum in cc. 7 and 8 except 8 6b indicates that he was doing his utmost to allay the popular *fear* of the Syro-Ephraimitic coalition in order to prevent both court and people from appealing to Assyria for help. Unfortunately, Isaiah's efforts were in vain.

the interpretation of v. 6a becomes at once intelligible and significant. The great alternative presented to Ahaz in c. 7 was whether he would believe in Jahweh's power to save, or trust in other means, namely in Assyria. Would he trust in the things seen and temporal, or in the things unseen and eternal? The gently flowing, partially concealed fountain of Shiloah, upon which Jerusalem depended for its watersupply, is the fitting symbol of the unseen, spiritual presence of Jahweh, upon which Jerusalem was to depend, as contrasted with the mighty volume of the Euphrates, symbol of the impressive material power of the world empire of Assyria. The passage, thus interpreted, expressed the very heart of Isaiah's message and is in beautiful accord with what he taught in c. 7 and again in the great crisis of 701.[20] It is also significant that in 8 5-8a, just as in these other passages, Isaiah points out that this false material help upon which they rely with such confidence, whether Assyria or Egypt, will be the means of their final undoing. It is the idea of punishment in kind. This striking lesson would be entirely lost if 'this people' were identified with Israel, for Israel was opposed to Assyria.

We have thus arrived at a sharp alternative. On the one hand, v. 6b, which has an unequivocal political reference, demands that 'this people' be identified with Israel. In that case the phrase 'to reject the waters of Shiloah' while not theoretically impossible to interpret, admits of no really satisfactory explanation. On the other hand, if 'this people' is Judah, 'to reject the waters of Shiloah' can be given a meaning, very beautiful in itself, appropriate to the known historical situation, and consonant with the fundamental religious convictions of Isaiah. While, at first sight, it may seem unnatural to take the flexible symbol which is theoretically capable of several meanings as the basis of the identification of 'this people,' rather than the inflexible, literal statement in v. 6b, which is capable of only one meaning, nevertheless the instinct of the vast majority of commentators is certainly sound at this point, and 'this people' must be identified with Judah. The following arguments confirm this conclusion:

[20] Cf. especially 30 1-7, 15; 31 1 ff.

a) If 'this people' in v. 6 a does not mean Judah, then the invasion of Judah in v. 8 is left unexplained. The sequence of thought would be: Because this people, i. e. Israel, has sinned, it will be inundated, and Judah will be submerged! The Assyrian invasion of Judah would thus be mentioned as only incidental to the invasion of Israel. Nothing could be further from Isaiah's thoughts at this time. Judah was to be punished for its own sins.[21] b) Again, the phrase itself in the mouth of Isaiah naturally refers only to Judah, the people among whom he was prophesying, unless the context specifically demands another reference.[22] In the present chapter 'this people' clearly refers to Judah at vs. 11 f. The preceding context (vs. 1–4), though referring to Israel, cannot determine the identification of 'this people' in v. 6, for in vs. 1–4 Damascus as well as Israel is spoken of, and it is arbitrary to refer 'this people' to only one of the two nations mentioned in vs. 1–4. c) Lastly, the parallelism of c. 8 with c. 7 strongly favors the identification of 'this people' with Judah. Just as 8 1–4 corresponds exactly with 7 1–9 in its threat of destruction of Israel and Damascus, so 8 5–8 a would correspond to 7 10–17 in its threat of the destruction of Judah.[23]

But if 'this people' is Judah, then two consequences follow. a) V. 6 b as it stands is impossible, and b) עליהם ('upon them,'

[21] 7 10-17. Cf. Dillmann.

[22] In the nine passages outside of our present one in which the phrase 'this people' occurs in Isaiah 1—39, it refers to Judah in all but one. At 9 15 it occurs in a prophecy unquestionably delivered against Israel. But this verse is under the gravest critical suspicion. (See the article on "Isaiah's Prophecy against Ephraim," *AJSL*, April, 1916, pp. 14—16). The possible reference to Chaldea at 23 12 is not quite analogous, and the passage is also very doubtful. It may be added that, wherever עַם with a suffix is defined by the context, it again always refers to Judah. In other cases, when undefined by the context, it probably refers to Judah, though at times, especially in spurious passages, it may include both kingdoms. In any case it never refers to Israel alone; except, possibly, at 5 25. But the reference to Israel at 5 25 is conditioned upon the supposition that this passage originally belonged at c. 9 (which is altogether probable) and that the text is in order (which is by no means so certain).

[23] Cf. Bredenkamp. For the evidence against the identification of 'this people' with Israel drawn from textual criticism, see what follows.

v. 7 a), which, as we have seen, suggests very definitely a distinction between 'this people' (v. 6 a) and Judah (v. 8), becomes very suspicious. On the assumption that 'this people' is Judah, vs. 5–8 a would certainly gain in perspicuity if 'upon them' were omitted. The description would no longer suggest that the flood, after coming 'upon them,' i. e. upon 'this people,' would then pass on through Judah, with the almost unavoidable inference that 'this people' and Judah are to be distinguished; but it would suggest that the flood, after rising above all its channels, would irresistibly pass on through Judah.[24]

It is clear that v. 6 b in its present form and 'upon them' in v. 7 a go together. They combine to suggest the identification of 'this people' with Israel. If 'this people' is Judah, it is necessary either to emend v. 6 b, or reject it (and עליהם along with it) as glosses. So far as the original meaning of the passage is concerned it makes no difference which method of relieving the difficulty is chosen. So far as the critical history of the passage is concerned it makes very considerable difference.[25] Accordingly we turn to consider the second crucial question in the interpretation of vs. 5–8 a, namely the critical origin of v. 6 b.

[24] It is interestiug to observe with what increasing suspicion עליהם has been regarded in recent years, since the identification of 'this people' has become the established premise for explaining this passage. Marti, Gray and Guthe (in Kautzsch 4) reject it, Marti and Gray on the ground that is a superfluous interpretation of 'this people' (!), Guthe on the ground that it *unnecessarily anticipates* v. 8. Gies. (p. 233), Staerk (*Das Assyrische Weltreich*, pp. 50, 201), and Hans Schmidt emend to עליכם on the basis of the LXX. This last suggestion is unfortunate. The LXX is very paraphrastic just at this point and introduces the second plural four times in vs. 6 and 7 without any warrant. It certainly affords no foundation for the proposed emendation. Giesebrecht's arguments for the LXX reading are entirely unconvincing.

[25] The attempts made to reconcile v. 6 b with its context, if 'this people' is identified with Judah, are abortive. Alexander (*Commentary on Isaiah*, 1865) supposes that v. 6 b refers to the joy at the retreat of Rezin and Pekah ('eth taken as sign of the accus.): "The particle 'eth simply denotes the occasion of the joy. The more definite idea of rejoicing over is suggested by the context" (!). This theory has been more recently advanced by Buhl (*ZKWL*, IV. 228, cited in Dillmann).

II

The usual method hitherto adopted to reconcile v. 6 b with the identification of this people with Judah is to emend the text.

A. On proposed emendations of v. 6 b

1) The favorite emendation, originally proposed, I believe, by Hitzig, is to regard משוש as a misreading for מסום, and to assign to the latter the meaning of 'melt before' in the sense of 'despair.'[26] At first glance this gives a satisfactory contextual meaning to v. 6 b, but the objections to it are overwhelming. a) In the first place, while the verb occurs 21 times, it is found but once in the ḳal and then in a very doubtful passage (Is. 10 18).[27] b) In the dozen cases where this verb is

But the object of joy in this sense is always introduced by the prepositions ל (most frequent), אל ('against') or even ב. Further, the extreme artificiality of this explanation is apparent. Equally unconvincing is Dillmann's view. He takes 'eth as the preposition, but interprets the joy with Rezin and Pekah as the joy in the same things in which Rezin and Pekah rejoice, namely in human instrumentalities (!). In the sixth edition, revised by Kittel, this unhappy explanation is abandoned. Equally ineffectual are the attempts to preserve the present text by identifying 'this people' with both Judah and Israel (so Vitringa, in effect, Lowth, Schelling, Rosenmüller, Eichhorn, De.). Delitzsch proceeds to parcel out the various statements in vs. 6–8a between Israel and Judah. 'Rejection of the waters of Shiloah' is the sin of both kingdoms; v. 6b refers to the special sin of Israel; v. 7a states the punishment of Israel; v. 8 the punishment of Judah. This is only a variation upon Schelling's view (cited in Ges.). Delitzsch himself admits that an interpretation which would permit of a reference of 'this people' to Judah would be welcome. Cheyne (*Commentary*) follows along the lines of Delitzsch.

26 So Hitz., Brdk., Barth (*Beiträge*, p. 9, n. 1), Du., Marti, Di-Kit., Ku. (p. 33), Staerk (p. 201), Che. (*Intro.* p. 37, n. 1). It is significant that Cheyne abandons his former identification of 'this people' with Israel (or with Israel and Judah) after he adopts the emended text, an interesting evidence that the unemended text clearly suggests such an identification.

27 It is conjectured that the ḳal is adopted in the present instance for the sake of the play on מאס (Hitz, Du. et al.). But משוש already expresses such a play without the necessity of departing from the *usus loquendi*.

used as a metaphor for fear, i. e. is given a psychological application, it is accompanied by the word 'heart.'[28] The verb by itself would thus not seem to be applicable to a state of mind. c) The construction of מסום in the sense of 'despair' with the accusative (eth) of the ground of despair,[29] also departs from the usage. In the four (five) instances in which the cause of the melting is assigned, it is introduced by מפני or מלפני. At Is. 34 3 where מן is used the sense is slightly different.[30] d) In view of the usage, the unanimous testimony of the ancient versions to the reading משוש in the sense of 'rejoice' can also be confidently urged against the proposed emendation. e) Finally, the construction of the entire clause is impossible. The sentence is introduced by the conjunction יען כי, which properly governs the finite verb מאס. But מסום after this conjunction is a grammatical *non sequitur*, whether construed as an infin. cst.,[31] or as an infin. abs.[32] Of the very large number of cases in which יען כי or יען אשר or even יען alone is followed by a finite verb, in not one is the sequence continued by any sort of infinitive or by a verbal noun.[33] f) Finally, apart from all these

[28] 2 Sam. 10 17 is no real exception, for 'heart' is found here, though it is not the subject of the verb.

[29] So Hitz., Barth, Brdk.

[30] Hitzig, with the approval of Barth, cites Job. 31 34, where ערץ is construed with the accus., as support for מסום with the accus. But the construction in Job is unique and by no means free of suspicion. In the four other cases where the reason for the fear is expressed after ערץ, it is introduced again by מפני or מן. (At Job. 13 25 the meaning of the verb is different.) When the object of the fear is introduced the hiph. is used (Is. 29 23, cf. 8 12). Duhm frankly admits the incorrectness of the construction of מסום with את and accordingly proposes the further emendation of את to מפני (so also Marti, Che. [in *Intro.*], Di.-Kit., Staerk) or less accurately to מן (Du.[3]). Duhm supposes that when מסום was understood as משוש the preposition was changed to ·agree with the new meaning. But the question may fairly be asked whether the presence of מפני in the original text would not have prevented the supposed misunderstanding.

[31] So Hitz., Kno., Di., who make מסום depend on יען.

[32] So Marti, Di.-Kit., Brdk., Staerk.

[33] Duhm feels this difficulty and in editions[1, 2] deletes כי out of יען כי and emends מאס to the infinitive, thus agreeing with the proposed מסום. In Ed.[4] he reverses the process, retains יען כי and emends מסום to the perfect, which betters the alliteration with מאס.

grammatical difficulties, the meaning of the clause as emended is by no means exegetically satisfactory. The fears of the people along with their positive rejection of the waters of Shiloah would be assigned as a reason for their punishment. This weakens rather than increases the force of v. 6 a. Elsewhere Isaiah seeks to allay their fears.[34] In view of these wellnigh insuperable difficulties the proposed emendation of v. 6 b must be regarded as unsatisfactory. It is one of those ingenious conjectures which at first sight captivate the hard-pressed exegete but which prove in the end to be will-o-the-wisps, leading him off into false paths.

2) The attempt has been made in recent times to get along with rejecting only the phrase 'Rezin and the son of Remaliah' as a gloss.[35] משוש, emended to מסום is now attached to the preceding line and coordinated with הלכים לאט as a further characterization of the waters as faintly flowing.[36] But apart from the very grave grammatical difficulties involved in this

[34] 7 1-9; 8 1-4.

[35] Gies. (pp. 227 ff.); Burkitt (*JThS.*, Vol. 12, p. 294); Popper (*Studies in Biblical Parallelism*, p. 348); and *cf.* Gray, but with modifications.

[36] So Gies.; Popper suggests either this emendation, or, on the basis of the present text, calls attention to the Arabic *mushawish* which, according to Lane, means "water not to be seen or hardly to be seen, by reason of its remoteness from the surface of the ground." (*Cf.* also Burkitt for the use of Arabic analogies). But the construction of the word after the participial phrase, whether it is read as the noun, משוש, or as the infinitive, מסום, is very harsh. In the former case Popper construes it either as depending on the ל in לאט, or as an adverbial acc. In the latter case it is construed either as an infin. abs. (Gies.), or as an infin. cst. (Burkitt, Popper). Mi. 6 8, urged by Giesebrecht as an analogy to the infinitive abs. after the part. in the present case, is wide of the mark, and the examples given in König, *Syntax*, § 220 a (Josh. 6 13; II Sam. 16 17 b; Is. 22 17 b; and Jer. 23 17) afford no analogy and, besides, are corrupted texts. Is. 60 14, urged by Burkitt and Popper in favor of the infin. cst., is hardly more convincing. Gray suggests that משוש is either a corrupt variant to מאס, or an isolated fragment. Bredenkamp's idea that הלכים לאט and the corrected מסום are, both of them, qualifications of 'this people' may be mentioned in passing as a literary curiosity. It is based on the assumed correctness of Jerome's *cum magno sonitu* (see above, n. 10) and the fact that לאט, if applied to the 'waters,' would contradict the ancient Father.

suggestion, it breaks down completely when the rest of the clause is considered. This is regarded as a gloss to 'the waters of Shiloah.'[37] But how in the world did a glossator ever hit upon the idea of explaining the waters of Shiloah as an allusion to Rezin and Pekah? To regard this as "a question of subordinate interest"[38] is altogether too simple a way out of the difficulty. It is supposed that the gentle stream was taken by the glossator as a symbol of the weaker power of the Syro-Ephraimitic coalition as contrasted with the Euphrates which is the symbol of the mighty power of Assyria. Because the people has despised this smaller power in their reliance upon the Assyrian help, therefore they will be punished by Assyria![39] But that even the *äusserliche Art rabbinischer Exegese*, to which Giesebrecht adverts, can have been guilty of turning the sacred Spring "at the roots of Mount Zion" into a symbol of the Syro-Ephraimitic coalition is quite inconceivable. That is the last thing a later glossator would do. Accordingly, it is impossible to get along with the rejection of only the part of v. 6b which follows משוש. This is wantonly to substitute, in the endeavor to interpret the passage, an insoluble difficulty for what may prove to be a helpful clue.

But if v. 6b, in its present form, cannot be harmonized with the context, if it cannot be satisfactorily emended so as to agree with its context, and if it cannot be saved even in part, there is nothing to do but to reject it in its entirety.[40]

[37] So Gies., Burkitt, Gray, Guthe and Popper. Popper speaks of it as "an appositional gloss," but does not tell us to what it is in apposition!

[38] Gies.

[39] So Gies. and Burkitt. This unhappy explanation was advanced long ago by Steudel (cited in Gesenius). Neither Giesebrecht nor Burkitt refer to Steudel, and it would appear that they had arrived at this strange conceit independently.

[40] So Cube (1785—'86, cited in Ges.); Olshausen (1826, cited in Di.); Gray (substantially); Skinner (*Isaiah*, in Cambridge Bible Ed.[2]); Hans Schmidt.

B. On the significance of v. 6b considered as a gloss

The clause was no doubt originally a marginal comment, intended to explain, not the waters of Shiloah, which is absurd, but the *rejection* of the waters of Shiloah. This rejection, says the glossator, is equivalent to taking sides with Rezin and Pekah. The peculiar word משוש was no doubt chosen as a play upon מאס, as has often been pointed out. That v. 6b is a gloss is finally confirmed by the following considerations in addition to the historical, exegetical, and grammatical difficulties in the way of accepting it as original which have already been mentioned. a) Since the time of Cube it has been felt that the clause, "the king of Assyria and all his glory," in v. 7 is a gloss.[41] It interrupts the figure of the flood in vs. 7a and 7b in a most unfortunate way. Other such glosses in the neighboring chapters are 'the king of Assyria' at 7 17, 20, the date at 7 8,[42] and particularly 'Rezin' at 9 10. These instances show clearly that these chapters have been glossed and support the view that v. 6b is a gloss. b) Finally, when once both v. 6b and the gloss in v. 7 have been struck out, the passage, vs. 5-8a, gains very greatly in smoothness and force. The softly flowing waters of Shiloah and the mighty river Euphrates are brought into the sharpest and most telling antithesis, and the whole passage becomes completely intelligible.

But now a question arises of great importance for our purpose. What was the purpose of this gloss? Did it have what may be called simply an antiquarian interest, or did it have a dogmatic interest? In view of the other glosses mentioned above, the former would seem to be more probably its original interest. But was it understood simply in an antiquarian sense after it became incorporated into the text? At this point the significance of the associated phrase, 'upon them,' must be considered. When the two phrases are combined, the result is to enforce a sharp distinction between 'this people' and Judah, and to identify 'this people' with Israel. But this means that

41 So Ges., Hitz., Kno., Du., Marti, Che., Skinner, Gray, *et al.*

42 Probably the earliest datable gloss in Isaiah.

the guilt has been diverted from Judah to Israel.[43] Was this result a purposed result? In that case, what may well have been originally only a marginal note appended in an antiquarian interest may have later, after incorporation in the text, taken on a dogmatic interest. The slight addition of 'upon them' is all that is needed to give to the gloss this significance. Can this suspicion be confirmed? The answer to this question must be deferred.[44]

Thus far two questions have been discussed with reference to vs. 5-8a: 1) the identification of 'this people,' which is the primary question; and 2) the literary quality of v. 6b. Is v. 6b original or a gloss, and, if a gloss, what is its purpose? Before passing on to vs. 8b, 9-10 there is a third question which calls for answer.

III

Is there any limitation placed upon the punishment of Judah at v. 8b? Does the phrase, 'it shall reach to the neck,' imply that while Judah is almost submerged it is not quite submerged? Does it emphasize the greatness of the disaster or does it suggest a basis of hope? If a strictly logical (or anatomical) analysis of the figure is applied to it, the expectation

[43] It is singular how the significance of the combination of v. 6b and 'upon them' in v. 7a has been ignored by the great majority of commentators. It can only be explained by the fact that the correct identification of 'this people' with Judah has so engrossed the attention that the very obvious implications of the present text have been overlooked except by a very few scholars. But Jerome long ago drew the natural inferences from v. 6b and 'upon them' when he identified 'this people' with Israel.

[44] I call attention to the fact that if the original text of v. 6b was approximately what the emendations reviewed above suppose it to have been, the same question arises: How did the original text which permitted no identification of 'this people' with Israel come to assume its present form which requires such an identification? Was this due to accidental corruption, or was there a dogmatic purpose at work? Those who prefer to emend v. 6b rather than to reject it must answer this question.

of ultimate escape can undoubtedly be deduced from it.[45] But does the rhetorical character of the passage permit of such an inference?

1) The verb 'reach' is coordinated with the other verbs of vs. 7 and 8 and, like them, depends upon the 'therefore' of v. 7a, which in turn depends upon the reference to apostasy in v. 6a. Because they have rejected the waters of Shiloah, therefore Jahweh will bring the Euphrates, which will overflow, pass on, and *reach to the neck?* This last clause is a climax, not an antithesis. If an antithesis were desired, it would be expressed in some other way.[46] 2) But, it may be asked, why did not Isaiah use an unequivocal expression if he desired to indicate the completeness of the destruction? Here a stylistic peculiarity of the prophet is to be noticed, namely, his method of emphasis by understatement. When he warns at 5 10 that a ten-acre vineyard will yield a bath and an homer of seed an ephah, the thought is directed not upon what they *do* yield but upon what they do *not* yield. The figure is chosen to picture the desolation of the land. Similarly, at 17 6 the two or three berries in the topmost boughs of the olive tree are not a symbol of hope, as is sometimes supposed, but of the stript condition of the tree.[47] It is the *irony* of these understatements which lend to them their power. 3) Finally, if the phrase 'reach to the neck' was intended to suggest a limitation of the punishment, we would expect a reason for this to be given. A reason for the punishment is given. Why not, then, a reason for its limitation? Accordingly, the view of the great majority of commentators must be adhered to,

[45] Delitzsch, Skinner, and Meinhold all find a basis of hope in the phrase. "Judah is not wholly submerged" (Ski.). "Granted the existence of a Saviour (Immanuel!), the *possibility* of salvation is still present" (De.). "The water reaches to the neck, but only to the neck. Then God comes to the help of his own" (Meinh., *Der Heilige Rest*, p. 114).

[46] Cf. Amos 9 8b.

[47] If an exegete doubts this, let him take a day off from his study and go out nutting on some frosty Autumn morning. Compare, also, Amos 3 12 and 5 3. It is curious how Meinhold, while accepting this interpretation for 17 6ff. (Cf. also his interpretation of 7 21ff., pp. 103 and 99, n. 1) fails to recognize it for 8 8a.

which subsumes v. 8a under what precedes as a threat, and interprets 'up to the neck' as expressing the climax of the danger.[48] But is not such a reason for the restriction of the punishment actually given in what follows? Is not the land to be saved because it is Immanuel's land? This question leads us to the investigation of vs. 8b-10. But before this is taken up, a brief summary of results thus far obtained is in order: 1) 'This people' is Judah. 2) It has forsaken Jahweh (the 'waters of Shiloah') in pursuing its pro-Assyrian policy. 3) But the very power to which it appeals will prove its undoing. It will be engulfed in a vast flood of disaster. 4) But the present form of the text, by the incorporation of v. 6b and the phrase 'upon them,' *suggests that the burden of guilt is to be shifted from Judah to the Northern Kingdom.*

PART II

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF 8 8b-10

In the interpretation of these verses it will be best to consider vs. 9-10 by themselves before taking up the very obscure allusion in v. 8b.

I

On vs. 9-10.

The meaning of these verses is perfectly clear, though the text is not above suspicion.[49] In them the nations of the earth

[48] Ges., Hitz., Kno., Di., Di-Kit., Brdk., Du., Marti, Schmidt. Compare also 30 28, a secondary passage, but almost certainly dependent upon the figure in 8 8. The allusion at 30 28 to the neck expresses threat and only threat. The fact that the prophecy is directed against Assyria makes that clear.

[49] 1) The exact meaning of רעו is note quite certain. The Targum seems to take it from רעה, in the sense of 'unite' or 'associate together'. Others regard it as the equivalent of רצץ ('be broken') or emend it to רועו ('shout the battlecry'). The majority of scholars explain it from רעע ('be angry' or 'rage'). So far as the verb itself and the general meaning of the passage are concerned, this last explanation is reasonably adequate. 2) But the parallelism, if any one of the above meanings is

are challenged to do their worst. They can effect nothing for "God is with us." The challenge is a universal challenge.[50] If these verses are attached directly to vs. 5-8a, one can hardly imagine a greater contradiction.[51] a) To say that Judah will be overwhelmed by Assyria in such disastrous fashion as is pictured in vs. 5-8a and then to add that though the nations of the earth may rage as they will, they will be able to effect nothing, is to make in the same breath two essentially irreconcilable statements. It is Jahweh himself who is responsible for bringing the Assyrian flood upon Judah. How, then, can the nations be defied on the ground that he is on Judah's side? The fact of a punitive invasion due to God's wrath against Judah's apostasy in vs. 5-8a and the feeling of *absolute security* from invasion due to God's protecting presence in vs. 9-10 are quite incompatible. It is impossible to effect a transition between the two thoughts by the phrase 'up to the neck,' as if that meant 'up to the neck, but only up to the neck.' We have seen that this interpretation puts a limitation upon the terribleness of the punishment whereas the clause is intended to *emphasize* its terribleness. It is equally illegitimate to

adopted, is defective. Accordingly the verb has been emended after the LXX to דעו ('know it'). So Lowth, Che., Marti, Gray, Guthe. This undoubtedly smooths the parallelism but at the expense of the nervous vigor of the passage. The two imperatives are intended to stand in opposition to each other as they do in v. b. Popper would emend still more drastically and read, "Hear ye peoples altogether" (שמעו עמים יחדיו). Wellhausen, on the contrary, would preserve רעו ('rage') and correct האזינו to הַאֲזִרוּ. This betters v. 4, but the anticipation of התאזרו in v. b condemns it. Staerk (*Das Assyrische Weltreich*, p. 199 f) rejects the first two clauses of v. 9 (see below). Meinhold emends האזינו to התאזרו, deletes the duplicate clauses in v. b (except חתו) and secures the following:

"Rage ye peoples and be broken
Gird yourselves all ye far corners of the earth and be broken."

The effect of this is to reverse Staerk's reconstruction. For still another attempt, see below.

50 So most Commentators, e. g. Ew., Brdk., De., Di., Di-Kit., Gies., Marti, Gray, Skinner, H. Schmidt.

51 It is only equalled by the contradiction between 29 1-4 and 5-8 (*Viewpoints*, p. 58, n. 125), and, as we shall see, it is produced by much the same methods and with a similar end in view.

restrict the outburst of faith in vs. 9-10 in any such petty way. Is it really to be supposed that the feeling of security in these verses can be so toned down as to permit of its reconciliation with the nations submerging Judah up to the neck?[52] b) Further, these verses are in as fundamental conflict with what follows as with what precedes. A connection would be possible between vs. 9-10 and 11-13 if the following paragraph stopped at v. 13. But, unfortunately, it does *not* stop there. It reaches its climax and real significance at vs. 14-15, and with these verses vs. 9-10 are in as flat contradiction as they are with vs. 5-8a. Defiance and the feeling of security are as much out of place before vs. 14-15 as they are after vs. 5-8a.[53]

2) The difficulties of vs. 9-10, construed as a general challenge to all the nations, are so great that some scholars have held that the challenge has either primary or exclusive reference to Syria and Israel.[54] In favor of this is the fact that at 7 4-9 Isaiah did hurl his challenge at these two nations, and the further fact that the language in the two passages has a remarkable similarity.[55] But the challenge to the Syro-Ephraimitic coalition after the prophecy of the devastation by Assyria is meaningless *in this connection.* What is the object of hurling defiance at these two petty kingdoms on the strength of Jahweh's presence when the prophet had just threatened Judah with the far worse Assyrian invasion?[56] In c. 7 the defiance to Syria and Israel stands first, and the subsequent threat

[52] Meinhold's attempt to effect a transition from vs. 5-8a to vs. 9-10 through the clause 'up to the neck' in the way above indicated, and his inference that the promise in vs. 9-10 is not to the nation as a whole, but only to the Remnant (*Der Rest*, p. 114ff.) is, so far as I am able to see, totally opposed to the rhetorical character of the passage.

[53] *Cf.* Gies. p. 235—248 for the above arguments. It is true that the כִּי (v. 11) seems to connect with what immediately precedes, and most scholars see in the experience of v. 11 the reason for the confidence in vs. 9-10 (so Hitz., Ew., Kno., Di., Di-Kit., Meinh., Du.). But in view of the argument advanced above, it may be doubted whether כִּי is original. It is omitted by Lxx and S. The connection sometimes proposed with vs. 5-8a is not altogether satisfactory.

[54] So Ges., Hitz., Kno., Du.

[55] *Cf.* especially 7 5, 7.

[56] *Cf.* Brdk. and Gies.

of Assyrian invasion can be readily accounted for by the change in the situation. Isaiah had promised Ahaz deliverance from the coalition in order to soothe his fears and keep him from throwing himself into the arms of Assyria. But he warned him that if he did not believe a worse fate would befall him. When Ahaz rejected the prophetic assurance, then came the prophecy of doom (7 14-17). Even the repetition of the promise of relief from the allies after Ahaz had made the great refusal in c. 7 can be fairly well explained.[57] But in c. 8 the announcement of doom before the prophecy of deliverance, *though in the fulfilment the doom was to follow the deliverance*, has no meaning whatever. The only proper position of vs. 9-10, interpreted as a challenge to the Allies, is before vs. 5-8a, in other words parallel to 8 1-4 or, better, to 7 4-9. But not only is the position of vs. 9-10, interpreted as a challenge to the coalition, impossible, the wording of v. 9 forbids such an interpretation. Not Syria and Israel, but the ends of the earth are here addressed.[58] Accordingly, if vs. 9-10 are taken by themselves, they cannot be directly attached to vs. 5-8a without a most violent contradiction resulting. But can a modulation from the threats in vs. 5-8a to the promises in vs. 9-10 be effected by v. 8b?

II

On v. 8b.

This clause has always been an exegetical crux. Three questions call for attention: 1) the antecedent of the suffix in כנפיו, 2) the antecedent of the suffix in ארצך, 3) the construction and significance of עמנואל. Is it to be regarded as

[57] Cf. 7 16 and my comments on this verse in "Immanuel," *AJSL*, 1918.

[58] Knobel held that 'the peoples' referred to Syria and Israel, but 'the far corners of the earth' referred to peoples who were summoned to witness the defeat of these peoples. The address to 'the peoples' was a challenge; the address to the 'far corners of the earth' was an exhortation. Though this view has been revived by Duhm, it is anything but convincing. There is nothing in v. 9 really to suggest that two different groups are addressed, the aggressors and the witnesses of the aggression.

a phrase, as in v. 10b, or as a proper name? If the latter, with whom is Immanuel to be identified?[59]

A. Whose wings are referred to?

1) From the time of the Targum and Jerome 'wings' has often been interpreted as the wings of the Assyrian army.[60] But nowhere else in the O. T. is כנף found in this military sense. Further, this would imply a technical use of the term which is not consonant with מטות, for the latter word suggests that we are dealing with a real metaphor here and not a faded out one. Finally, if the word is taken in the technical sense of *alae*, or an army's flanks, the lapse into the literal reference to Assyria after the finely worked out metaphor of the flood becomes very abrupt and unpleasant from a literary point of view. The suffix would have to refer to the actual army of Assyria which lies behind to metaphor of the river. This is stylistically bad.

2) To avoid this stylistic difficulty other scholars hold that the metaphor is still retained, and the wings are the various streams which break away from the main mass of the flood and distribute themselves through the land.[61] But again there is no analogy to this use of the word 'wings', and the figure in its present mode of expression is not at all a convincing one.[62]

[59] I pass over the rather difficult grammatical construction of the clause, for, though harsh, it is not without analogy. Cf. König, *Syntax*, p. 459, for the construction of the fem. pl. subj. with singular masc. verb. מָטוֹת is α. λ.; Ezek. 9 9 is corrupt. The construction is equivalent to extended or expanded wings.

[60] Cf. אגף, Ezek. 12 14, 17, 21; 38 1, a word found only in these passages and usually explained from an Assyrian root meaning wing. Compare also the technical use of the Latin *ala* (so Ges., Hitz., Ew.). This view probably goes back to the LXX in which παρεμβολή is frequently the equivalent of the Hebrew מחנה. (Ottley, *Isaiah according to the Septuagint.*)

[61] So Kno., Brdk., De., Che. (*Com.*).

[62] The coincidence cited by Cheyne from Wordsworth's *Descriptive Sketches*,

> "So shall its waters from the heavens supplied
> Brood o'er the long parched lands with Nile-like wings,"

3) In the view of most recent commentators there is an abrupt change of figure, and the reference in v. 8b is no longer to a flood, but to a bird. But then the question arises: What kind of a bird? Is it a bird of prey[63] or a protecting bird?[64] On the first view, v. 8b continues the threat of invasion in vs. 5-8a; on the second view, the thought of hope is suddenly introduced. Against the metaphor of a bird of prey may again be urged the intolerable abruptness of the change of figure. There is now no antecedent at all for the suffix in כנפיו. The mind must be supposed to have disengaged the Assyrian army from the metaphor of the flood, then to have thought of it as changed into a bird (a thought which is unexpressed!) and then, after this metamorphosis, to proceed gaily on with a reference to 'its wings'. All this is quite unworthy of Isaiah's stylistic powers. Furthermore the last word in the verse (Immanuel), whether it is regarded as a name or a phrase, suggests that v. 8b is to be taken with what follows and given a consolatory sense. But in that case all connection with what precedes is lost. If 'wings' does not refer to the Assyrian army, or to the Assyrian flood, or to the Assyrian pictured as a bird of prey, there is no explanation for it to be found in the present context, and we are driven to the conclusion that at v. 8b we are dealing either with a misplaced fragment or a gloss. The former alternative would seem to be more probable than the latter, for כנפיו is no more intelligible as a gloss than it is as a part of the present text. As if these difficulties were not already enough, there remain the perplexities connected with the suffix in 'thy land' and the significance of Immanuel. These must be considered together.

is an odd one, but can hardly be used to bolster up an ancient text whose correctness is open to suspicion. In his *Introduction* Cheyne explains v. 8b in a different way.

[63] So Di-Kit., Du., Che. (*Com.*) Skinner, H. Schmidt.

[64] So Che. (*Intro.*), Marti, Gray. *Cf.* Ps. 17 8; 36 8. Popper avoids the abrupt change of metaphor by a very doubtful expedient. He takes מטות כנפיו as an independent line and translates: "and spread to its farthest ends"(!)

B. Whose land is referred to and what is the significance of Immanuel?

1) On the basis of the Hebrew, Immanuel has been taken as a proper name. In that case 'thy land' is Immanuel's land. This is the natural interpretation of the present text. But what is the significance of such an address? This will depend, in a measure, upon the significance of Immanuel. a) In accordance with one of the many interpretations of 7 14, Immanuel has been identified with a son of Isaiah, and 'thy land' given the sense of 'thy fatherland'.[65] V. 8b is then supposed to add a still further touch to the desolation to be wrought; Isaiah's own child is to be involved in it. But such an allusion would divert the attention from the significance of the prophecy for the people as a whole, whom Isaiah was addressing and endeavoring to influence, to its significance for the Prophet's own family. This is most unlikely. Moreover, this interpretation falls with the interpretation of Immanuel in 7 14 upon which it is based. Immanuel at 7 14 cannot be Isaiah's son. b) Again, Immanuel has been identified with the Messiah.[66] In that case 'thy land' is better taken as the kingdom of the Messiah than as his fatherland, though of course the latter view is possible. The implication of the Messiah's land in the coming disaster is again supposed to emphasize its greatness (v. 8b interpreted as threat). The attempt to subsume the apostrophe to Immanuel under the preceding threat, if he is identified with the Messiah, is more satisfactory than when he is identified with Isaiah's son. The thought of the *desecration* of Messiah's land might be supposed to wring this cry from the prophet's heart, and, as we shall see, this thought may really be intended by the present text.[67] But it has its own difficulties. Is Immanuel already born? Nothing in cc. 7 and 8 indicates it. If not, is it likely that Isaiah would thus apostrophize some Messiah of

[65] So Ges., Hitz., Kno. *Cf.* Gen. 12 1; Jonah 1 8.

[66] So Calv., Ew., De., Di., Di-Kit., Che. (*Com.*), Marti, and Du. (if text is retained), Skinner, H. Schmidt.

[67] For Immanuel as a part of the preceding threat, see Ges., Hitz., Ew., De., Di., Di-Kit., Che. (*Com.*), Schmidt.

the future? Further, the name is undoubtedly interpreted in a good sense at v. 10. To hold that at v. 8b it is intended to reinforce the preceding threat when at v. 10 it so clearly is interpreted as a ground of encouragement is, to say the least, confusing. This leads us back to the fundamental difficulty of the passage. c) Granted that Immanuel, whether Isaiah's son or the Messiah, could be subsumed under the preceding threat in the way above indicated, how is the transition to the unqualified hopes in vs. 9-10 effected? Here all scholars who hold to the present text assume that the *sound* of the name itself recalls to Isaiah's mind the good hopes attached to it. *The transition to hope from threat is one of psychological revulsion.* Here again the theory which identifies Immanuel with Isaiah's son is at a distinct disadvantage as compared with the theory which identifies him with the Messiah. Gesenius and Knobel weakly suggest that the prophet wishes to divert the thought from the more gloomy distant future, shadowed by the invasion of Assyria, to the happier immediate future, in which the discomfiture of Syria and Israel (vs. 9-10) is foreseen. Just what the prophet expected to accomplish by this pleasant diversion in the midst of his warnings does not appear. Hitzig frankly admits that vs. 9-10 are out of connection with the preceding threats, and suggests that the challenge in them was not due to the occurrence of the name Immanuel, but to some development in the camp of the Coalition![68] Those who identify Immanuel with the Messiah hold that the thought of the desecration of the Messiah's land calls out either a feeling of indignant protest or a cry for help from the prophet, and in this protest or appeal, expressed in the apostrophe to Immanuel, the hope and defiance in vs. 9-10 are born.[69] George

[68] It is interesting to observe how the identification of Immanuel with Isaiah's son hangs together with the identification of the 'peoples' in vs. 9-10 with Syria and Israel. The mention of Isaiah's son might conceivably agree with a challenge to these petty kingdoms, but hardly with a defiance to the far corners of the earth!

[69] So Ew., De., Che., Di., G. A. Smith. Skinner and H. Schmidt imply the same kind of a transition, though they separate vs. 9-10 somewhat more sharply from vs. 5-8.

Adam Smith gives this view its classic formulation: "At the sound of the name which floats in upon the floods of invasion like the ark on the waters of old (the simile is Professor Smith's, not the prophet's) Isaiah pulls together his distraught faith in his country and, forgetting her faults, flings defiance at his foes." Nothing could better illustrate than this sentence the danger of attempting to patch up faulty connections in ancient texts by means of rhetoric. Could Isaiah be led to substitute an all-inclusive promise (vs. 9-10) for an all-inclusive threat (vs. 5-8) because he happens to recollect that this threat involves the Messiah's land? Was Isaiah the kind of a man thus to forget Judah's sins at the magic sound of a name, though he had referred to them in the very protasis of the sentence which is supposed to end with the apostrophe to Immanuel? After saying that Assyria, like a vast flood, will submerge Judah to the neck because of its sins, does the thought that Judah is after all Immanuel's land call forth such a feeling of indignation in him that he is immediately able to reverse himself and announce that the nations can effect nothing at all? For my part, I cannot believe that a man of Isaiah's profound moral earnestness would compromise himself in any such way.

2) The difficulty of explaining Immanuel in this context, if he is Isaiah's son or the Messiah, has led many scholars to construe the word as a phrase and not as a proper name.[70] In that case it cannot be taken with 'thy land,' but must go with what follows. But this leaves the second person suffix ('thy') hanging in the air. a) It has been referred to Judah.[71] This is unlikely. Judah has all along been spoken of in the third person (vs. 5-8 a). Why this sudden change to the second person?[72] b) Duhm feels this difficulty and emends ך in אַרְצֵךְ to כִּי.

[70] Brdk., Meinh., Gies., Du.,[1,2], Marti, Gray, Popper, Guthe. For this may be urged the LXX (Contrast LXX at 7 14). But see below.

[71] Brdk., Gies., Popper.

[72] Giesebrecht, having emended 'upon them' to 'upon you' in v. 7a, holds that the second person in v. 8b is due to this emended second person in v. 7, while the singular ('thy') instead of the plural ('you') is due to the intervening mention of Judah(!) Popper tacitly emends to the third person ('his land') without giving explanations.

This simple expedient was a source of great relief to hard-pressed exegetes,[73] but is as unwarranted as the similarly ingenious emendation at v. 6 b.[74] It breaks down on the strictly text-critical evidence. Both B and A, though they take Immanuel as a phrase and, in accordance with that, read דעו ('know it') at v. 9, still retain the ך. *This is the strongest evidence of its originality.* Further, if ך were emended to כִּי, we would expect an article with הארץ.[75] Exegetically, also, this emendation presents serious difficulties. If the preceding part of the clause is a threat, no connection between it and the phrase, 'for with us is God,' can be established.[76] Such a connection is found, however, if v. 8 b is regarded as a figure of a protecting bird.[77] But this only postpones the difficulty. For whether we take vs. 9–10 alone, or vs. 8 b with them, in either case no suitable connection can be found with vs. 5–8 a. At this point Duhm's criticism strangely halts. He retains vs. 9–10 in their present context and identifies the 'peoples' in v. 9 with

[73] It is followed by Marti, Che. (*Intro.*), and Gray. Gray calls attention to the fact that כי is at times written defectively in North Semitic inscriptions. Meinhold emends ך to the adversative ו.

[74] Duhm abandoned it, himself, in his third edition. The real reason which led Duhm originally to suggest it was his view of Immanuel at 7 14. Immanuel in that passage, according to Duhm and the many who have followed him, was no definite child, but any child who might have been born about that time. Of course, if the child is an indefinite child, he would scarcely have been addressed in the intimate way implied at 8 8 b. For a criticism of this view of Immanuel see the writer's article, Immanuel, *AJSL*, 1918. In the present discussion, it will be observed, I have avoided as far as possible relying upon data drawn from 7 14. I have wished to examine the text apart from any theories or prepossessions drawn from 7 14.

[75] Generously supplied by Guthe. The anarthrous ארץ at v. 9 and Jer. 34 1, urged by Meinhold (p. 114, n. 2 f.) in support of ארץ without the article at v. 8 b, is not analogous. In these other passages the 'earth', generally, is spoken of, but at v. 8 b the particular land of Judah is in mind.

[76] Duhm, accordingly, rejects Immanuel in both v. 8 and v. 10 as glosses. They were added by some one interested in eschatology who saw in the creature referred to in v. 8 b some dragon endangering the Messiah (Rev. 12 13 ff.). This unconvincing idea is retained in the third edition, but now Duhm rejects the whole of v. 8 b.

[77] So Che. (*Introd.*), Marti, Gray.

Syria and Israel.[78] As this has been shown to be highly improbable, the final conclusion seems unavoidable that vs. 9–10 or, better, vs. 8b–10 are not original in this context.[79] But in that case we are left with a new problem on our hands. If these verses are not original here, where did they come from?

C. The origin and significance of vs. 8b–10

1) Giesebrecht advanced the theory that vs. 9–10 along with Immanuel in v. 8b, construed as a phrase, came out of a later period of Isaiah's life. Isaiah is supposed to have entertained very gloomy views of the future at the time of the Syro-Ephraimitic war (cf. 7 17ff. and 8 5–8) but when, subsequently, the historical conditions changed, his views of the future changed with them and became more hopeful. He then revised his earlier threatening prophecies by appending to them sunnier prophecies out of happier times.[80] This theory of Giesebrecht has played a very useful part in the interpretation of Isaiah, for it concentrated the attention upon the many strange sequences in the book in which doom is followed by hope. But it has fulfilled its mission and, I think, may now be dismissed. If the attempt is made to carry it through

[78] See note 54. Schmidt also appears to retain vs. 9–10 in their present connection, though he treats them as an independent oracle. But since he retains Immanuel at v. 8b as a personal name of the Messiah, his view of the independent character of vs. 9–10 seems hardly tenable.

[79] It makes no difference in principle whether only vs. 9–10 are removed, or vs. 9–10 along with Immanuel v. 8b, or with the whole of v. 8b. But it does make some difference in the attempt to solve the problem of the origin of these verses.

[80] 12 12–14 is cited as a direct analogy to our present passage. This is added to the gloomy prophecy, 17 1–11, coming out of the Syro-Ephraimitic period, in precisely the same way as as 8 9–10 is added to 8 5–8. Another strikingly similar prophecy is 14 24–27. This theory of a revision of Isaiah's prophecies by the prophet himself was advanced by Sörensen in 1885 in his little monograph, *Judah und die Assyrische Weltmacht*, the importance of which in the interpretation of Isaiah has been too often overlooked. Cheyne in his *Introduction*, (p. 38ff.), followed Giesebrecht's application of this theory to 8 9–10, and again very distinctly associated the verses with 17 12–14 and 14 24–27.

with any consistency, as Giesebrecht tried to do in his *STK* article and in his *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik*, it results in attributing to Isaiah a method of revision as petty and artificial as could well be imagined.

2) If vs. 9-10 really are by Isaiah, it is much more likely that their present position is due to a reviser. The purpose of the revision cannot be questioned for a moment. The cancellation of the preceding threat in vs. 5-8a is too obvious not to be intended. But when once the hand of the reviser has been admitted, the next question which inevitably arises is whether vs. 9–10 are, after all, by Isaiah.

3) Stade seems to have been the first to call their genuineness in question, along with his attack upon 17 12–14, 14 24–27 and 29 7.[81] All these passages belong to the so-called "many nations" passages. In their *motifs* they are very closely related to the Gog prophecies of Ezekiel. On the other hand, they are usually found in contexts in Isaiah which cast the gravest suspicion upon them. It would take us too far afield to attempt a detailed criticism of this group of prophecies. Suffice it to say that if the present text of vs. 9-10 is retained, I believe there is no help for it but to reject the verses as spurious. They certainly do not belong here, and when grouped with the other "many nations" passages they are found to be in a company of very doubtful literary reputation. The close connection in phraseology with 14 24–27 is particularly noticeable.[82]

[81] *ZATW*, 1883, pp. 1—16; 1884, p. 260, n. 1. He has been followed by Hackmann (p. 69, n. 3f.), Marti (with inclusion of v. 8b), Porter (*JBL*, 1895, p. 31f.), and Gray.

[82] I may add that the most fruitful method by which to arrive at a probable conclusion concerning this group of prophecies is first, to study them in their contexts (which has often been done) and then, to examine the Ariel prophecy (29 1-8). The secondary nature of vs. 5-8 can in my opinion be established without question (See: *Viewpoints*, p. 58, n. 125f.). From this vantage-point the criticism of the related prophecies becomes much simplified. It is most interesting to observe what concessions to Stade Duhm makes in the third edition of his commentary as compared with the first, with regard to the "many nations" passages. It is also a great pleasure to see that Professor Budde rejects 8 9-10 and apparently along with them the related passages

4) Professor Porter suggests a very interesting variant upon the usual critical treatments of vs. 8b-10. He rejects vs. 9-10 with Stade, but holds to v. 8b, *including Immanuel*, in the sense of a threat. Immanuel is taken in the sense assigned to it by Professor Porter at 7 14 as expressing the false confidence of Ahaz.[83] A reviser mistook the real force of Immanuel in this connection, supposed it had Messianic significance, and accordingly appended vs. 9-10. This is perhaps the simplest method of solving the difficulties at vs. 8b-10 and, as I share Professor Porter's views of Immanuel at 7 14, would fit very well into my own speculations. Yet the fragmentary character of v. 8b, the impression one gets from the occurrence of the name Immanuel that it is really to be taken with what follows and that the figure in v. 8b is, therefore, a figure of a protecting bird rather than a bird of prey strongly incline me to another theory which is undoubtedly far more complicated, but has, as it seems to me, certain distinct advantages.

5) Porter's theory suggests that the clue to the explanation of the passage is to be found in the proper interpretation of Immanuel at 7 14. Popper also seeks the explanation of the passage in its association with 7 14, but along an absolutely different line. He holds that vs. 9-10 together with Immanuel in v. 8b, treated as a phrase, originally stood after 7 10-14, 16 and are the formal interpretation of the name Immanuel. This means that Immanuel at 7 14 must be taken in a good sense; and that the prophecy as a whole is one of happy omen (7 17 is significantly detached from it!). Until I am persuaded that Professor Porter's and my views of the real significance of 7 10-17 are incorrect in their main contentions, I feel that Popper's theory, ingenious and attractive though it is, cannot be accepted.

6) If we review what we have been able to pick up on our rather toilsome journey through the difficult territory of 8 5-10,

(*ZATW*, 1923, p. 171). This concession is all the more welcome in view of the fact that in his very valuable review of my *Viewpoints* he disagrees with some of the most fundamental positions which I seek to defend.

[83] *JBL*, 1895, pp. 19—36. This view of Immanuel was defended at length in my article, *Immanuel*.

we find ourselves in possession of the following facts: a) The fact of revision in vs. 5–8a; b) the fact that, though this revision probably began in an antiquarian interest, it ended in a dogmatic one, namely in a shift of the responsibility for the invasion of Judah from the shoulders of Judah to the shoulders of Israel; it was the sin of Israel that merited the Assyrian scourge; c) the fact that vs. 9–10 are in fundamental contradiction with the preceding threats in vs. 5–8a; d) the fact that this contradiction cannot be harmonized by means of v. 8b in any satisfactory way; e) the fact that v. 8b is itself fragmentary and is more probably to be taken with vs. 9–10 than with vs. 5–8a. f) From these facts the conclusion was drawn that vs. 8b–10 also owe their present position to a reviser. We are now able to appreciate the relationship of the reviser's work at vs. 8b–10 to the revised text of vs. 5–8a. By the addition of vs. 8b–10 the subtle suggestion made in the emended text of vs. 5–8a is carried out still further. We have seen that while 'this people' originally referred to Judah, through the addition of v. 6b and 'upon them' in v. 7a, its identification with Israel was made possible. It is because of Israel's sins, not Judah's, that the Assyrian flood pours over them. That being the case, Judah cannot be finally submerged. Israel shall perish but Judah is Immanuel's land. The desecration of Immanuel's land, unmerited by Judah, calls forth the challenge, enlarged to a world-wide challenge, in vs. 9–10. The theory of the passage which sees in the apostrophe to Immanuel a cause for the revulsion of feeling in vs. 9–10 *is justified by the present text, and at the same time it is clear that the present text means to identify Immanuel with the Messiah.* But this cannot be the original meaning of the passage. The fact of revision in vs. 5–8a is too certain. And the fact that, by the addition of vs. 8b–10, the intent of the revision in vs. 5–8a is carried out still more completely proves that the whole passage has been revised in a thoroughly eschatological interest; Israel shall perish, but Judah, the Messiah's land, can never be finally destroyed.[84] It

[84] Many years ago, before I became acquainted with Jerome's identification of 'this people' with Israel, I adopted the view of the sequence of thought in vs. 5–10 suggested above, and I still believe that

is astonishing how scholars have failed to recognize the plain intent of the passage. It can only be accounted for by the fact that the identification of 'this people' with Judah has become (quite rightly) so assured a premise that it has blinded the eye to the actual suggestions of the present text. But when once the intention of the present text is realized, and at the same time the impossibility of its representing the original meaning of Isaiah is seen, the conclusion inevitably follows that the passage must be drastically criticised. I repeat what was said in the beginning: Either the text must be received as it stands, in which case the logic of it must be allowed to operate more freely than is usually done; or it must be regarded as revised, in which case the logic of the revision must be more frankly faced than is usually done. The entire essay has been an attempt to prove the thoroughgoing character of the revision and the motive which led to it. *If this is once admitted, then, conversely, everything in the present text which seeks to identify 'this people' with Israel and Judah with Immanuel's land, must be eliminated as secondary if we are to understand what Isaiah originally meant to say. Compromise measures will not avail.* V. 6b, 'upon them' in v. 7a, Immanuel in v. 8b, 'all ye far corners of the earth' in v. 9a, and the present position of vs. 8b–10 are all due to redaction.

7) But there is one last question which calls for an answer. If vs. 8b–10 did not originally belong here, what was their provenance? Were they written by the reviser *ad hoc?* In view of his observed methods in vs. 5–8a, and in view of the fragmentary character of v. 8b, this is not probable. In the present form of their text vs. 8b–10 have the closest affinity both in style and thought with the 'many nations' passages, especially 17 12–14 and 14 24–27. On the other hand, through Immanuel they also have some sort of direct connection, either originally or through revision, with 7 14. We have seen how some scholars hold that vs. 8b–10 reflect the later eschatology

this is the view which the present form of the text is intended to suggest. Just recently I lighted upon Diestel's note in Knobel on v. 8b to the following effect: "Judah falls into the greatest danger, but God is with him and does not permit him to sink *though Ephraim perishes.*"

and, in their present form, I believe this to be the case. But is there some old *logion* of Isaiah at the base of them? I incline to think there is. Here it is necessary to consider the relationship of vs. 8b–10 to the one passage not yet considered, namely 7 2–9, especially to vs. 5 and 7. The relationship in phraseology and thought to these verses is as close as it is to 14 24–27. It was this close affinity which seems to have led the older interpreters to find in 8 9–10 a challenge to Syria and Israel. I do not believe they were altogether misled by this affinity. But the present text of vs. 9–10 cannot be restricted to a challenge to these two nations. But is the present text sound? The defect in the parallelism has already been noted. How may it be best remedied? I suggest that 'all the far corners of the earth' is an intrusion,[85] and that one of the two duplicate clauses in v. 9b should also be deleted.[86] V. 9 would thus be reduced to two lines corresponding to v. 10, and the passage would read as follows:

And the expanse of His wings
Shall fill the breadth of thy land.[87]
Rage ye peoples and be broken,
Gird yourselves and be broken;
Take counsel and it shall be destroyed,
Propose a plan and it shall not stand;
For God is with us.

This gives an excellently constructed metrical text and one entirely consonant with 7 1–9, though in glaring disagreement with the present position of the poem. I therefore venture to suggest that vs. 8b–10 in this more original form are the fragment of an oracle which was originally spoken at the same time as 7 4–9, quite possibly just after this prophecy, as a gap has often been felt to exist between v. 9 and vs. 10ff. The passage would express the prophet's faith in the country's deliverance from Israel and Damascus and would be an appropriate

85 So Staerk. See above, n. 49.

86 So Meinhold. See above, n. 49.

87 A fragmentary couplet expressing encouragement (a protecting bird). For the omission of Immanuel, see below.

encouragement to Ahaz before the king's refusal. But if vs. 8b–10 are transferred to the position suggested, it is clear that an apostrophe to Immanuel is out of the question, for the Immanuel prophecy with its reference to a boy who was to bear this name had not yet been delivered. Immanuel cannot, therefore, have been used as a personal name if the passage is transferred to the proposed new position. On the other hand, as a phrase it is redundant; the phrase at the end of v. 10 is quite sufficient. That view still remains the most probable one which holds that Immanuel, treated as a name, in accordance with the almost certain intention of the present text at v. 8b, belongs, together with the phrase 'all ye far corners of the earth', to the revision, and came into the text when vs. 8b–10 were transferred to their present position. The editor noted the phrase at v. 10 (standing originally before 7 10ff) and the name at 7 14, which he understood Messianically. He combined phrase and name together in the present text of vs. 8b–10, and by joining these verses with the present revised form of vs. 5–8a he produced the results recorded above. One interesting circumstance aided him in this process of revision. If Immanuel is not original in v. 8b, we have seen that the suffix in 'thy land' is left undefined. Yet it is vouched for by the textual testimony. If vs. 8b–10 are transferred to the neighborhood of 7 1–9, there can be no real doubt who was the person addressed. It was Ahaz. But vs. 8b–10 were fragmentary. The reviser took advantage of this to identify the person addressed with the Immanuel of 7 14.

The advantages of this theory, complicated though it is, are considerable. a) An historically satisfactory identification of the person addressed in 'thy land' is now secured. It is Ahaz. b) In the position assigned to these verses before 7 10ff they prepare the way for the Immanuel prophecy at 7 14. The phrase at the end of 8 10 suggested to Isaiah the name at 7 14. But the prophet gave it a new meaning in the second oracle. What was originally said by way of encouragement now becomes a guarantee of doom. The irony which I believe is found in the name Immanuel as used at 7 14 becomes all the more biting if the name is a play upon the phrase, 'for

God is with us', used originally in a good sense. c) The combination, in the present text of vs. 8b–10, of the phrase at v. 10 (in its original position preceding 7 10) and the name itself at 7 14 is just the kind of a combination which we might expect a reviser to make. d) Finally, the question may be raised whether the challenge to Israel and Damascus in the original form of vs. 8b–10 was not the starting-point for such a prophecy as 14 24–27. Just as one later reviser made it the basis for an enlarged challenge in the present form of 8 9–10, and thus adapted it to the later eschatological views, so the author of 14 24–27 seems to have manipulated it in the same way. *The vigorous language in which Isaiah once challenged Syria and Israel furnished a kind of paradigm for the later eschatology.*[88]

I am fully aware that the above suggestions are purely speculative. Yet I would remind any who may object to them on that score that no solution of the passage thus far offered is free from speculation. In the nature of the case only relative probability can be attained. But whether my own very tentative explanation of the original position and significance of vs. 8b–10 is adopted or not, I think it may be maintained with reasonable confidence that 8 5–10 is a classic example of a drastically revised passage, and that any one who would venture to argue from the probable meaning of Immanuel in v. 8b to the meaning of Immanuel in 7 14 may be likened unto the man who builds his house upon the sand. The flood at v. 5–8a will as effectually destroy his argument as the rains and the floods destroy the house in the parable.

[88] This is the element of truth in Duhm's position. He sees in vs. 9-10 the germs of the later eschatology. But because he holds to the present form of the passage, he makes Isaiah the creator of this eschatology.

THE BABYLONIAN DRAGON MYTH IN HABAKKUK 3

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THE theophany in Habakkuk 3 lends itself readily to the hypothesis that the background for it was furnished by an ancient Semitic legend, one version of which is found in the Babylonian Creation Epic. Allusions are made to the appearance of Yahweh and his deeds which parallel the account of Marduk in the fourth tablet of the Creation Epic. There is nothing that can be called direct quotation or literary dependence, but the background of the allusions is scarcely to be doubted.

Verse two prepares the way for a recital of the ancient deeds of Yahweh. The prophet, meditating upon the distress of his people and their sore need for Yahweh's help, recalls the story of his victory over his enemies in the distant past and prays that he will again exercise the same power. "Yahweh, I have heard the report of thee; I have feared, Yahweh, thy deeds. In the midst of the years make it to live, in the midst of the years cause it to be known."

The picture of Yahweh which follows is that of a god of storm, thunder and lightning, fully armed with evil winds, bow and arrows and a glittering spear. He rides to battle in a chariot drawn by horses. At his appearance the earth trembles, the sea is disturbed, and lifts up its voice. The purpose of his going forth is for the salvation of his people. "His brightness is as the light. He has rays from his side . . . . before him went the pestilence and fiery bolts went forth at his feet . . . .

Thou didst ride upon thy horses, upon thy chariots of salvation . . . . Thy bow was made quite bare . . . . Tehom uttered its voice and lifted up its hands on high. The sun and moon stood still in their habitation at the light of thine arrows as they went, at the shining of thy glittering spear . . . . Thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy people."[1]

Compare with this the picture we get of Marduk. He also is a god of overpowering majesty, armed with the elements of the storm. He rides upon a chariot to the battle against Tiamat to thwart her evil purposes. His people, whose deliverance he seeks, are the gods, his fellow beings. "He seized the javelin . . . . the bow and quiver he slung by his side. He fixed the lightning in front of him. With flaming fire he filled his body . . . . He created an evil wind . . . . to trouble Tiamat's inward parts they came on after him . . . . He mounted the chariot, the unrivalled and terrible storm; he harnessed the four-steed team which he yoked to it . . . . Tiamat . . . . became like one possessed, her reason was distraught, Tiamat cried out highly furiously."[2]

There are some apparently insurmountable difficulties with the text in this part of the chapter of Habakkuk, particularly from verse nine through verse thirteen. The following is offered as a probable solution of one of these difficulties. In verse 13 b the text reads:

מָחַצְתָּ רֹאשׁ מִבֵּית רָשָׁע עָרוֹת יְסוֹד עַד־צַוָּאר

The American revisers translate: "Thou woundedst the head out of the house of the wicked man, laying bare the foundation even unto the neck." The Hebrew surely is not original; for it does not make sense as it stands. Moreover, the Septuagint does not completely agree with it. Codex B reads: *βαλεῖς εἰς κεφαλὰς ἀνόμων θάνατον, ἐξήγειρας δεσμοὺς ἕως τραχήλου.* Here the word *θάνατον* must have come from הַמָּוֶת. If we prefix ב to this we get בְּהֵמּוֹת. It is not difficult to see how this could have been changed to מִבֵּית as in the Massoretic text, in the processes of text transmission. Originally the passage will have

[1] Hab. 3 4-13a.

[2] A. T. Clay, *The Origin of Biblical Traditions*, pp. 203 f.

read, "Thou didst strike through the head of Behemoth etc." For the rest of the line the versions differ widely. It certainly is not original as it stands, but there does not seem to be any satisfactory solution. But the reading "Behemoth" seems quite plausible. It adds another link to the chain of references to the old dragon myth, already pointed out.

Our suggestion that "Behemoth" is the correct reading and that therefore the dragon myth is alluded to in the chapter, receives confirmation from the Hebrew writer's pronounced fondness for making literary use of older sources, as illustrated in verses 17-19 of this chapter. Verse 17 reads: "For though the fig tree shall not flourish, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labor of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no food; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls:" etc. Compare with this, "An Early Version of the Atra-Hasis Epic:"[3] "Let the fig tree for the people be cut off. In their fields let the plant become a weed . . . . the sheep let Adad destroy". The similarity of expression in these passages is evident. Both are describing famine conditions. The phrases of Habakkuk seem to echo the earlier ones in somewhat fuller form. The background of tradition behind the Habakkuk passage seems to point to the same source from whence came the cuneiform lines. It is also from the same general body of tradition that the dragon myth came. Verse 18 is based upon Micah 7 7 and verse 19 is taken almost directly from II Samuel 22 34.

As Gunkel showed in *Schöpfung und Chaos*, Behemoth is one of the several names applied to the dragon of the deep against which Yahweh fought in ancient legend. Sometimes it is Leviathan, sometimes Rahab, and in Babylonian mythology Tiamat is the enemy. That there were various versions of the Creation Epic is evident. That which we have from the library of Ashurbanipal is not in its original form but is itself a compilation. If the name Behemoth occurred in the original of our chapter it would indicate that the writer was not using the version of the legend we have in the Babylonian Creation

[3] A. T. Clay, *A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform*, p. 58.

Epic but a variant of it descended from the same ancient source.

Taking the chapter as a whole then, we find the prophet facing some crisis in the life of his people. It may have been seen by him either as approaching in the near future or as actually present. At any rate he is led to pray that Yahweh will assert his power to deliver his people as in the ancient times. But the ancient time to which he refers and the imagery which forms the background of the chapter is not that of the Exodus and the Red Sea, as is usually believed, but that of the Creation Epic.

THE OLDEST DECALOGUE

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EVER since Wellhausen approved and appropriated Goethe's discovery that Ex. 34 contains a decalogue, Old Testament critics have assumed the validity of three assertions:

1. This decalogue is an integral part of the J document.
2. It is therefore older than the Covenant Code incorporated in the E document.
3. It is a product of the religion of Yahweh.

The purpose of this paper is to test the soundness of these assumptions.

I

The laws of Ex. 34 are now part of a J narrative relating the origin of "the Decalogue." A parallel story is told by E; in it also we find a body of laws (Ex. 25—31: P), clumsily interpolated within the older record. The redactor who combined these two stories (Rje), on the basis of the account of the breaking of the tables of the law (E), made two successive incidents of parallel accounts of one and the same event: Moses, having broken the tables of the law (E) was again summoned to the top of the mountain where Yahweh wrote again the Decalogue on two tables of stone (J). This JE story in its present combination was used by a Deuteronomistic author (Ds); his narrative (Deut. 9 9-10 11), placed into the mouth of Moses himself, permits us to reconstruct the J and E stories in their original form, before the addition of legal material.[1]

[1] Even the latest studies of Ex. 34 are inadequate, for their authors fail to perceive the importance of the parallels in Deut. for the analysis of Ex. 24 and 34. See in particular: Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse*, 1922;

The J and E stories of the giving of the tables of the law are here given in their original form with their parallels in Deut. Redactional material (Rje) of harmonistic nature is printed in *italics;* later additions are omitted. The E story of the breaking of the tables is irrelevant in this connection and only references to the text are given for it.

E	Ds
(Ex. 24 12) And Yahweh said unto Moses: "Come up to me on the mountain and remain there, that I may give thee the tables of stone which I have written."	(Deut. 9 9) When I had gone up to the mountain to receive the tables of stone,
(13) And Moses arose and went up to the sacred mountain.	
(18) And Moses remained in the mountain forty days and forty nights. (31 18) And (Yahweh) gave unto Moses (the) two tables of stone written with the finger of God.	I dwelt in the mountain forty days and forty nights. (10) And Yahweh delivered unto me the two tables of stone written with the finger of God.
(Ex. 32 7–8, 15a, 20)	(Deut. 9 12, 15, 21)
J	**Ds**
(Ex. 34 1) And Yahweh said unto Moses: "Hew thee two tables of stone *like the former ones, and I will write upon these tables the words which stood on the former tables, which thou brakest,* (2) and be ready by to-morrow to come up to mount Sinai early in the morning; thou shalt present thyself to me there, on the top of the mountain."	(Deut. 10 1) At that time Yahweh said unto me: "Hew thee two tables of stone *like the former ones* and come up to me into the mountain, (2) *and I will write on the tables the words which stood on the former tables which thou brakest.*

Holzinger, in Kautzsch, *Die Heilige Schrift des A. T.* 4. Aufl. 1922; H. Schmidt, in the *Gunkel-Festschrift* (*Εὐχαριστήριον*), 1923, p. 100f.

(4) So (Moses) hewed two tables of stone *like the former ones* and arose early in the morning and went up to mount Sinai taking with him two tables of stone. (28) And he tarried there with Yahweh forty days and forty nights without eating food or drinking water; and he wrote the ten words upon the tables.

(3) And I hewed two tables of stone *like the former ones* and I went up to the mountain with the two tables. (4) And he wrote upon the tables *according to the first writing* the ten words. (10) And I stood in the mountain, *according to the former time*, forty days and forty nights.

Textual notes.

Ex. 24 12 והתורה והמצוה is a gloss (Holzinger, *Exodus*, p. 106, and others). להורתם, which cannot possibly be construed, is patently a marginal annotation.

Ex. 24 13 Joshua was not mentioned by E in this story; Procksch, *Elohimquelle*, p. 237, ascribes this mention to E[2]. משה after ויעל is a scribal addition.

Ex. 31 18b followed originally 24 18b. The intervening section is a solid block of P. Before it was worked over by the redactor who inserted the P material, the verse must have read: ויתן יהוה אל משה [2] את־לחת האבן כתבים באצבע אלהים.

Ex. 34 1a, 4a כראשנים is redactional (Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs*, 1885, p. 85).

Ex. 34 1b breaks the connection between 1a and 2 and is lacking in Deut. 10 1. There is no reason to suppose that in the J narrative Moses knew *ab initio* the purpose of the two tables of stone (cf. Holzinger, *Exodus*, p. 115).

Ex. 34 3, which is lacking in Ds, does not belong here, but rather to the theophany of Ex. 19 (cf. 19 12).

Ex. 34 4: משה should be restored, with the Samaritan Pentateuch, after ויפסל. כאשר צוה יהוה אתו is a Deuteronomistic formula; Ds did not read it here.

Ex. 34 27 is a gloss. Verses 27 and 28 are mutually exclusive. Neither J nor his readers would have been silly

[2] Or את־שני.

enough to suppose that Moses waited forty days and forty nights before carrying out the command of verse 27. This verse presupposes the interpolation of the legal material in ch. 34 ("These words"). It seems that in the opinion of J the giving of the Decalogue was not a formal covenant. In the oldest account (E), the Sinai-Horeb covenant is clearly distinguished from the giving of the Decalogue, for the words of the covenant are not written on tables of stone, but in a book (Ex. 24 7). The Decalogue was made the basis of the Horeb covenant for the first time in Deut. 4 13 (cf. 5 2ff.); hence the postexilic expressions: "words of the covenant" (Ex. 34 28), "tables of the covenant" (Deut. 9 9, 11, 15), "ark of the covenant" (see Arnold, *Ephod and Ark*, chart).

Ex. 34 28. In spite of the arguments of Steuernagel (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1899, p. 331), Moore (*Enc. Bibl.* col. 1146), Meisner (*Dekalog*, p. 27), Eerdmans (*Exodus*, p. 87), and others, the words דברי הברית must be considered a harmonistic gloss based on verses 10 and 27 (see above on 34 27) (so Wellhausen, *Composition*, p. 331, note 1; Cornill, *Beiheft ZAW 27*, p. 11 and others).

Deut. 9 9. The words: "the tables of the covenant which the Lord made with you" seem to be a gloss. The expression "tables of the covenant" is found only in this chapter verses 9 11 15 (in v. 11 these words are interpolated, in v. 15 הברית crept in from the margin; the original text probably read: ושני הלחת).

Deut. 9 10 is a doublet of v. 11 and must be considered spurious (Bertholet, *Deuteronomium*, p. 31; Hempel, *Die Schichten des Deuteronomiums*, p. 114f.). The verse was added by a scribe who missed the details given in Ex. 31 18.

Deut. 10 1-5: the four mentions of the ark are interpolated (Arnold, *Ephod and Ark*, p. 5, note 1). According to Ds the tables were written by God (just as in the spurious material of Ex. 34, cf. 1b), whereas the grammatical subject of ויכתב in Ex. 34 28 can only be Moses; the sudden and misleading change of subject postulated by those who would make Yahweh the subject, is found in

such scribal drivel as 34 5, but not in the transparent prose of J.

Deut. 10 10 originally followed v. 4: v. 5 is spurious (see above), vs. 6-7 are a misplaced fragment of an old itinerary, vs. 8-9 are a marginal annotation to v. 5.

So we see that Ds (Deut. 10 1ff) read the J narrative of Ex. 34 as edited by Rje, but before a later redactor (Rp?) inserted the legal material (34 6-26); thus the P legislation of Ex. 25 1—31 17 had not been inserted in the E narrative when Ds wrote Deut. 9 9-21. The date of this Ds material is doubtful (somewhere between Rje and Rp) but irrelevant in this connection; what concerns us here is simply the external evidence furnished by Ds as to the secondary character of the legal material of Ex. 34;[3] the internal evidence, as I will now endeavor to show, confirms this result.

II

When the J document was written, the contents of "the Decalogue" was so familiar to its readers that no ambiguity attached to a passing reference to "*the ten words*" (Ex. 34 28). There was at that time a decalogue *par excellence* well known to all Israel. In the opinion of the redactor who inserted the "J Decalogue" in the J narrative, the matter was perfectly clear, although before his day another decalogue (Ex. 20; Deut. 5) had been attributed to Moses. If the Ten Commandments go back to Moses, at least in a shortened form, as many critics maintain,[4] then the redactor of Ex. 34 was mistaken. But if, as I believe (following Wellhausen and others), the classic decalogue is a compendium of prophetic teaching, then it was composed long after J and need not detain us here. We must therefore investigate the assumption of the redactor who inserted a decalogue in Ex. 34 and

[3] So far as we know, J and E contained originally no legislation whatsoever (for J cf. Smend, *Erzählung des Hexateuchs*, p. 177 f.).

[4] Cf. Nowack, *Beiheft ZAW 33*, p. 381 ff. Schmidt (*Gunkel-Festschrift*, p. 78 ff.) is the author of the latest monograph in which the Mosaic origin of the classic decalogue (in a briefer redaction) is maintained.

determine the date of these laws by comparing them with the parallel sections of the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 23).

"J DECALOGUE"	COVENANT CODE
(Ex. 34 10-17)	(No parallels)
(Ex. 34 18) The feast of the unleavened bread shalt thou keep. Seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread, as I commanded thee, at the appointed time in the month of Abib; for in the month of Abib thou camest out from Egypt.	(Ex. 23 15a) The feast of the unleavened bread shalt thou keep. Seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread, according as I commanded thee, at the appointed time in the month of Abib; for in it thou camest out from Egypt.
(19) All that openeth the womb is mine, and thy cattle "that is male," that which first openeth (the womb) of ox and sheep.	(22 28b-29) The first-born of thy sons shalt thou give unto me. Likewise shalt thou do with thy ox and thy sheep: seven days shall it be with its dam and on the eighth thou shalt give it to me.
(20) And that which first openeth (the womb) of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb; and if thou doest not redeem it thou shalt break its neck: all the first-born of thy sons shalt thou redeem. And none shall appear before me empty.	(23 15b) And none shall appear before me empty.
(21) Six days shalt thou labor, but on the seventh day thou shalt desist: in the ploughing time and in harvest thou shalt desist.	(23 12) Six days shalt thou do thy work, but on the seventh day thou shalt desist; that thine ox and thine ass may rest, and the son of thy bondmaid and the sojourner may be refreshed.
(No parallels)	(23 13-14)

(22) And the feast of weeks thou shalt hold thee, the first-fruits of the wheat harvest; and the feast of ingathering at the revolution of the year.	(16) And the feast of harvest, the firstfruits of thy labors which thou sowest in the field; and the feast of ingathering at the exit of the year, when thou gatherest in thy labors out of the field.
(23) Three times in the year shall all thy males appear before (*eth-pnē*) the Lord Yahweh, the God of Israel.	(17) Three times in the year shall all thy males appear before (*el-pnē*) the Lord Yahweh.
(24)	(No parallels)
(25) Thou shalt not slaughter with leavened bread the blood of my sacrifice, neither shall there remain all night unto the morning the sacrifice of the feast of the Passover.	(18) Thou shalt not sacrifice with leavened bread the blood of my sacrifice, neither shall there remain all night the fat of my feast until morning.
(26) The first of the first-fruits of thy ground thou shalt bring unto the house of Yahweh thy god. Thou shalt not boil a kid in its mother's milk.	(19) The first of the first-fruits of thy ground thou shalt bring unto the house of Yahweh thy god. Thou shalt not boil a kid in its mother's milk.

The differences between these closely related texts can be tabulated as follows:

a) Material peculiar to Ex. 23: vs. 12b–14.

b) Material peculiar to Ex. 34: vs. 10-17, 20aba, 21b, 24; single words in vs. 22, 23.

c) Differences of terminology (34 19 and 22 28b–29 are entirely different):

Ex. 34	Ex. 23
(18) אשר	(15) כאשר
„ בחדש האביב	„ בו
(21) תעבד	(12) תעשה מעשיך

(22) שבעת	(16) הקציר
„ קציר חטים	„ מעשיך [אשר תזרע בשדה]
„ תקופת השנה	„ בצאת השנה
(23) אל	(17) את
(25) תשחט	(18) תזבח
„ לבקר זבח חג הפסח	„ חלב חגי עד בקר

d) Differences in the order of the laws:

1. The law of the first born: Ex. 34 19-20; 22 29b-30, 23 15b.
2. The Sabbath law: Ex. 34 21; 23 12.

In spite of these discrepancies, the agreement between the laws of Ex. 34 and those of Ex. 23 is so close that one text must be a revised copy of the other, unless, as Paton suggested (*JBL* 12, 87), they both be derived from a common source. This last hypothesis is quite unnecessary if I succeed in showing that the differences between the two codes furnish sufficient evidence to prove not only that Ex. 34 is the later redaction, but also that it can be fully accounted for as a revision of Ex. 22—23.

a) Material peculiar to Ex. 23.

Ex. 23 13 is clearly post-deuteronomic, or rather post-exilic. The objection to the very mention of the names of foreign gods is inconceivable before 621 B. C. As a matter of fact we find it only in such late texts as Josh. 23 7, Zech. 13 2, Ps. 16 4. It is only in the Greek Period that *bošeth* and *šiqquṣ* were read in the Synagogues as surrogates for Baal and other heathen gods.

The humanitarian purpose of the Sabbath (23 12b) is characteristic of the thought of Deuteronomy (5 14-15a contrasted with Ex. 20 9-11).

Ex. 23 14 and 17 are mutually exclusive: v. 17 is old, for we find it also in Ex. 34 23 and Deut. 16 16; v. 14 is an editorial transition to the laws on the festivals; רגלים in the sense of "times" is found only in the Balaam episode (Num. 22 28, 32, 33: always *three* times!).

In Ex. 23 16 the words: "which thou sowest" (Klostermann, *Pentateuch*, ii, p. 524 note 3; cf. p. 529) or more probably "which thou sowest in the field" are editorial expansion.

b) Material peculiar to Ex. 34.

Critics agree that the bulk of Ex. 34 10-17 is redactional, but they save for the "J Decalogue" two brief laws: "Thou shalt worship no other god" (14); "Thou shalt make thee no molten gods" (17). Can these laws be as old as J?

The prohibition of the worship of other gods is unknown before 621 B. C.; the very expression "other god" is typically Deuteronomistic. Although it occurs only here in the singular, the plural "other gods" occurs 19 times in the Pentateuch: only in Deut., with the exception of two late texts in Ex. (20 3, 23 13). It never appears in the older literature (in Hos. 3 1 it is questionable), but it is current in Jeremiah and in the redactional sections of the historical books. Under these circumstances, only the strongest possible evidence could assign this law to the period prior to 621 B. C. But the only argument advanced for an early date is its position within the J Decalogue; its immediate Deuteronomistic context is of course overlooked (note the כי in 34 14).

The situation is even clearer when we come to the prohibition of images in 34 17. As I have elsewhere attempted to show,[5] the real polemic against idolatry began in 621 B. C.; in no case can it be shown to be earlier than Hosea.[6] To say that the prohibition of *molten gods* tacitly sanctioned the more primitive *graven images*,[7] is an argument *e silentio* of questionable force. On the other hand the expression אלהי מסכה is found *only* here and in Lev. 19 4b where the

[5] The Polemic against Idolatry in the O. T. (*JBL* 43, pp. 229 ff.)

[6] See, *e. g.*, Nowack, *Beiheft ZAW* 33, 389f.; J. M. P. Smith, *AJSL* 32, 95; Baudissin, *Einleitung in die Bücher* des A. T., p. 65; Paterson, *HDB* ii, 447.

[7] Smend, *A. T. Theologie*, p. 195; Kautzsch, *Biblische Theologie des A. T.* p. 95.

same law is repeated verbatim, with the verb in the plural. The word מסכה (if it be redactional in Ex. 32) is never used before Deuteronomy and "is applied particularly to the little golden bulls . . . which were worshipped in the Northern Kingdom . . . and to the similar image which Aaron made at Horeb."[8] Aaron's mythical calf does not concern us here: the words "*molten gods*" in Ex. 34 are either an allusion to Jeroboam's bulls[9] or mean "idols of some sort."[10] In the first case our verse would be later than Hosea; in the other case post-exilic.

It is no accident that these two laws at the beginning of the "J Decalogue" are the exact counterpart of the first two commandments. Monolatry and imageless worship were the two cornerstones of incipient Judaism. The redactor who concocted the "J Decalogue" on the basis of Ex. 23, regarded the absence of these fundamental precepts as a distressing and culpable omission. Of course, by their addition he had twelve laws instead of ten;[11] but this worried him less than it has modern Biblical critics.[12]

The law of the first-born is found in its oldest form in Ex. 22 28b–29; the redemption of the first-born of donkeys

[8] Moore, *Judges*, (*ICC*), p. 375.

[9] Kautzsch, *Bibl. Theol. A. T.* p. 95. Cf. 2 Ki. 17 16.

[10] When not applied to the images of Jeroboam or Aaron, "molten image" is used in the loose sense of "idol in general" and is not distinguished from "graven image" (cf. Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jud. Geschichte*, 7e Aufl., p. 93, note 2). In this hazy sense the word is a favorite of post-exilic glossators and redactors. The polemic against Jeroboam's bulls is probably due to anti-Samaritan animus: the D Code condemns all possible images *except the graven images*, for after 722 they were no longer an issue.

[11] As was noticed long ago: Holmes and Parsons, *codex* 59 reads "δώδεκα" in Ex. 34 28.

[12] Knudson (*JBL* 28, 87) has tabulated in convenient form the various attempts to extract a decalogue from the *twelve* laws of Ex. 34 (*not thirteen*! as sometimes claimed, cf. Bertholet, *Deuteronomium*, p. xiv). Only Waterman (*AJSL* 38, 38 f.), so far as I know, regards the first two laws as spurious; Procksch (*Elohimquelle*, p. 87, cf. 226) sees in them a fragment of a J parallel to the ten commandments.

and men (Ex. 34 20; cf. 13 12f. which is certainly not J!) is one of the *Novellae* of a later, less barbarous, age.[13]

Ex. 34 24, which has no parallel in the Covenant Code, is an unmistakable redactional expansion; it clearly presupposes the centralization of worship at Jerusalem first advocated by D (cf. Baentsch, *Exodus*, p. 284).

The specification that the Sabbath shall be observed in the periods when agricultural activity is at its climax (Ex. 34 21b) looks like a subsequent enactment.

Minor additions to Ex. 23 in Ex. 34 are תעשה לך (22, cf. Deut. 16 23) and אלהי ישראל (23).[14]

c) Verbal differences.

The changes of terminology introduced by the redactor who used Ex. 23 in concocting the "J Decalogue" are significant. Archaisms are brought up to date: the "feast of harvest" (22 16) becomes, according to the name current in later times, the "feast of weeks" (34 22).[15]

The feast of ingathering came in the fall, "at the exit of the year" (22 16) according to the old Canaanite calendar. During the Exile the Babylonian calendar became current and, since the year began in the spring, according to the new reckoning, the fall equinox, which was the date of this feast, could no longer be called the end of the year; it is called in 34 22 "revolution of the year" (תקופת השנה), a term that was applied to the two solstices and the two equinoxes. There could be no clearer evidence of the post-exilic date of the "J Decalogue."

[13] Wellhausen, *Geschichte* p. 95: Ex. 34 20 corrects 22 28.

[14] Steuernagel (*Beiheft ZAW* 27, 340) affirms that these words are an addition to the text of Ex. 34 after it had been copied in Ex. 23. Such a complicated process is often postulated by those who find the prototype in Ex. 34, for most of the additions are not in Ex. 23 (as we would expect if it were the later text) but in Ex. 34.

[15] The name is based on the date of this festival as first fixed in Deut. 16 9.

The verb זבח (23 18) is changed to שחט (34 25), the *terminus technicus* for *sacrifice* in the Levitical legislation.[16]

The mention of the Passover in Ex. 34 25b (contrast 23 18) is an evidence of late composition.[17]

The date of the second feast is fixed more exactly in 34 22 than in 23 16: this love of precision is typical of post-exilic Judaism.

In view of these facts, it is not surprising to note that when Ex. 34 and 23 disagree, the later codes are in harmony with Ex. 34.[18]

d) The order of the laws.

The section Ex. 34 19–21 is certainly displaced and breaks the connection between the feast of unleavened bread (18) and the feast of weeks (22). Now if we restore the sabbath law (21)[19] at the head of the decalogue (before v. 18), according of the order of Ex. 23, we see that the law of the first-born (34 19–20aba) has been thrust in between 23 15a and 15b. If we remove this section in Ex. 34 and restore the Sabbath law at the beginning we have exactly the same order in the two codes.

The law of the first born is displaced in both chapters. The Covenant Code has it in 22 28b–29 + 23 15b;[20] the "J Decalogue" after the feast of unleavened bread. The redactor of Ex. 34, who had before him Ex. 23 15 in its present anomalous form, correctly recognized that the words "and

16 שחט is found 34 times in the P laws of Ex. and Lev., but never in Deut. and only 3 times in H (rarely in JE); זבח is used only once by P (Lev. 9 4) but it is current in the older literature (J, E, 1 Ki. 3, Hos. etc.), in Deut. (12 times), and in H (7 times).

17 See Arnold, *JBL* 31, 9.

18 Compare 34 19-20 with 13 12-13; 34 21 with 20 9; Deut. 5 13 (תעבד); 34 22 (שבעת) with Deut. 16 10, 16; 34 25 (Passover) with Deut. 16 1ff. Ex. 12 11ff.; Lev. 23 5. The "seven days" of 22 29 are lacking in 34 19 (cf. Deut. 15 19).

19 Baentsch, *Exodus*, p. 284, regards it as out of place.

20 22 28b-29 Bacon, *JBL* 12, 32, recognizes to be out of place.

none shall appear before me empty" (23 15b) belong not to the feast of the unleavened bread, but to the law of the first-born (from which it had been severed accidentally) and therefore attached these words to that law, inserting mechanically the law of the first born between two annual feasts that belonged together, taking his clue from the present position of 23 15b. The confusion in Ex. 34 can only be explained from Ex. 23 *in its present form*. But how did it happen that in the Covenant Code the law of the first-born was severed in two parts separated by fifteen verses? If I may venture a conjecture, it is not impossible that this law should have been written on the margin between two columns of a papyrus scroll: an amanuensis copying from this manuscript, not knowing exactly where this material belonged and not recognizing it as a unit, inserted the first part in the page at its right (22 28b-29) and the second on the page at its left (23 15b), thus separating them by the space of about a column.

However the case may be, it is clear that there can be some doubt as to the original place of the law of the first-born: the order of the other laws is unmistakable. It seems certain however that it belonged to the second table and was probably the first one on it, or the sixth from the beginning.

In conclusion, we see that Ex. 34 cannot be dated early by removing the Deuteronomistic material.[21] The first two laws of Ex. 34, monolatry and the imageless worship, would never have been omitted from Ex. 23 if the latter had been a copy of the former (Ex. 23 13 is a late colorless substitute for them). Add to this that 34 14 cannot be severed from its Deuteronomistic context (12-16): note the כִּי at the beginning of vs. 13, 14. The differences between the two codes show conclusively that Ex. 34 is but a post-exilic copy of Ex. 23.[22]

The text of Ex. 23 used by the redactor who concocted the "J Decalogue" must have read as follows:

[21] Karge, *Bundesvorstellung*, p. 339.
[22] Cf. Eerdmans, *Exodus*, p. 85ff.

Six days thou shalt do thy work, but on the seventh thou shalt desist.

The feast of the unleavened bread shalt thou keep, according as I commanded thee, at the appointed time in the month Abib; for in it thou camest out of Egypt.

And none shall appear before me empty.

And the feast of harvest, the firstfruits of thy labors.

And the feast of ingathering at the exit of the year.

Three times in the year shall all thy males appear before the Lord Yahweh.

Thou shalt not sacrifice with leaven the blood of my sacrifice.

Neither shall there remain all night the fat of my feast until morning.

The first of the firstfruits of thy ground thou shalt bring unto the house of Yahweh thy god.

Thou shalt not boil a kid in its mother's milk.

In this text the law of the first born was severed in two parts and displaced (22 28b-29, 23 15a). Ex. 34 combined the two parts retaining the accidental position of the second half; Deut. instead left the law in the position occupied by the first half (Deut. 15 19-23 precedes the three annual festivals, 16 1ff.). We may affirm that in the form given above this decalogue is earlier than 621 B. C.

III

In their primitive form these laws are certainly earlier than the monarchy and, although the Exodus and Yahweh are mentioned in this redaction, they contain nothing else that is specifically Israelitish.

It is possible, in spite of the meagerness of the sources at our command, to affirm that every one of these laws represents ancient Canaanitish custom, ritual, and lore. The three annual feasts, purely agricultural in character, are unmistakably Canaanatish;[23] we have excellent documentary proof for the

[23] Cf. Wood, *JBL* 35, 229.

third festival in Jud. 9 27. The only specifically Israelitish festival, the Passover, is not even mentioned. All the evidence confirms Wellhausen's statement (*Isr. Jüd. Geschichte*, 7° Aufl., p. 47) that the Israelites adopted the ritual as well as the agricultural legislation of Canaan. The Covenant Code was taken over bodily, with scarcely a change, from the Canaanites: Israel had no written laws when it crossed the Jordan. Ex. 23 contains a Canaanitish decalogue which, when liberated from slight additions due to its adoption by the Israelites, must have read:

ששת ימים תעשה מעשיך וביום השביעי תשבת
את־חג המצות תשמר למועד חדש האביב
וחג הקציר בכורי מעשיך
וחג האסף בצאת השנה
שלש פעמים יֵרָאֶה כל־זכורך את־פני האדון
בכור בניך תתן לי כן תעשה לשרך לצאנך (ולחמרך LXX,)
לא תזבח על־חמץ דם־זבחי
ולא ילין חלב חגי עד־בקר
ראשית בכורי אדמתך תביא בית אלהיך
לא תבשל גדי בחלב אמו

1. Six days thou shalt do thy work, but on the seventh day thou shalt desist.
2. The feast of the unleavened bread shalt thou keep at the appointed time in the month of Abib.
3. And the feast of harvest, the firstfruits of thy labors.
4. And the feast of ingathering at the exit of the year.
5. Three times in the year shall all thy males see the face of the Lord.
6. The first-born of thy sons shalt thou give unto me; thus shalt thou do to thy ox, thy sheep and thy ass.
7. Thou shalt not sacrifice with leavened bread the blood of my sacrifice.
8. Neither shall there remain all night the fat of my feast until morning.

9. The first of the firstfruits of thy ground shalt thou bring into the house of thy god.
10. Thou shalt not boil a kid in its mother's milk.

The name of Yahweh was interpolated into the 5th and 9th law. We read in the 5th (23 17): "האדון יהוה," a combination found only in 5 passages of Isaiah (with יהוה צבאות), where "האדון" is merely a surrogate for "יהוה צבאות."[24] In Ex. 23 17, on the contrary, Yahweh was added when the Israelites appropriated this decalogue or was substituted for the name of the local god, possibly Baal Berith. Yahweh is also interpolated in 23 19 (just as in Deut. 16 16b: cf. Ex. 23 15b, 34 20b).

Where did this decalogue originate? Our sources, by attributing it to Moses, endeavor to obliterate its real origin. We can only conjecture. These laws, according to the old tradition preserved by J, were written on two tables of stone [one with the laws on the festivals (1—5), the other with the prescriptions for sacrifice (6—10)]. These stones probably stood at the entrance of a shrine of Canaan, like the tarifs of Carthage and Marseille. Possibly it was the sanctuary of Baal Berith at Shechem, for some old traditions place in that city the origin of Israel's written legislation.[25] The laws that Joshua is said to have written down at Shechem (Josh. 24 25ff. cf. 8 32) can only be the Covenant Code.[26] Israel had no written laws until it came to Shechem. There Joshua codified the law; there a solemn covenant was made. Later this was transferred back to Sinai. The connection of the Decalogue with the covenant would be clear if these laws were placed in front of the shrine of Baal Berith. Just as the Israelites adopted the ancient Shechemite ritual of the ten curses (Deut. 27 16-25: verses 15 and 26 are spurious) so the ten laws on the two tables were claimed by Israel as its own. But for a time this code enjoyed only a local jurisdiction: at Shiloh the Israelites made the

[24] Arnold, *Ephod and Ark*, p. 146, note 1.

[25] Cf. Meyer, *Israeliten*, p. 547 ff.; Luckenbill, *AJTh* 22, 41f.

[26] Holzinger, *Hexateuch*, p. 179; Procksch, *Elohimquelle*, p. 229; cf. Karge, *Bundesvorstellung*, p. 273.

pilgrimage not three times but only once a year (I Sam. 1 3ff.). Still these laws were famous. If the tables were destroyed when Abimelech razed Shechem (Jud. 9 45), it would be easy in later generations to attribute the decalogue to Moses himself and to relate that he broke the sacred tablets in a moment of holy rage. But though the stones had vanished, the memory of their contents was cherished in the minds of the Israelites, until these ten words were transcribed at the end of the Covenant Code and thus preserved for all future generations.

TWO COMPOUND TECHNICAL TERMS IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

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THE expression יובל הוא, occurring three times in the Bible, in Lev. 25 10, 11 and 12, is, at first glance, syntactically difficult, although this fact has apparently been touched upon by none of the commentators. *Brown-Driver-Briggs* translates יובל "a ram's horn-(blowing)." This translation probably results from the fact that יובל is masculine (cf. Num. 36 4); the feminine הוא, therefore, necessitates the supplying of a feminine word, assumed to have been תרועת (cf. v. 9) or תקיעת. The commentators, on the other hand, with practical unanimity supply שנת as the missing element.

LXX renders these three passages as follows:

v. 10, יובל הוא תהיה לכם = *ἐνιαυτὸς ἀφέσεως σημασία αὕτη ἔσται ὑμῖν.*

v. 11, יובל הוא שנת החמשים שנה תהיה לכם = *ἀφέσεως σημασία αὕτη, τὸ ἔτος τὸ πεντηκοστὸν ἐνιαυτὸς ἔσται ὑμῖν.*

v. 12, כי יובל הוא קדש תהיה לכם = *ὅτι ἀφέσεως σημασία ἐστίν, ἅγιον ἔσται ὑμῖν.*

It is to be noted in the first place, that in v. 10 LXX has apparently supplied an understood שנת before יובל; in the second place, that LXX translates, or rather paraphrases יובל by *ἀφέσεως σημασία*, i. e. "a proclamation of release"; and, in the third place, that in v. 11 LXX regards, undoubtedly correctly, יובל as the predicate of the sentence, and שנת החמשים שנה as the subject. It is, however, compelled to render הוא as *αὕτη* mechanically, and entirely without regard to its possible actual

meaning. Presumably, therefore, *αὕτη* of v. 10 is similarly nothing but a mechanical and meaningless rendering of the original הַוא. In v. 12 LXX has omitted *αὕτη* entirely, and construes יובל as the predicate of the sentence, precisely as in vs. 10 and 11, and הַוא as the copulative, pronominal subject, and translates, "Because it is a (year of) proclamation of release, it shall be holy unto you." Obviously the LXX translators thought that here they had found a possible, legitimate explanation of the presence of הַוא in the sentence. They divided the sentence into a principal and subordinate clause, and rendered כי *ὅτι*, "because." In this they have been followed by most modern translators and commentators, with the slight difference, however, that these have, with almost complete unanimity rendered כי "for" instead of "because," and translated "For it is a jubilee; it shall be holy unto you."

Careful examination, however, indicates that in each case the construction of יובל הַוא is the same, and that the LXX solution of the problem of הַוא in v. 12 but emphasizes the difficulty of הַוא in vs. 10 and 11. Obviously the only legitimate solution of the problem is one that will hold good for all three passages.

Now it is to be noted that these three passages in which הַוא is used with יובל are the only passages in the entire Bible where יובל is used without the article. It might be argued that in v. 10, where the word is used for the first time, the article is unnecessary, although it could not be denied that even here the article would not be inappropriate and illogical. It might also be argued, although with much less reason, that v. 11a but repeats the thought of v. 10b, and that, therefore, again the article need not be employed. Still, since יובל has already been defined in v. 10, here, too, the use of the article would be far more natural and logical than its omission. And certainly in v. 12 the article is absolutely indispensable, if, with LXX, יובל is to be regarded as the predicate of the first clause, and הַוא as the copulative, pronominal subject. The omission of the article here is significant.

Furthermore, in v. 10, while not impossible, הַוא is absolutely redundant and unnecessary. Since the שנת החמשים שנה has

already been referred to in the sentence, the simplest and most natural form for v. 10b would have been יובל יהיה לכם without הוא. In v. 11, however, where שנת החמשים שנה is the subject, יובל the predicate and תהיה the copula, הוא, as normally interpreted, is syntactically unnecessary and even impossible, as is best proved by the LXX mechanical rendering.

The only possible solution of the problem is to regard יובל הוא as an inseparable, compound expression, equivalent in meaning and constructive usage to היובל, found elsewhere in this chapter, and in Lev. 27 and in Num. 36 4. These three verses must then be rendered: v. 10, "It (the fiftieth year, mentioned in 10a) shall be the Jubilee unto you, etc."

v. 11, "The fiftieth year shall be the Jubilee unto you."

v. 12, "For (or "but") the Jubilee shall be holy (literally, "holiness") unto you."

The origin of this compound, technical term, יובל הוא can not be determined with certainty. However, an hypothesis may be permitted. Practically all scholars are agreed that those verses of Lev. 25 which refer to the Jubilee year are, at the very earliest, of a secondary stratum of the Holiness Code, while a number of the verses, and also all references to the Jubilee year in Lev. 27 and Num. 36 4, are obviously of a secondary and very late stratum of the Priestly Code (cf. Bertholet, *Leviticus*, 87).

Manifestly vs. 11 and 12, with their application of the ritual of the Sabbatical year to the Jubilee, are secondary to v. 10. This verse, in its original form, alone of all the verses referring to the Jubilee year, can come from H proper. Vs. 11 and 12 are directly dependent upon this verse. All other references to the Jubilee year are manifestly later than these verses. We would therefore suggest, although with considerable reservation, that there were the following stages in the evolution of this otherwise inexplicable term. In the earliest legislation for the Jubilee year, presumably in H proper, the full expression was probably used, שנת תרועת יובל תהיה לכם and שנת תרועת יובל הוא, "a year of (signalized by) the blowing of a ram's horn shall it be to you." In time this rather long and awkward expression was abbreviated to יובל or יובל הוא, and used in a technical sense. This is the stage of its usage in Lev. 25 10, 11 and 12.

Later the syntactical incongruity of the expression יובל הוא became apparent, and the term was modified to the more grammatical and expressive term שנת היובל, as in Lev. 25 13, 28, 40, 50, 52, 54; 27 17, 18, 23, 24. Ultimately the expression was simplified still further and quite logically to היובל, as in Lev. 25 15, 28, 30, 33; 27 18, 21; Num. 36 4.

This hypothesis of the origin and evolution of the term, it must be repeated, is advanced with great reservation. This much, however, seems certain, that יובל הוא in Lev. 25 10, 11 and 12 is an inseparable, compound, technical term, and should be recorded as such in all Hebrew lexicographical works.

מקרא and מקרא קדש

The word מקרא occurs twenty-two times in the Bible. In all but four passages it is used in the construct relation with קדש.

In Num. 10 2, in the expression למקרא העדה, מקרא is obviously a verbal noun, and is therefore invariably and correctly rendered, "For the calling of the congregation."

Likewise in Neh. 8 8, מקרא is taken by all scholars to connote either "the act of reading" or "that which was read, viz. either the Torah itself, or the particular section thereof read on the occasion referred to."

In the two remaining passages in which it occurs alone, and in all the eighteen passages where it is used with קדש, מקרא is rendered by all scholars, seemingly without exception, "assembly" or "holy convocation." But this can hardly have been its meaning in the minds of the original authors.

It must be noted that, with the single possible, although, as we shall see, not probable, exception of Is. 1 13, all the passages in which מקרא occurs are not only post-exilic, but even late post-exilic, either from secondary strata of the Priestly Code or (Is. 4 5 and Neh. 8 8) from documents presumably quite as late, or even later.

Two of the passages in which מקרא is used without קדש in a perfectly obvious meaning have already been discussed. It remains to consider first the two remaining, similar passages, before the compound expression, מקרא קדש, can be examined.

Is. 4 5 reads: על כל־מכון הר־ציון ועל־מקראֵה. Here מקראה is obviously in parallelism with מכון הר־ציון; a place-noun is therefore required. Now the traditional rendering, "its assemblies," is not a place-noun, nor is מקרא actually ever used as a place-noun. Etymologically מקרא as a place-noun could mean only "the place of calling" or "summoning," but never "the place of assembly," since קרא never has the meaning of "to assemble." The LXX rendering, *πάντα τὰ περικύκλῳ αὐτῆς*, points to an original reading, מגרשיה. But the idea connoted by מגרשיה is too remote, unexpected and colorless to warrant the belief that it was the original reading.

I venture to suggest that the original was מקדשיה, a suggestion made very probable by Jer. 51 51; Ps. 68 36 and 73 17, all late passages, dating from approximately the same period as Is. 4 5, and showing that in this period references to the מקדשי בית יהוה or, probably, מקדשי הר־ציון, were common. Certainly this reading would offer a far better parallelism to מכון הר־ציון than the מקראה of M. T. or the מגרשיה of LXX. It is, moreover, easily comprehensible that the ד of מקדשיה might have been corrupted to a ר, with the resultant, meaningless מקרשיה, and from this the two variant emendations, מקראה of M. T. and מגרשיה of LXX would easily and naturally evolve. I believe that we may regard it as fairly certain that the original text did not read מקראה, and, therefore, that here, at least, מקרא can not have had the meaning, "assemblies" or "assembly-places."

The other passage, Is. 1 13, is more difficult. It reads חדש ושבת קרא מקרא. Here מקרא is apparently in parallelism with חדש ושבת, and can, seemingly, mean only "festal assembly." For this reason undoubtedly LXX has paraphrased it *ἡμέραν μεγάλην*. In this sense it would be synonymous with עצרה, which actually occurs later in the verse, or מועד which occurs in the plural in the next verse, and the expression קרא מקרא would be equivalent to קרא עצרה (cf. Joel 1 14), or the more common קרא מועד (cf. Num. 16 2; Lam. 1 15 and Lev. 23 1, 4, 37).

But there are certain difficulties inherent in this verse, that make the presence of קרא מקרא there questionable. In the first place it is to be noted that the connecting ו, uniting חדש

and שבת is missing before קרא. This is, of course, not absolutely indispensable, yet its absence is at least suspicious.

In the second place, not קרא מקרא but מקרא alone would have offered the natural and logical parallelism to חדש ושבת, "new moon and sabbath and festal assembly."

Furthermore v. 14 repeats the thought of v. 13 unnecessarily and weakly, in a manner hardly worthy of a literary genius, such as the prophet was.

And finally, with its present reading, the verse is too full and overloaded, and its meter is in consequence disturbed. I would therefore conclude with Schwally (*ZA W*, 1891, 257) and Marti (*Isaiah*, 12) that the words קרא מקרא are an interpolation into the original text, and come from the same late period, from which come, as we have seen, all the other passages in which מקרא occurs. In such case it follows that there are absolutely no pre-exilic, nor even exilic or early postexilic instances of the use of מקרא, and that the word is undoubtedly a late coinage in Hebrew.

For the original reading of Is. 1 13–14 I would propose, with all the reservation proper in such an undertaking, the following reading; חדש ושבת שנאה נפשי און ועצרה טרח לי נלאיתי נשא.

Thus far we have established that מקרא is in all likelihood a word of late, post-exilic origin, and also that it is used in only one absolutely authenticated connotation, "the act of calling" or "summoning," as in Num. 10 2, and probably also "the act of reading," as in Neh. 8 8, in other words as a verbal noun of the form of the Aramaic Infinitive *Pᵉal*.

We must now consider the remaining eighteen passages in which מקרא is used in the construct state with קדש, unquestionably as a compound, technical term. In three cases the plural, מקראי קדש, is used, in passages which either introduce (vs. 2 and 4) or summarize (v. 37) the contents of Lev. 23, or, rather, of the secondary Priestly portions of that composite chapter.

If מקרא actually meant "assembly," then מקרא קדש could undoubtedly mean syntactically "a holy assembly", although מקרא קדוש would probably be a more natural and logical expression of this concept. But there is absolutely no evidence that מקרא has any meaning other than that of a verbal noun,

as stated above. There is no reason at all why מקרא in the expression מקרא קדש should not be so construed. The literal meaning of קדש is "holiness," or, more exactly, "*sacredness* to a deity, and therefore *taboo* for mortals" (cf. Ex. 3 5; 22 30; 29 33f.; Lev. 23 20; 25 12; 27 9f, 14ff., 26, and *passim*). מקרא קדש then literally and etymologically would mean "a proclamation of holiness" or "taboo, abstention."

Now it is significant that in every case where מקרא קדש is used, without a single exception, the positive prohibition follows, usually immediately, though occasionally (Lev. 23 25 and 28) separated by a few words, that absolutely no work must be done. (Ex. 12 16, כל מלאכה לא יעשה בהם; LXX, however, read כל מלאכת עבדה לא תעשו בהם, the more common and grammatical expression (but cf. Ex. 31 15); Lev. 23 3, 28; Num. 29 7, כל מלאכה לא תעשו; Lev. 23 8, 25, 35, 36; Num. 28 18, 25, 26; 29 1, 12, כל מלאכת עבדה לא תעשו). In every case the implication is that these words are an interpretation of קדש. And that קדש does mean "taboo" in general, and with reference to the holy days and the Sabbath does mean in particular "abstention from work" is to be inferred from Ex. 16 23; 31 15; 35 2; Gen. 2 3; Ex. 20 8, 11; Is. 58 13; Jer. 17 22, 24, 27. In other words, the outstanding feature of the celebration of all these days of "holiness" was the taboo upon work. Hence it follows that מקרא קדש can mean only "proclamation of a taboo," or "interdict." In each case then the necessary, supplementary statement follows, that this is a taboo or interdict on work. מקרא would then be in every case a regular Aramaic Infinitive *Pe'al*, borrowed by the late Hebrew writers and מקרא קדש would be in form a late parallel to the older קרא מועד, קרא עצרה or קרא צום. Moreover, in two passages, Lev. 23 3 and 24, מקרא קדש seems to be used to explain or intensify the meaning of the technical term, שבת שבתון, "a Sabbath of abstention from work."

Our contention is, therefore, that מקרא in the Bible never has the meaning "assembly," but is used always as a verbal noun, just as its etymology indicates it to be, in the cognate senses, "a calling, summoning, reading, proclaiming." Even in the most probably late interpolation in Is. 1 13, מקרא is undoubtedly an abbreviated form of מקרא קדש.

Just when and how this false interpretation of מקרא קדש as "holy assembly" arose, it is difficult to determine. LXX already renders מקרא קדש invariably κλητὴ ἁγία, and Targum renders it מערע קדיש. Certainly in the late post-exilic period the celebration of the sacred days was attended not only by abstention from work, but also by solemn assembly and sacrifice in the Temple and gatherings in the synagogues, largely for the purpose of reading the Law. This was a positive and distinctive holy-day rite, whereas mere abstention from work was altogether negative, and rather colorless in character. Probably the technical term, מקרא קדש, came eventually to be applied to the more positive and concrete ceremony of solemn assembly, rather than to only the negative and vague ceremony of abstaining from work. In this connection it is quite significant that all specific Biblical references to the Sabbath enjoin abstention from work alone, whereas not once do they speak of the necessity, or even the propriety, of solemn assembly (cf. Gen. 2 3; Ex. 16 26; 20 8–11; 23 12; 31 12–17; 34 21; 35 3; Num. 15 32–36; Dt. 5 12–15; Is. 58 3; Jer. 17 19–27; Am. 8 5f.; Neh. 10 32; 13 15–22), and that, furthermore, the קדש, the "taboo" of the Sabbath, is profaned only by working thereon, and never by failure to hold a solemn assembly. In fact, in only two passages in the Bible are gatherings of the people upon the Sabbath explicitly mentioned (Is. 66 23f. [a late passage] and Ez. 46 3). In both passages the practice is referred to as customary and incidental rather than as mandatory or as essential to the observance of the Sabbath. It would seem that from its very origin and until a quite late post-exilic period the Sabbath was primarily a day of abstention from regular work. Only secondarily and incidentally, because of the free time thus provided, did it, together with the related new-moon day, become the occasion for visiting shrines and holy men (II Ki. 4 23). And only in the late post-exilic period, after the distinctive practice of offering a particular sacrifice in the Temple upon the Sabbath had come to be of paramount importance (Lev. 23 8; Num. 28 9–10; Ez. 46 4; I Chron. 23 31; II Chron. 2 3; 8 13; 31 3), and likewise, of gathering in the synagogues to hear the Torah read, did the custom of holding

a solemn assembly on the Sabbath become a positive, obligatory, religious institution. Only after this time could מקרא קדש have acquired the altogether secondary and unetymological meaning, "solemn assembly."

Finally, it is to be noted that occasionally מקרא קדש is used alone, as in the sentence ביום הראשון מקרא קדש (Lev. 23 35; also Ex. 12 16 a; Lev. 23 3, 8 [M. T.], 24 [M. T.]; Num. 28 18 [M. T.]. More commonly, however, the full expression, ביום הראשון מקרא קדש יהיה לכם, is used (Ex. 12 16 b; Lev. 23 7, 27, 36; Num. 28 25, 26; 29 1, 7, 12). In three passages (Lev. 23 8, 24; Num. 28 18), where M. T. reads מקרא קדש alone, LXX reads the full expression מקרא קדש יהיה לכם. Manifestly מקרא קדש is merely a technical abbreviation of the fuller and more original מקרא קדש יהיה לכם, and in the ancient manuscripts there seems to have been variation in the use of one or the other. This will best account for these three passages in which LXX varies from M. T.

This is borne out by an analysis of Lev. 23 21. In its present form, apparently at first glance וקראתם stands without the requisite object. LXX has sought to overcome this difficulty by separating the otherwise inseparable מקרא קדש, and making מקרא the object of וקראתם, and קדש the predicate of an independent clause, of which it is the introductory word. Thus it reads, *καὶ καλέσετε ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν κλητήν. ἁγία ἔσται ὑμῖν.* However, the impropriety of thus separating מקרא קדש has led modern scholars to reject this analysis. For the most part, therefore, they make the entire clause, מקרא קדש לא תעשו, the object of וקראתם (cf. Baentsch, *Leviticus*, 415).

We would offer an altogether different analysis, and one which is, on the one hand, in full accord with the facts which we have adduced thus far, and which, on the other hand, we believe, rounds out our argument. We have contended that מקרא קדש means "proclamation of taboo." The full, official proclamation must have been קדש יהיה לכם, probably supplemented by כל מלאכת עבדה לא תעשו, "a taboo there shall be unto you; ye shall do no manner of work." In other words, as stated above, מקרא קדש is an abbreviation of the original, fuller expression, and מקרא must be construed as in the

appositional, construct state with קדש in the abbreviated expression, and with the entire clause in the original expression, וקראתם מקרא קדש יהיה לכם. Lev. 23 21 preserves the original, unabbreviated expression. It should, accordingly, be so analysed and interpreted, "And ye shall proclaim upon this day a proclamation of (in English better, "that" or "namely") 'a taboo shall be unto you; ye shall do no work'." Manifestly LXX was partially correct when it made מקרא alone the direct object of וקראתם. It erred, however, in failing to perceive the construct relation between מקרא and the following clause, and also in misinterpreting מקרא as *κλητή*.

It is interesting and significant to note that, thus interpreted, וקראתם מקרא of Lev. 23 21 presents an exact parallel to קרא מקרא of Is. 1 13.

NOTES ON THE PERSIAN WORDS IN THE BOOK OF ESTHER

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UPON reading the Book of Esther we are struck by the presence of Persian loan words and proper names. We are safe in saying that the etymological meaning of many is rather apparent, while in the case of others, we may etymologize and yet during our investigation feel that we are on uncertain ground. The task is especially difficult in the case of proper names, since in most instances we do not know of any other characters bearing these appellatives. Now the fact that we do not find these names in Persian literature, or on the monuments, does not justify us in lightly assuming that the author of the Book of Esther simply coined them in order to give his narrative a Persian atmosphere. It is also noteworthy that we have no means of knowing how much allowance to make for the corruptions that may have taken place in the pronunciation or writing of loan words or foreign names by the Hebrews. Naturally the subjective element will prevail in all etymologies, and most of all is this true, when we have no tangible basis of comparison. Our interest in philology, however, has led us to make an honest and impartial attempt to study the Persian words in the Book of Esther.

Scheftelowitz's dissertation, *Arisches im Alten Testament*, is well known, and we do not hold his work in light esteem. We believe, however, that he has by no means made the final contribution to the subject. Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch* is valuable, and for the literature on the matter and the various individual words we refer the reader to Paton's *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Esther*. Although a great

deal has been written on this subject, we feel justified in once more opening the question of some of the Iranian words in the Book of Esther.

1 1, אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ.

Old Persian *xšayāršan*, *xšaya* + *aršan*.

Avestan and old Persian *aršan*, 'man, male, hero.'

Av. and OP. *xšaya*, 'ruler, prince, king'; cf. Sanskrit *kṣi*, 'to rule,' *kṣaya*, 'dominion.'

Xšayāršan, therefore, means 'the chief of rulers.' In this connexion cf. Skt. *ksayádvīra*, 'ruling men'; Skt. *rājarṣabha*, *rāja* + *ṛṣabha*; *ṛṣabha* means 'bull, male, chief'; *rājarṣabha*, accordingly, means 'the chief of kings.'

The loss of the final *n* in *xšayāršan* is facilitated by the fact that the nominative singular is *xšayāršā*.

1 1, הֹדּוּ means India, for which the Sanskrit is *Sindhu*. This appears in Old Persian as *hi*^{n}*dav* and in Avestan as *hindav*, *həndav*; we also meet Av. *us. həndava*, 'situated beyond India.' The form *həndav* is secondary; *i* before a *nasal* plus a *consonant* frequently becomes *ə*; cf. Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, 131, 2. The *ə* is an obscure sound and consequently is dark rather than light; that explains the וּ in Hebrew, which used *həndav* as the basis of הֹדּוּ; *nd* by assimilation became *dd*, דּ.

The nominative singular of *-au* nouns ends in *-uš*, the accusative in *-um*, and the instrumental in *-u*; final וּ, therefore, accurately represents the class of nouns to which *həndav* belongs.

1 9, וַשְׁתִּי.

Av. *vas*, 'to wish, desire'; past participle *ušta*; the feminine of the past participle is *uštā*; with the feminine ending *ī* instead of *ā* we have *uštī*, which is represented letter for letter by וַשְׁתִּי. In other words she was 'the desired one, the beloved.' We must remember, however, that, with the exception of וְ 'and', a Hebrew word cannot begin with a vowel letter. For this reason the original pronunciation was lost, and the *pathah* crept in. Since we can explain the form as a past participle in Avestan, it hardly seems wise to make it modern Persian *vaštī*, 'beauty,' nor to consider the name as a corruption of Avestan *vahišta*, *-ā*, 'the best.'

For initial -וּ = û-, cf. וּשְׁתַן = Ostanes, Sayce & Cowley, *A. P. A.*, F line 13; וּנְפַר = Ὀννωφρις, Sachau, *A. P. O.*, plate 59, no. 10.

1 10, מְהוּמָן.

For the solution of this name I am indebted to Professor James A. Montgomery of the University of Pennsylvania, who takes it to be a good Semitic word from the root אמן; the Aramaic Haphal (passive) participle is מְהֵימַן, 'trusty, eunuch.' The Hebrew took this word as a basis, and treating it as a quadriliteral, put it into the form of a Pual participle, מְהוּמָן. The word, therefore, means 'eunuch.'

1 10, בִּזְתָא.

Av. *biš*, 'twice'; Av. *bižvat*, 'twice' (Latin *bis*); from the latter Avestan word we get *biž*. In Avestan we also find *bi-zangre*, 'biped'; by wrong division we have *biz*. *Dā* is the root 'to give.' The spirant *z or ž* would tend to make *d* a spirant; therefore ת without the *dagesh*.

biz-dā, בִּזְתָא, accordingly, means 'a double gift' or 'giving double.'

1 10, חַרְבוֹנָא.

Scheftelowitz suggests Av. *kahrpuna*, the name of some demoniac animal. But since ב has no *dagesh*, it is not likely that *p* is represented by ב. We prefer the following: Av. *kaurva*, 'bald, without hair'; in compounds it occurs as *kaurvō-*; Av. *nar*, 'man,' in the nominative singular is *nā*. *kaurvō-nā*; the Hebrew accent falls on the last syllable, which would reduce *au* to *ă*.

חַרְבוֹנָא, 'the bald man'; cf. Calvus, Calvinus.

1 10, בִּגְתָא.

Old Persian *baga*, Avestan ba*γ*a, 'lord, God';

baga + *dā*, 'the gift of God'; cf. Theodotus, Theodore. Justi agrees with this etymology.

But this is also possible: Av. *baga*, ba*γ*a, 'lot, portion,' especially 'good fortune';

baga + *dā*, 'giving good luck'; cf. Eutyches, Fortunatus; Modern German, Glück.

1 10, זֵתַר.

Old Persian *ǰa"tar*, Av. *ǰantar*, 'the smiter, the slayer'; cf. middle Persian *žatār*.

זֵתַר, 'the smiter, the slayer.'

1 14, כַּרְשְׁנָא.

Av. *karš*, 'to draw a furrow, to plough'; Av. *karša*, 'furrow'; Av. *nar*, 'man' in the nominative singular is *nā*.

כַּרְשְׁנָא stands for *karš(a)+nā* and means 'the ploughman.'

1 14, שֵׁתָר.

At first sight one thinks of Avestan *xšaθra*, but this necessitates the loss of initial *x*; this would be quite possible, but in אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנַי the *x* is retained by the introduction of the prothetic and anaptytic vowels. We should expect to find the same phenomenon here.

Let us consider the following: *šay*, 'to dwell'; Av. *šōiθra*, meaning in the Gāthās 'region, district' and in the later Avestan 'dwelling place.' שׁ has the same Ablaut as we see in *šay*.

According to this etymology שֵׁתָר might mean 'the dweller'; perhaps it had the same connotation as the Modern German *Landsmann*, 'one who comes from the same country or even the same region or district.'

1 14, מֶרֶס.

Scheftelowitz, p. 58, says: "Eranisches š wird im Hebräischen und Aramäischen nie zu *s*." On the same page, however, he notes that in late Assyrian and Babylonian *s* and *š* were confused. In Pāli and Prākrit Sanskrit *ç*, *ṣ*, and *s* all became *s*. So Iranian š here became ס. Cf. Av. *marša-van*, the name of a demon, meaning 'causing forgetfulness.' The name is written as one word, but the division is indicated above in order to show the component parts.

מֶרֶס, accordingly, appears to be *marša*, 'the forgetful one.'

1 14, מַרְסְנָא.

This seems to be the same name as the preceding; Justi also compares it with מֶרֶס.

Av. *marša+nar*, 'man'; nominative singular, *maršanā*.

The name seems to mean 'the forgetful man.'

1 14, מְמוּכָן.

In verse 16 this name is spelled מוּמְכָן.

Scheftelowitz cites Sanskrit *mumucāna*, 'cloud'; this, however, is found only in the Sanskrit lexicographers.

We would suggest the following line of development: Old Persian *magav*, 'Magian'; late Avestan *moγu*, 'Magian'; in the Gāthās *magavan*, 'belonging to the Magians' is found.

Take the form *magavan*; under the influence of a word like *moγu*, with the diphthong in the first syllable, we could have metathesis of the *a* and the *au*; the result would be *maugān*. With reduplication we would have *memaugān*; if the reduplication represents emphasis, the word means 'a thorough Magian, a real Magian.'

We may, accordingly, suppose that מְמוּכָן was the 'Magian.'

1 20, פִּתְגָם.

Zinkel, *Untersuchungen über den Prediger*, 1792 (cited by McNeile, *Eccles.* p. 42) suggested the origin of this word from φθέγμα. This is repeated independently by Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, p. 177. This derivation appears improbable. Lagarde in his *Armenische Studien*, 1825, also cites Greek φθέγμα. He, however, in addition quotes (*l. c.*) Armenian *patgam*, 'word'; Persian *paiġâm*, *paigâm*. By way of comparison with the Hebrew, Gesenius-Buhl gives Biblical Aramaic פִּתְגָם Judeo-Aramaic פִּתְגָמָא; Syriac ܦܬܓܡܐ.

Evidently the word was widely used in the various languages; it is apparent that it is cognate with the Sanskrit *prati-gam*, 'to go towards, go to meet', Avestan and Old Persian *paiti-gam*, 'going towards, turning one's self towards, directing one's self.' When we direct ourselves toward a person, we address him or direct the word toward him. Cf. the Modern Spanish *dirigirse*, 'to direct one's self,' *i. e.* 'to write to, address.' An analogy is also found in the English 'direction' in the sense of 'an order.'

Bartholomae in his *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* does not cite the meaning 'to speak,' nor does he record Av. *paiti-gāma* which Scheftelowitz so confidently quotes.

The Aramaic פִּתְגָמָא must go back to a noun **paiti-gāma* which meant 'word, address, communication' and probably

arrived at such a signification through the line of development suggested above.

When the king addresses the people, he issues a *decree*; that is what the word appears to mean.

2 3, הֲגָא.

Cf. Ἡγίας, an officer of Xerxes (Herodotus, IX, 33); in the later Avestan we meet *hugav*, the name of a believer, signifying 'having beautiful cows.' This is the derivation given by Scheftolowitz.

This etymology, however, is not conclusive; it is difficult to reconcile *u* with *ē* and *av* with *ĕ*.

We might suggest the following as more plausible: Avestan *haēk*, 'to sprinkle'; Av. *haēčat*, 'sprinkling.' This would make הֲגָא signify the 'sprinkler.'

3 1, הַמְדָתָא.

Avestan *hama*, 'equal'; Av. *dātar*, 'the giver,' in the nominative singular is *dātā*.

The name seems to mean 'the equal giver.'

3 14, פַּתְשֶׁגֶן Cf. 8 13.

With this word let us compare Biblical Aramaic פְּרִשֶׁגֶן, Judeo-Aramaic פְּרִשַׁגְנָא, Syriac ܦܪܫܓܢ. Lagarde in *Armenische Studien*, 1838, defines *patcên* as '*copia della lettera, dell' editto.*' This is the meaning that we are trying to establish for פַּתְשֶׁגֶן.

According to Bartholomae, Av. *paiti-saŋhəm* is an absolutivum signifying '*contradicendo*'; Av. *saŋh*, is defined as '*pronuntiare*'; Av. *saŋhpaiti*, however, means '*beschwören, bannen,*' '*widersprechen.*' These do not help us in finding the meaning that we desire or need in our context.

Avestan *səngha, sānŋha, saŋha* means '*pronuntio*, announcement, teaching, statement.' We notice also that Av. *paiti* Old Persian *patiy*, as an adverb signifies 'again, a second time'; Cf. πρός (West Greek dialects ποτί) meaning 'in addition to.'

Therefore *paiti-saŋha* could mean 'what is stated or announced a second time.' In other words by such a line of development the word came to mean 'a copy.'

4 5, הֲתָךְ.

Av. *hant-, hat-, hāt-,* present participle 'being'; as an adjective it means 'good.'

Here we have *hat* plus the suffix *ka*; the word signifies 'the good one.' Cf. the Modern English name Good and the German Guth, Gut.

5 10, זֶרֶשׁ, also 5 14; 6 13.

Av. *zaršayamna*, 'having the feathers ruffled.' Cf. Sanskrit *hṛṣ*, 'to stand up, to bristle, to be joyful.' It could thus have a wide application of meanings; it could signify 'the ruffled one,' 'the joyful one', 'the one with dishevelled hair.' It certainly would be more picturesque to have it signify 'the woman with the unkempt or dishevelled hair.' German *strob(e)lig, strubb(e)lig* refers to unkempt hair, and in Pennsylvania-German *Strubbelkopf* or simply *der Strubbel* may be applied to one who has dishevelled hair. From the Avestan present middle participle of the causative, quoted above, we can derive the root *zarš*, 'to bristle, to stand up straight' (of hair).

9 7, פַּרְשַׁנְדָתָא.

According to Justi this name occurs on a seal in Phoenician characters. Avestan *frašna*, 'question'; cf. Sanskrit *praçna*, 'question'; *frašna* + *dāta*, 'given to questions.'

The name, therefore, appears to mean, 'the inquisitive one.'

9 8, פּוּרָתָא.

Av. and Old Persian *parav*; Av. *pauru, paouru, pouru*, 'much, many, rich'; *pauru* + *dā*, accordingly, means 'giving much, the liberal one.'

9 8, אֲדַלְיָא.

Av. *aδara*, 'the one below,' 'the one coming from below, from the lowland', *i. e.* from the West. *R* and *l* are often confused, and so we can explain the ל in the Hebrew.

Aδara + *ya* or *aδalya* may mean 'the Westerner'.

9 9, פַּרְמַשְׁתָּא.

The endings of the superlative in Avestan are *-ama, -ma* or *iš-tha*; it seems that we have in this word a double superlative.

Old Persian, Av. *parǎ*, 'before' in the sense of time or place; Av. *fra* in composition.

פַּרְמַשְׁתָּא therefore, seems to be *para*+*ma*+*išthạ*, 'the very first.'

9 9, אֲרִיסַי.

Av. *šay*, 'dwell, abide'; *ariya*+*šay*, 'dwelling among the Aryans.'

Av. *sāy* means 'to lie, recline.' It is possible that the two roots were confused in this word, and that the compound finally means 'dwelling among the Aryans.'

9 9, אַרְדַי.

Avestan, Old Persian *dā(y)*, *dīdī*, *diδy*, 'see';

Avestan *dā(y)*: *dī*, 'look, glance (noun); the compound *ariya*+*dā(y)* or *ariya*+*dī*, therefore, means 'having the glance of the Aryan' or 'looking at the Aryan.'

9 9, וַיְזָתָא.

Avestan *vayav*, *vaya*, 'air, atmosphere'; Av. *zan*, 'to bear, give birth to,' of which the past participle is *zāta*. The name clearly signifies 'the son of the atmosphere.' In this connexion we may compare the Old Persian *vahyaz-dāta*, the name of the Persian who revolted against Darius I. This is hardly the same as וַיְזָתָא.

For similar names, cf. Sachau, *A. P. O.* (Index p. 278): וידות, וידרנג, ויודן, ויזדת.

HEBREWS, FIRST CLEMENT, AND THE PERSECUTION OF DOMITIAN

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A complete picture of the growth of early Christianity is not available. While the materials descriptive of certain of the Pauline communities are such as to permit the reconstruction of their backgrounds, the perception of modes of expansion, and the understanding of certain of their situations in the growth of isolated sections of the movement, for other data the sources are disappointingly meagre. In these cases it is for the most part only when some crisis arises that particular reflection of given situations touches streams of tradition so that information is available. It has so occurred that while the usual, unambiguous, habituated, and workaday behavior of Christian groups is taken for granted and does not become the subject for extended description, the untoward, unusual, and unpredictable situations produce literary reflection affording now and again a glimpse of contemporary life; a glimpse which, though it is but fragmentary, is of immense significance. To be sure, the situations of crisis would not be met were it not that the capacity of ordinary life is capable of rising to the occasion, and it follows that from these abnormal situations one is able sometimes to recover to some extent that picture of common life. The New Testament student may consider himself fortunate that, since the sources for the early periods of Christianity are relatively abundant and homogeneous, by the utilization of proper methods he may accomplish much in the recovery of the story of the early days, even though the information is somewhat sketchy.

One of the most poignant of the periods of crisis in early Christianity was that of the persecution of Domitian. Just how critical the situation was for these comparatively weak groups, which had as yet little consciousness of unity, may be inferred from the degree to which the unpopularity of Domitian made its impress upon contemporary life.[1] It is to be expected that so outstanding a factor should receive considerable attention in Christian circles; most directly, of course, on the part of those whose misfortune it was to be in positions where they suffered from the persecution, but not less interested attention from those whose special task was that of the direction of the Christian movement. It is hardly surprising that this critical situation should have furnished the immediate occasion for certain of the books of the New Testament. The science of Introduction to the New Testament, particularly since that science has tended more toward the historical and less toward the literary-critical point of view, has more and more adequately taken this situation into account, and, in view of contributory investigations, is recognizing the influence of the persecution of Domitian upon the New Testament writings. It is not uncommon now to find this event discussed in connection with the books of Revelation, Hebrews, and 1 Peter. Some years ago Professor Goodspeed presented in this Journal[2] the hypothesis that 1 Clement is to be taken in connection with Hebrews; that 1 Clement was, in fact, called forth by Hebrews. Presently, as the hypothesis of Cadbury (that the purpose expressed in Luke's preface is so definitely apologetic that Luke-Acts is to be taken as a defence designed to instruct, not a catechumen, but an official of the State[3]) is taken into account in connection with the further good grounds for the Domitianic date of Luke-Acts, the critical relations existing between Christians and the State will be perceived as the effective cause for the appearance of this work in the reign of Domitian. As one interrogates this fairly large *corpus* of

[1] Compare the decisive distinction made at this point in Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*.

[2] *Journal of Biblical literature*, 30 (1911): 157—160.

[3] *The Expositor*, June 1921: 431—441.

literature in relationship to this early crisis, the importance of the situation for early Christianity and the emerging picture of Christianity thus gained are recognized to be of the utmost importance.

It is the purpose of the present study to assemble the materials presented by Hebrews and 1 Clement which reflect persecution, and to observe the function of these works in view of the Domitianic situation. To be sure, no one would attempt to defend the hypothesis that control in persecution is the sole purpose of these works. Perhaps this is not even the main purpose. But it is doubtless defensible that this situation is the element of immediate necessity in their production; the isolating force effecting their precipitate. Doubtless the dogmatic interest in higher instruction accounts for the major volume of Hebrews, and it may be that the ultimate purpose of 1 Clement is to impose the Roman form of government upon an eastern church, but however effective these interests may be, it is unescapable that persecution was the matter of vital and primary importance. The necessity for leadership to make itself felt in this situation can be expressed only in terms of primacy and vitality. The crisis met, instruction and organization might be furthered, but the meeting of the crisis is first necessary. Indeed, in these earlier days there was no essential difference between what must necessarily be accomplished in these experiences and that which had to be accomplished in subsequent persecutions. The leaders had to control their followers. Thus Cyprian, writing his epistles with this primary purpose in mind, was doing what the unknown author of Hebrews was doing, while there is something almost pathetic in the likeness of the response which the Roman church made to Cyprian and that which 1 Clement made to Hebrews, though, to be sure, the likeness does not extend to other particulars.

But what did Hebrews and 1 Clement do in this situation? The background of Hebrews which may be inferred is that of the Roman church, which, in the period following its successful weathering of the storm of the Neronic persecution and its subsequent care for its humble and its notable martyrs,

had become matter of fact and unimaginative in its prosperity and its success. A generation of peace had habituated life into ease and into normal, usual, and steady expansion. It had brought numbers and extension of influence, and with these a distribution of vitality incurring its diminution of depth. It would doubtless be fair also to infer that, in coming to terms with the environment of the great capital city, in capturing its following the church had itself been captured by it. At any rate, the writer of Hebrews views the situation with alarm. Now that Domitian's decrees had involved Christians it was imperative that instruction and exhortation be brought to bear. Quality was to be desired with numbers and Hebrews sets itself to the task of producing this quality; to awaken the sluggish group so that behavior of the desired nobility would be available in the crisis. Evidently the church addressed had a fairly large roster of officials: these must be summoned to leadership. Attitudes of loyalty to the group must be engendered, else in the face of the alternative before the group the weak would abandon their cult fellowship to resume the old loyalty to rites approved by the State. Very likely the greater difficulty of promulgating the imperial cult in Rome made the conflict less severe than in the outlying regions; Revelation can name one martyr from Pergamum and pictures a host of murdered saints in heaven, while Hebrews notes that as yet there had been no death in the group addressed. Nevertheless the action of Domitian had resulted in a sufficiently serious situation for the church that something must be done to control the attitudes with which it was being met and the tendencies which were growing up. It was to such a task that the writer of Hebrews set himself.

God, says the writer, has recently spoken with a voice of special potency. It is necessary to heed this message, which, given through Jesus, was reiterated by them that heard it and was so remarkably confirmed. How might one escape if he neglected so great a salvation? It was by no inconsiderable person that the message was given, so that those at present holding it ought, following the example of the original spokesman, hold fast the confession (ὁμολογία). Great as were the

heroes of old Israel, this one was greater. It is, however, of the utmost necessity to check such falling away (ἀποστῆναι) as was incipient. This is to be done by constant exhortation. So to hold fast is to become partakers of Christ. Were not difficulties always inevitable in the history of a faith? The desired tranquillity is indeed a prize, which was prefigured by the pronouncement of Scripture. But Jesus is the great example, and one must, having him in mind, hold fast the confession (κρατῶμεν τὴν ὁμολογίαν). The special significance of Jesus as example was that he had in every manner participated in each human trial, being acquainted with all human infirmities. It is in this light that one is to think of him as the great High Priest. He in his days of human experience had faced death; had faced it with prayers, supplications, strong crying, and tears, yet with a son's obedience. Indeed, he learned obedience by his suffering. He thus became the author of the faith which those of today were promulgating. The message of the writer is offered with misgiving, since he is aware that the group to which he writes is dull of hearing—yea, the group which by virtue of its former glory should be a teacher of others actually stands in need of instruction in first principles! Yet the more advanced teachings are undertaken. Items of the faith are cited, with the warning that falling away (παραπεσόντες) from them will result in impossibility of repentance and restoration, since such behavior amounts to the recrucifixion (ἀνασταυροῦντας) of Jesus, and putting him to shame. The writer has hope that the readers will keep the faith, and exhorts them to imitate (μιμηταί) those who through faith and patience inherit the promises. God's own affirmation is the great sanction and encouragement, which has proven a sure anchor to those who have taken advantage of it, and in so doing Jesus was the forerunner. Now in the Alexandrian manner the inherent superiority is proven. He is the great and ever-abiding High Priest, after a new order, whose blood-offering was none other victim than himself. This is the newness and the superiority of his covenant. It is not so different from the old that it might be accomplished without blood, but the blood was that of Christ, so that his testament is that of his

death, his holy place being heaven. Through his blood he made the necessary sacrifices for sin, so that his follower may through this means enter into that holy place. Indeed, this the readers are exhorted to do; the means being offered them they must will to accept, holding fast the confession of the hope, that it waver not (*κατέχωμεν τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀκλινῆ*), since he is faithful that promised. They are exhorted to provoke one another to good works, not forsaking the fellowship of the congregation. Again the writer warns that falling away renders restoration impossible; it is so serious that it amounts to spurning God's Son and despising the blood covenant. This cannot but be followed by fearful punishment. May not the remembrance of a former similar experience inspirit to greater zeal? Then their behavior was exemplary; now they have need of patience. Perhaps examples of olden time may prove to be helpful: note then the succession of heroes from Abel to those of today, see what suffering these willingly endured for the sake of the as yet unrealized reward. More than this, note Jesus as the author and the perfector of this faith, who for the joy that was before him endured the cross, despising shame, who has therefore gained his reward. There is then a whole company of martyrs (*μαρτύρων*), who ought as examples to incite all patiently to run the course which is set before. After all, no one, as yet, has been forced to resist to blood; such suffering as has been experienced may be regarded as the chastening from God such as every father visits upon his children; it will result in gain if heartened persistence is pursued. Care must be taken that the integrity of the group is maintained. There may be no defilement, for the exacting refinement of God is like unto fire. In a final section practical matters are considered, and again the readers are urged to imitate (*μιμεῖσθε*) the faith of their former teachers. Again the sufferings of Jesus are cited, and the work closes with a prayer for peace and the good issue of the situation. Appended is a note that Timothy has been set at liberty.

In noting the distribution of these conceptions the valid method is to note their function in view of similar efforts made in the subsequent literature on martyrdom. This voluminous

literature was produced in situations essentially similar, but under the advantage that the issues were perfectly understood, so that methods of dealing with the State in persecution might be applied consciously. Basic in the efforts put forth by the church in meeting persecution is the purpose of control, and control was effected by the definite application of certain effective sanctions (the example of Jesus, the example of apostolic leaders, reward, punishment, etc.), direct exhortation, indirect imagery (apocalyptic), and by the development of sentiments and attitudes. In the process a specialized technique and terminology grew up. In Hebrews all these items appear, although in many to be cited as characteristic the epistle maintains a decidedly primitive position. However this may be, note the phenomena as they appear in the examples. As in the wide range of the literature whose purpose is control in persecution, there is the use of the sanction of example. *We desire that each one of you may show the same diligence unto the fulness of hope even unto the end, that ye be not sluggish, but imitators of them who through faith and patience* (μιμηταὶ δὲ τῶν διὰ πίστεως καὶ μακροθυμίας) *inherit the promises.*[4] *Remember them that had the rule over you, men that spoke unto you the word of God, and, considering the issue of their life, imitate their faith* (μιμεῖσθε τὴν πίστιν).[5] Now, such imitation was one of the great points of the works on exhortation to martyrdom. For example, compare 1 Clement: *Let us also be imitators* (μιμηταὶ) *of those who went about 'in the skins of goats and sheep' heralding the coming of Christ,*[6] the following being a series of examples in the manner of Hebrews 11. The Martyrdom of Polycarp is written for encouragement to martyrdom; it cites the example of its hero's death as a martyrdom according to the gospel, and Polycarp as a hero *whose martyrdom all desire to imitate* (μιμεῖσθαι).[7] In the rhetorical *Life and Passion of Cyprian* it is said that the martyr *thus running through the examples of all good men, by always*

[4] Hebrews, 6 12.
[5] *op. cit.*, 12 7.
[6] 1 Clement, 17 1.
[7] *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, 19 1.

imitating those who were better than others, he made himself also worthy of imitation.[8] So, too, the pseudo-Cyprianic *Praise of Martyrdom* says: *He said this* (alluding to Paul's exhortation to imitation of himself) *who suffered, and who suffered for this cause that through him we might imitate Christ.*[9] So clearly does this attitude toward martyrdom function that it may truly be said, as Krüger points out, that of the elements in the conception of the ἔργω μαρτυρεῖν the idea that the martyrs are μαθηταὶ καὶ μιμηταὶ τοῦ κυρίου is decisive.[10]

It may fairly be said that in Hebrews there is a usage of the term ὁμολογία which approaches the technical usage of the word and the conception in the later literature on martyrdom. From this literature it may readily be seen that the crux of the problem which was presented to the church by persecution was the securing of the confession. Once the confession were made there were other modes of maintaining the resolution and of confirming the mind of the confessor; there were modes of entrance into the prisons by means of which encouraging visits might be made and comforts of various sorts obtained for the imprisoned martyrs-designate. The primary effort was to secure the confession, and to this end definite technique was applied. It is not to be supposed that Hebrews marks the fully developed attitude in this tendency, but is does appear that it is in the line of the final process. For example, Jesus is cited as *the apostle and High Priest of our confession.*[11] The readers of the epistle are exhorted: *Let us hold fast the confession.*[12] There is an occurrence of the term in such a context as to make it unmistakable that a definite content was intended for the word: *Let us maintain the confession of the hope unwaveringly, for he who has given the promise is faithful. By observing one another, let us arouse ourselves to rival one another's love and good deeds, not abandoning our meeting together, as is*

[8] *Life and Passion of Cyprian*, 8.
[9] *In Praise of Martyrdom*, 29.
[10] *Harvard Theological Review*, 14 (1921): 301.
[11] Hebrews, 3 1.
[12] *op. cit.*, 4 14.

the custom of some; but let us encourage one another, all the more as you see the Day is coming near.[13] Here the confession of the hope is admitted to be at the point of wavering; it is therefore the task of the epistle to bring the readers to the point of stedfastness. In immediate connection the sanction of Jesus' example is used, and the influence of the group upon one another is recognized. The high value of assembly is expressly urged, quite as in the point similarly made by Tertullian: *And when is trust in God more strong, than when there is a greater fear of him, and when persecution breaks out? Then is faith more zealous in preparation, and better disciplined in fasts, and meetings, and prayers... There is no room, in fact, for aught but fear and hope.*[14] All this is highly significant as an attempt to control in the situation of persecution. Still stronger is the content of a later item, when, in immediate connection with the use of Jesus' suffering as a sanction, the appeal is made that, since Jesus suffered without the gate, *Let us therefore go out to him without the camp, bearing his reproach.... Through him let us offer up a sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of lips which make confession to his name* (ὁμολογούντων τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ).[15]

It is similarly that the entire method of exhortation in the Epistle operates. The epistolary method readily lends itself to exhortation; the direct application at this point may be noted as a distinction of method from the Apocalypse. Hebrews is hortatory to a high degree. However, the point of emphasis here is upon the particular matter to which exhortation is directed; namely, the preservation of the faith. Not only in the quasi-technical use of ὁμολογία is this to be seen, but also in the various exhortations to faithfulness. There seems to be a definite content assumed for this attitude, and a specific sense attached to its maintenance in such conceptions as represented in the following: ... *Christ... whose house we are, if we maintain our boldness and the glorying of our*

[13] Hebrews, 10 23-25.
[14] Tertullian, *ad Martyres*, 1.
[15] Hebrews, 13 15.

hope firm to the end.[16] *Take heed, brothers, lest perhaps there shall be in any one of you an evil heart of unbelief, in falling away* (ἀποστῆναι), *but exhort one another day by day, so long as it is called today, lest any one of you be hardened by the deceitfulness of sin, for we are become partakers of Christ, if we maintain the beginning of our confidence firmly to the end.*[17] If it does not appear that the usage of ἀπιστία is quasi-technical, it will hardly be questioned that such is the usage of ἀποστῆναι, especially when it is recalled that there is a passage of some length in which such "apostasy" is described. In the manner in which partaking of Christ is made conditional upon the stedfast maintenance of the previously begun confidence there is a subtle but effective use of the sanction of reward. It is hardly necessary to call attention to the specific content put into the term πίστις in the great passage whose climax is *All these, having had witness borne to them through faith. . . . Therefore let us also, seeing that we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, run with stedfastness the race set before us, looking to Jesus, the leader and completor of our faith. . .*,[18] nor its connection with the exhortation to similar experience in maintaining it.

The most significant teaching of Hebrews which functions with 'special similarity to the martyrological literature is the presentation of Jesus as martyr. This thought is evenly distributed throughout the book. For example, there is the statement that *We behold Jesus. . . crowned with glory and honor because he suffered death, so that by the favor of God he should taste of death for everyone. For it became him, for whom are all things, in bringing many sons to glory, to make the leader of their salvation perfect through suffering.*[19] Again, it appears that the famous teaching of Hebrews 5 becomes much more enlightening when recognized as having a special purpose as exemplary matter designed to control in persecution: Jesus has just been presented as High Priest of our

[16] Hebrews, 3 6.
[17] *op. cit.*, 3 12-14.
[18] *op. cit.*, 11 39, 12 1 f.
[19] *op. cit.* 2 10.

confession, not a high priest who cannot be touched by the feeling of our infirmities, but one tempted in a manner similar to that of our own test, yet without having yielded to sin. It is the exhortation of the writer that in so presenting him the readers may be encouraged to approach Jesus for the help which they need. Jesus is shown as a High Priest who offered himself for sacrifice, but special point appears from the fact that he did not do so without a struggle; that Jesus was himself in an experience of terrific crisis: *Who, in the days of his flesh, having offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and having been heard for his godly fear, though he was a son, yet learned obedience by the things which he suffered.* It was because of this voluntarily accepted discipline that, *having been made perfect, he became unto all them that obey him the author of eternal salvation.*[20] It appears that the teaching here recorded obtains its significance from the point which it has in the situation of persecution. Furthermore, it appears that such is the point of the stress upon the πεπειρασμένον . . . . . χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας: may not the ἁμαρτία here be the sin which, being a special danger for the readers, is thrown back into the life of Jesus? In the same manner the intimate connection of the section which follows seems to point to the use made of the entire conception as directed to the control purpose; the writer passes immediately to the statement that such conceptions have frequently been proposed, but that the present situation of the readers makes it difficult for the full purpose to be realized. There can be no doubt that this passage reveals the main purpose of the letter: to bestir to activity a church stunned by the opposition with which it is faced. No small element in this plan of the writer is the citation of Jesus as proto-martyr. It is in such a manner also that Jesus is spoken of in another figure; referring to *the hope set before us* the writer mentions Jesus as the πρόδρομος.[21] The mention of the suffering of Jesus has

[20] Hebrews, 5 7-9.
[21] *op. cit.*, 6 20.

already been noted; it is quite after the manner of the citation of an exemplary martyrdom in later literature: *Wherefore Jesus also, in order that he might sanctify the people through his blood, suffered without the gate.*[22] But the greatest use of Jesus as proto-martyr is so well known that the mere mention is hardly necessary; in the passage in which many heroes and martyrs of faith are cited as examples, with unquestioned fitness and a high degree of skill, in a context in which such significant terms as πιστός, ὁμολογία, and μαρτυρέω occur and in which martyrological works were indubitably used, Jesus is presented as the greatest example of all. Furthermore, these martyrs have their experiences glorified with the important qualification that without questioning their witness it is nevertheless true that the completion of their confession is dependent upon the participation made by the readers of the epistle. It is in this highly significant sense that the writer, summing up the line of confessions for faith, exhorts the readers to fellowship in the noble army with the words: *Therefore, let us, seeing that we are compassed about with so great a cloud of* μαρτύρων, *lay aside every weight, and the sin which so easily besets us, and let us run* δί ὑπομονῆς *the* ἀγῶνα *set before us, looking to Jesus, the leader and completor of faith* (πίστεως), *who, for the joy which was set before him, endured the cross, despising shame, and sat down at the right hand of the throne of God.*[23] Now, it is urged that not only is there here usage which is similar to that of the typical martyrological literature, but that the context shows that it is usage in exactly the same function in similar situation. Note that the argument finds its climax in Jesus as the most notable martyr; it is exactly thus that in the later literature on martyrdom various heroes are cited in series with Jesus as the chief. Compare the following from *In Praise of Martyrdom: In Isaiah he was sawn asunder, in Abel he was slain, in Isaac he was offered up, in Joseph he was sold into slavery, in man he was crucified.*[24]

[22] Hebrews, 13 12.

[23] *op. cit.*, 12 1-2.

[24] Pseudo-Cyprian, *In Praise of Martyrdom*, 29.

But not only is Jesus cited thus in Hebrews, he is cited with immediate reference to the reward which he received: he endured his suffering *for the joy which was set before him .... and sat down at the right hand of the throne of God.* But still more eloquent of the writer's purpose is the conclusion to wich the series of examples is directed. This is so important as to warrant quotation: *For consider him that hath endured such gainsaying of sinners against himself, that ye wax not weary, fainting in your souls. Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin, and ye have forgotten the exhortation which reasoneth with you as sons:*

My son, regard not lightly the chastening of the Lord,
Nor faint when thou art reproved of him;
For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth,
And scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.

It is for chastening that ye endure; God dealeth with you as with sons; for what son is there whom his father chasteneth not? But if ye are without chastening, whereof all have been made partakers, then ye are bastards and not sons... For they indeed for a few days chastened us as seemed good to them, but he for our profit, that we may be partakers of his holiness. All chastening seemeth for the present to be not joyous but grievous; yet afterward it yieldeth peaceable fruit unto them that have been exercised thereby... Wherefore lift up the hands that hang down, and the palsied knees; and make straight paths for your feet, that that which is lame be not turned out of the way, but rather be healed.[25]

This is the author's reference to the oppression of Domitian. It would appear that the action was much less severe in the place to which the letter is directed than was true of the provenance of the book of Revelation. This would agree satisfactorily with the hypothesis that the letter had Rome for its destination; it is quite probable that any reaction to Domitian's bid for deification was much less pressing in Rome than in the provinces. Perhaps the less severe situation might be accounted for by the period in the action when the letter

[25] Hebrews, 12 3-13.

was sent; if, as is supposed, Hebrews preceded 1 Clement it would be quite understandable that the more severe pressure in the picture of 1 Clement was a later reflection of the suppression of which Hebrews was the earlier witness. However this may be, the purpose of the writer is manifest. The group to which the letter was directed were badly shaken by the action taken against them, so that the situation was critical. There was wavering, indecision, apathy, and even apostasy. The group which by some virtue of its position ought of right to be exemplary was as though it were formed of babes who needed instruction in the rudiments of faithfulness. When another such situation might be pointed out in which the same group had been a model of endurance,[26] certainly such faithfulness ought to obtain in the present circumstance. In consequence the writer proceeds to attack the problem, his purpose being to exercise such control over his readers as shall arouse them from their lethargy and stimulate them to such behavior as will meet the situation.

According to Professor Goodspeed's hypothesis, which seems to the writer to be the key to the understanding of the historical and literary relationships to be perceived in this period of the development of early Christianity, Hebrews was directed to the church at Rome, and one of its responses was 1 Clement. As has been remarked, 1 Clement, in its inclusive voluminousness, is actuated by a variety of interests. One, however, which was paramount, was that of asserting the right of the Roman church to its avowed position of leadership, a leadership which it had achieved in the persecution of Domitian. It had risen to the occasion, and was now carrying on its worthy tradition. The Roman church now purports to be instructing the Corinthian congregation, and in its message it includes not a few notices of its recent struggle. The references which it makes indicate close relationship with the Epistle to the Hebrews, as may be perceived from its contents.

The suppression of Domitian is doubtless that to which the writer refers when he mentions *the sudden and repeated*

[26] Hebrews, 10 32-39.

misfortunes and calamities which have befallen us.[27] Just what the situation was in the church addressed is difficult to determine. It seems to be a condition of internal strife caused by some who dispute the will of others; just how serious it was it is impossible to say. But the writer of 1 Clement fears that at any rate it may develop into a serious situation, and to prevent it he writes his letter, and in a series of examples of those who suffered through jealousy comes finally to his own situation. It is evident that the writer reflects a situation of persecution through which the Roman church had passed; he offers the sudden and repeated misfortunes and calamities as the reason for the delay with which the Corinthian problem has been taken up, calls attention to several martyrs, some of whom may have received their fame from the recent persecution, and notes that his own group are *in the same arena*; that *the same struggle is before us.*[28] But it is the method by which this situation is to be met which is most important for the purpose of noting the reflection of the Domitianic persecution in the letter. The similarity of his method to that adopted by Hebrews is striking. The writer cites a long list of examples, beginning, as Hebrews does, with Abel, and ending with *noble examples of our own generation.*[29] In the list the central thought is about the ζῆλος which has precipitated the difficulty in the Corinthian church, but the local situation has caused the notice also of ἐδιώχθη. It is upon those *who contended in the days nearest to us; the noble examples of our own generation*[30] that special interest centres. Here Peter and Paul are cited as *the greatest and most righteous pillars of the church* who *were persecuted and who contended unto death* (ἐδιώχθησαν καὶ ἕως θανάτου ἤθλησαν).[31] Peter *through unrighteous jealousy suffered not one or two but many trials, and having thus given his testimony* (οὕτω μαρτυρήσας) *went to the glorious place which was his due.*[32]

[27] 1 Clement, 1 1.
[28] *op. cit.*, 7 1.
[29] *op. cit.*, 5 1.
[30] *op. cit.*, 5 1.
[31] *op. cit.*, 5 2.
[32] *op. cit.*, 5 4.

Paul also through the same jealousy and strife *showed the way to the prize of endurance.*[33] A list of his sufferings is given, with the note that he gained the *noble fame of his faith,* and that at the conclusion of his labors he *gave his testimony before the rulers* (μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων), *and thus passed from the world and was taken up into the Holy Place,—the greatest example of endurance.*[34] These two conspicuous examples are given in response to the transition from ancient to modern examples: *To cease from the examples of old time, let us come to those who contended in the days nearest us; let us take the noble examples of our own generation.*[35] As in Hebrews, exemplary suffering is illustrated in a list of ancient and recent examples, but whereas in Hebrews the recent examples are mentioned merely in summary and the special place is given Jesus, in 1 Clement Peter and Paul are cited in detail, and the citation of Jesus comes subsequently to the mention of the greater and the humbler of the persecuted. The writer thus figuratively notices the treatment of many unnamed saints of both sexes: *To these men with their holy lives was gathered a great multitude of the chosen, who were the victims of jealousy and offered among us the fairest example in their endurance under many indignities and tortures. Through jealousy women were persecuted as Danaids and Dircae, suffering terrible and unholy indignities; they stedfastly finished the course of faith, and received a noble reward, weak in the body though they were.*[36] Then, showing that these notices are not mere congratulatory reminiscences, the writer brings the entire matter into his own situation: *We are not only writing these things to you, beloved, for your admonition, but also to remind ourselves; for we are in the same arena, and the same struggle is before us.*[37] The purpose of the citation is admittedly practical; it is urged that vain and empty cares be put away, that the great rule of the tradition

[33] 1 Clement, 5 5.
[34] *op. cit.*, 5 7.
[35] *op. cit.*, 5 1.
[36] *op. cit.*, 6 1, 2.
[37] *op. cit.*, 7 1.

be attended to, that the goal be that which is pleasing to God, and, to secure this end, it is urged: *Let us fix our gaze on the blood of Christ, and let us know that it is precious to his Father, because it was poured out for our salvation.*[38] Thus the list of Examples is completed. Just how purposeful the use of these examples was in Hebrews and in 1 Clement is proven by the manner in which the custom became normative for later works whose purpose was control in situations of persecution. The appeal to the example of Jesus is obvious, and requires no comment. Similarly utilized was the appeal to the example of the apostles; 1 Clement stands at the beginning of the process which early operated to celebrate the fame of apostles as martyrs.[39] Clement of Alexandria is an intermediate witness to the tendency, as is Tertullian; the ultimate formulation is the voluminous *Acta* literature, in which with hardly an exception the glorious company of the apostles is chief in the noble army of martyrs. Martyrdom became the guarantee that one attained apostolic rank; Polycarp's constancy won him the fame of *an apostolic and a prophetic teacher.*[40] 1 Clement is the fountain-head also of one of the famous figures which became a favorite in the later literature in the term ἀθλέω. Lake notes that the word is almost a technical term for martyrdom; examples are numerous.[41] The use in 1 Clement of the sanction of reward is also notable; to the implicit efficacy deliberately attached to the authoritative citation of Scripture there is added the conscious appeal in the attention to the glorious issue of persecution: as in Hebrews Jesus endured his sufferings for *the joy set before him. . . . and sat down at the right hand of the throne of God,* so in 1 Clement it is noted that Paul *was taken up into the Holy Place,* Peter *went to the glorious place which was his due,* and the larger group of lesser

[38] 1 Clement, 7 4.

[39] Cf. Cl. Alex.: *Strom.* 4 9, Eusebius, *H. E.* 3: 32 8, Tertullian, *Scorpiace,* 15, Cyprian, *Epistle,* 7 11, etc.

[40] *Martyrdom of Polycarp,* 17 2.

[41] Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers,* 1: 337; cf. *Mart. Pol.* 18 3, Tertullian *Scor.* 3, *de fug.* 1, Cyprian, *Ep.* 56 5, Eusebius, *H E,* 5: 1 19, etc.

martyrs *received a noble reward.*[42] The authoritative use of Scripture appears throughout the full range of quotations and citations; this is true of the sections which have particular reference to the suppression as well as to other passages, and in this characteristic the letter is closely associated with Hebrews. It appears that 1 Clement alludes to Hebrews in one of the passages in which the similarity is most striking: in section 17 the list of Old Testament heroes in introduced by the phrase which appears also in Hebrews; Lake edits it as a quotation: *Let us also be imitators of those who went about "in the skins of goats and sheep"*;[43] the section closes, in Lake's opinion, with an allusion to Hebrews 12 1.

The allusions to persecution do not, to be sure, make up the bulk of the long letter to the Corinthians. But they are rather extensively distributed throughout the various sections, and in their rather wide range a number of interests appear. The suffering of Jesus leads to the extensive quotation of Isaiah 53,[44] the persecution of the righteous and the reward thereto accruing is discussed in very definite terms in a later paragraph,[45] in the same section there are other examples of behavior which is proper in persecution,[46] as in Hebrews the divine chastening is the subject of teaching,[47] the bitter experiences of the persecuted are touchingly alluded to in the prayer,[48] and the issue of peace is the subject toward the close of the prayer.[49]

It will not be supposed that persecution functions as the sole or even the chief interest of 1 Clement; the present study isolated this interest simply because it is the interest which illustrates most fully the historical and literary relations with Hebrews. It appears to be reasonable to suppose that the

[42] 1 Clement, 5 3, 7.
[43] *op. cit.*, 17 1.
[44] *op. cit.*, 16 3.
[45] *op. cit.*, 45 4, 5.
[46] *op. cit.*, 45, *passim.*
[47] *op. cit.*, 56 3-16.
[48] *op. cit.*, 59 4.
[49] *op. cit.*, 60 4.

letter does function in this particular manner. The writer of Hebrews does not hesitate to say that the church addressed (it is assumed that it is the Roman church) was in danger lest its apathy and sluggishness unfit it for leadership in the crisis with which it was faced, and the letter written had the purpose of stirring to activity the group which had so splendidly braved the former similar experience. Now 1 Clement writes with authority; the Roman church assumes as rightful its position as leader and teacher. It has suffered, and its experiences have delayed its consideration of the common problem, but, now that circumstances permit, the group takes its place worthily as the possessor of the two great martyrs, and as the church which maintains the standard in the very home of the *Beast* and of the impious man who demands recognition as *Lord and God.*

What are the sources for early Christian life during the last years of the first century? It is not forgotten that the ground involved in the consideration of this question is hotly disputed. A considerable consensus agrees that Revelation is one of the sources. Some think, while others deny, that Hebrews and 1 Peter belong here. The reasons for taking 1 Peter into relationship with the persecution of Trajan are weighty.[50] However, it appears to the writer that when New Testament Introduction is carried on primarily from the historical point of view the sources for the period of Domitian which bear relationship to the persecution may be grouped and studied with the result that an intelligible picture of early Christianity in that period may be derived. Noting the apologetic function of Luke-Acts, the later date, bringing this work into the period of the Domitianic persecution, becomes not only more probable but much more understandable. Revelation illustrates the application of apocalyptic to this situation. Hebrews likewise brings to bear the epistolary form upon the same problem, and in response to it 1 Clement appears, functioning in a similar manner. To be sure, even the weightiest opinion is

[50] Cf. the article, "Peter, Epistles of" in *Hastings Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, 2: 201—207 (S. J. Case).

hesitant in positing the Domitianic date for 1 Clement,[51] and any hypothesis will be advanced cautiously; the present study wishes to offer for consideration the materials relevant to the interest in persecution in Hebrews and 1 Clement in order to examine the question of their literary and historical relationships and to adduce their materials as possible sources for the picture of early Christianity in the persecution of Domitian.

[51] Cf. Lake, *Landmarks of Early Christianity*, 83, n.

THE GOSPEL HARMONY OF CLEMENT OF LLANTHONY

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IT is well-known to scholars that the attempt to combine the four Gospels of the New Testament Canon into a single connected and consistent account has been a favourite occupation from the very earliest days of the Church. It is not easy to say how far the Harmonies which are still in existence are independent of one another; we can see at the beginning of the tradition of harmonised texts the suggestion of a pair of such harmonies, one of them the work of Tatian the Assyrian, the other of Ammonius the Alexandrian,[1] but we do not know whether these two are independent, nor can we say with any degree of confidence whether the celebrated Harmony which was made in the sixth century by Victor of Capua, and which is preserved in the beautiful Codex Fuldensis, is an Ammonian or a Tatianic product. It is one or the other, but the possibility is not excluded that they may be one and the same. We are sure, however, that most of the subsequent Latin Harmonies, as well as some of those in other languages such as Frankish or Dutch, are direct descendants from Victor. It was natural enough that scribes should not wish to repeat *ab initio* the task of arranging the four gospels into a story, just as it was natural that they should wish to have such a story, either for private study or for use as a church lectionary. There is, however, evidence that from time to time attempts were made

[1] Jerome has also something to say about a Harmony by Theophilus of Antioch.

to write the Fourfold Life of Christ afresh, and one of these attempts is a British product, known as the Harmony of Clement, of which many copies are extant in English libraries, though it has hardly had any attention paid to it by the scholars of the continent, where copies are almost unknown. It has more than one feature of interest. If we were only looking at it as one more Vulgate Harmony, we might put it on one side, as it could not possibly compete with the text of Victor of Capua, from which, indeed, it may ultimately be descended; yet even in that case it would be a monument of careful Biblical study in the British Isles, and the interest which it aroused was not confined to Llanthony Abbey, where it was produced, but it was carried to and copied in various monastic *scriptoria,* such as Glastonbury, Durham, and a number of centres in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. It is an index of a revival of the study of the Gospels. The text which was thus scattered over the various centres of learning in England and Wales was, at an early date, done bodily into English, and the tradition affirms that this translation was the work of Wiclif himself. That fact alone, if it can be securely established, would make the early English Harmony into a national monument. There is, however, another feature of interest about the Llanthony Harmony, which is of greater value for scholars. If we examine the existing copies of Clement's work, we shall find it in a finished form, accompanied by proper prologues and explanations of its method and use, and sometimes with an attached commentary, perhaps by another hand than that of the Harmonist, but there is not generally anything to indicate the way in which the writer went about his task. Suppose, however, we visit the Cathedral Library at Durham, where we shall find a huge volume containing (or, at least, based on) Clement's work; when we examine it, we shall see that it contains the Harmony in making as well as the Harmony made. First of all, an incident in the Gospel or a section of the Gospel is related in terms of the successive Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, or as many of them as contribute to the incident or the section in question. Then the writer works the four authors, or as many as there may be, into a single mosaic, marking each

group of words with the sign of its author. The result is the actual harmony. We can see it on the loom, we can watch the weaving. Now this is lost in the ordinary copies of the Clement Harmony, whose care was not to see how the Harmony was made, but to use it as made; but the process is of the first importance, not only for a right understanding of Clement, but because the artist is following a method which must have been that of the very first harmonists.

For consider how different is the task which lies before an early Christian harmonist, or a monastic harmonist of the middle ages, from what presents itself to a modern student who attempts to make for himself a Gospel Harmony. We should buy a couple of penny Testaments, and with scissors and paste cut out and re-arrange the Gospel story: but it would not be possible to do this with papyrus rolls in the second century or with vellum codices in the thirteenth century. *Transcription was a necessary preliminary to harmonization*; the accounts to be combined must be placed side by side, or one under the other, before the dovetailing and unification of the texts can be accomplished.

And, indeed, we have first-hand evidence that this was the case; for Eusebius tells us in his celebrated letter to Carpianus which stands at the beginning of so many Greek and Latin Gospels, that Ammonius of Alexandria put the Gospels side by side, and that he took the hint from Ammonius, when he made his celebrated table of harmonized Canons. We are not to infer that Ammonius did nothing more than indicate the parallel sections of the Four Evangelists, but we must realise that he, at least, did that; and if he had not done it, Tatian would have had to do it on his own account. Thus the story of the Diatessaron of Tatian is at once illuminated by the story of the Harmony of Clement of Llanthony.

And this is not all. Scholars will remember that the early Gospel texts, both Greek and Latin, contain a number of marginal figures, which form two series; one of them indicates the sequence of the particular gospel that one may be engaged on, as for instance, that we are looking at the 25th section of Luke, but under the 25 we see another figure, taken from

a series which runs from 1 to 10, which tells us, by a reference to ten tables made by Eusebius, that other evangelists have said the same thing as the 25th section, for example, of Luke.

Now, if one looks at the arrangement of Clement of Llanthony (and the arrangement of Ammonius must have been similar), we can see at a glance what other evangelists are involved in the forthcoming combination. Eusebius' arrangement of sections with numerical canons, follows at once from the grouping of the evangelical matter in each incident or section.

Thus the Clementine Harmony shows us the key to the manufacture of the original Diatessaron, whether that work is to be credited to Ammonius or Tatian or both.

So we repeat that the Llanthony Harmony, which we can watch in the making, or re-making, with the aid of the great manuscript at Durham, is of special interest, first to Englishmen, who honour Wiclif, and next to all Biblical Scholars, who want to solve the riddles of the original Diatessaron.

Now let us see whether we can get some closer idea of Clement's Harmony and determine whether it has any literary antecedents.

Here is the opening prologue to the Harmony as it is found in a Glastonbury MS. of the 14th century in the University Library at Cambridge (Dd. 1. 17):

> "Clemens Lantoniensis ecclesiae presbiter n(ato) pacem otiumque. Hujus operis fili carissime causam requiris et fructum queris et qua fretus autoritate quatuor euangelistarum narraciones in unam contraxerim. Queris et tituli et ordinis rationem. Prima igitur, duo, causae scilicet, et fructus, licet circa idem versentur aliqua tandem distinctionis ratione dividi possunt. Causa enim est ut prae oculis habeam quae ab unoquoque quatuor evangelistarum sunt dicta, quae praetermissa, quae praeoccupata, quae et commemorata. Non enim omnes omnia dicunt, et quae dicunt non omnia secundum ordinem naturalem loco suo dicunt, sed quae posterius facta praeoccupant et quae ante facta postea commemorant."

"Unusquisque autem evangelistarum, ut ait beatus Augustinus, sic contexit narrationem suam ut tanquam nichil praetermittentis series digesta videatur, tacitis enim quae non vult dicere, sic ea quae vult dicere illis quae dicebat adiungit ut ipsa continuo sequi videantur. Sed cum alter ea dicit quae alter tacuit diligenter ordo consideratus indicat locum ubi ea potuerit a quo praetermissa sunt insilire, ut ea quae dicere intenderat ita superioribus copularet tanquam ipsa nullis interpositis sequerentur. Fructus autem huius operis triplex est: primus quod brevitatis compendium praestat, ea tamen quae singuli dicunt nulla brevitate contracta sunt; quae vero duo vel tres vel omnes certa abbreviacione restricta sunt: semel enim posita sunt, addito autem quicquid quilibet eorum praeter ceteros apponit: secundus, quia concordiam quatuor evangelistarum demonstrat, nec autem alium alii confert quo dissidentes vel concordes appareant: sed loca quae contraria et sibi repugnantia simul ponit ut ex hoc diligenti inquisitori non esse dissidenciam innotescat: tertius, quia ordinem rerum gestarum declarat ut in seriem ipsorum evangeliorum per hanc distinctionem facilior intelligencie aditus pateat et evangelicae ordinationis ratio clarius elucescat. Sed ne simplicitatem meam tanquam de presumptae novitatis nota cuiuspiam temeritas arguere praesumat, *agat pro me (inquit) Eusebius Cesariensis episcopus qui Am'm'onium Alexandrinum qui usibus ecclesiae unum pro quatuor evangeliis dereliquit studium atque industriam super hoc probat, seseque accepta occasione ex eiusdem viri studio evangelicorum canonum titulos ordinasse testatur.* Agat et Augustinus pro me qui in libro de concordia quatuor evangelistarum in huiusmodi studium et inchoandi initia praestat modumque procedendi demonstrat et perficiendi facultatem sumministrat. Ratio tituli ex supradictis patet. Ordo aut necessitatis est aut commoditatis aut rationis. Necessitas cogit, commoditas aptat, ratio narrationis ordinem non demutat."

After this follows a capitulation of the twelve parts into which the work of Clement is divided. These capitulations are also in the Durham Harmony. But now an important difference comes to light between the Glastonbury and Durham texts. The foregoing preface is, apparently, Clement's

own. No such preface is in the Durham Ms: but the portion which we have underlined is introduced as from Clement in the following manner:

> "Sic enim fere per omnia procedit Clemens; et si queratur a me qua auctoritate quo et fine vel utilitate hoc fecerim ad primum respondeo cum Clemente, 'Agat' inquit, 'pro me Eusebius etc.,'" as underlined in the text.

It follows that the Durham Ms. is not Clement at all, but some later follower of his who has used his work. Clement in the first person has disappeared: Clement in the third person has taken his place. It is generally held, on the authority of Leland and others, that the Redactor of Clement's work is William of Nottingham, who was at the head of the Franciscan order in England in the middle of the 13th. century. What we want to know is the amount of change that William of Nottingham introduced into the text and the arrangement of Clement's Harmony. His commentary upon the text is a secondary matter.

One of the first things we notice is that he has inserted into his text, in the large missal hand with which the Biblical text is dignified for the major part of the Ms., the historical notices for the four Evangelists, when they first come on the scene. These are not peculiar in themselves; but, in the Harmony of Zachary of Chrysopolis, they constitute the second of the Prefaces to the Harmony; so the question arises whether the Redactor is acquainted with Zachary, whose Harmony belongs to nearly the same date as is assigned to Clement.

The answer is in the affirmative. In transcribing Clement's final arrangement of the text, he frequently draws a parallel between Clement's results and those of Ammonius and Zachary. Ammonius is the mediaeval name for the Harmony of Victor of Capua, and for Mss. based on Victor. So the Redactor has been comparing Clement with Victor (i. e. ultimately Tatian) and Zachary (who is also ultimately Tatian). For instance the account of John the Baptist is prefaced by the separate passages from Mt., Mark and Luke, and then the harmonized passage is introduced by the words

> "His visis: Clemens ex omnibus praedictis
> talem facit continuationem":

and the following comment is made

> "Compendiose scribunt tam Matthaeus quam Marcus:
> hoc modo continuavit tam Ammonius quam Zacharias."

This means that, as far as the text of this section goes the sequence is the same in Victor, Zachary and Clement. The only difference between the three at this point is that Clement has written out at length the passages of the Gospels which he is going to combine. This is one of the most important features of the Durham Ms. We do not know of a similar feature in any Gospel Harmony of the mediaeval period: it is easy to see that, if it is a part of the original Clement, it would be promptly discarded by transcribers, for who would want to take the mosaic to pieces again when it had once been made into a unity? and if it is difficult to believe that such a piece of literary scaffolding would remain after the building had been finished, it is still more difficult to believe that any later artist would restore the scaffolding after it had been taken down.

This, then, will be the chief value of the Durham Ms., in that it shows us Clement at work in the first stage of his harmonisation. The separate sections of the Gospels are coeval with the Harmony.

The question is at once raised whether it may not be the case that the scaffolding and the building are alike to be traced, at least in part, to an earlier period than Clement himself. In the case of Zachary of Chrysopolis, for instance, we can see that his text is really the Vulgate text of Victor, broken up into convenient portions for commentary; indeed it is difficult to believe that any monk in the middle ages did all the work of harmonisation of the Gospels over again, when he had, on the one hand, the work of Victor of Capua, and on the other the treatise of Augustine, *De Consensu Evangelistarum.*

Now let us take a specimen section of Clement's work from the Glastonbury Ms. and compare it with the text of Victor,

with the Arabic text of Tatian's Harmony and, of course, with the Durham Ms. We have as follows:

> Capitulum secundum: m^{r} 1^{0}: mathei 3^{0} lucae 3^{0} (m^{r}) Fuit Johannes. m^{t} baptista. m^{r} baptizans et. m^{t} in deserto judeae dicens. penitentiam agite. appropinquavit enim regnum celorum. l. et venit in omnem regionem Jordanis. predicans baptismum penitentiae in remissionem peccatorum.[2]

mt. Hic est enim qui dictus est per Ysaiam prophetam: dicentem, Vox clamantis in deserto: parate viam domini, rectas facite semitas ejus. l. Omnis vallis implebitur,[3] et erunt prava in directa et aspera in vias planas et videbit omnis caro salutare dei.[4]

mt. Ipse autem Johannes habebat vestimentum de pilis camelorum et zonam pelliceam circa lumbos suos. Esca autem ejus erat locustae et mel silvestre. Tunc exiebat ad eum Jerosoluma et omnis Judaea et omnis regio circa Jordanem et baptizabantur in Jordane. m^{r} flumine[5] m^{t}. ab eo confitentes peccata sua. Videns autem multos pharisaeorum et saducaeorum venientes ad baptismum suum dixit eis, Progenies viperarum quis demonstrabit vobis fugere a ventura[6] ira.

Facite ergo fructum dignum penitentiae, et ne velitis dicere intra vos, Patrem habemus Abraham. Dico enim vobis quia potens est Deus de lapidibus istis suscitare filios Abrahae. Jam enim securis ad radicem arboris posita est. Omnis ergo arbor qui non fecit fructum bonum excidetur et in ignem mittetur.[7]

[2] The Codex Fuldensis of Victor and the Arabic Harmony of Tatian put this sentence of Luke before Matthew (*dicens*).

[3] A line appears to have been lost here.

[4] At this point Fuld. and Tat^{arab} insert Joh. 1$_{7-18}$ and Tat. goes on with Joh. 1$_{19-28}$. The Durham Ms. inserts Joh. 1$_{15-18}$.

[5] Not in the Fuldensis.

[6] Dunelm: *futura:* and so Fuldensis.

[7] Here Dunelm recites after Mt. 3$_{1-10}$ *ut supra* Mc. 1$_{5-6}$ and Luc. 3$_{7-9}$, but the three passages are not harmonized; and then Luc 3$_{10-14}$ as here and in Fuldensis.

l. et interrogabant eum turbae dicentes, Quid ergo faciemus? Respondens autem dicebat illis. Qui habet duas tunicas det non habenti, et qui habet escas similiter faciat. Venerunt autem et publicani ut baptizarentur et dixerunt ad illum, Magister. Quid faciemus. At ille dixit ad eos: Nichil amplius quam quod constitutum est vobis faciatis. Interrogabant eum et milites, dicentes: Quid faciemus et nos? Et ait illis: Nemini concutiatis, neque calumpniam faciatis et contenti estote stipendiis vestris.

It will be seen that the traditions of the various harmonies are not quite concurrent, so that we must not draw conclusions too rapidly. One thing is, however, quite clear; each evangelist is credited with what belongs to him: when we diverge from Matthew into Mark or Luke, the text says so, and when return is made from Mark, Luke or John to Matthew, the return is marked. Thus we have the series of inserted initials in Clement, in the Fuldensis and in the Arabic Tatian. The same thing is true of the Harmony of Zachary, if we may judge from the occasional survivals of the inserted initials in the printed text: for instance, take the following sequence: (Migne. PL 186 col. 164)

M [94] R [86] L [87] et [146]

> Qui autem negaverit me coram hominibus. R. et confusus me fuerit in generatione ista adultera et peccatrice. M. negabo eum coram Patre meo, qui est in caelis. L. et coram angelis suis. R. et Filius hominis confundetur eum, cum venerit in gloria Patris sui cum angelis sanctis.

Here M. stands for Matthew, R. is the second consonant in Mark, L. is for Luke: so that we have not only a summary reference to the parallel passages at the head of the section, but also the detailed references in the text to the matter incorporated from the separate evangelists. Thus the method employed by Zachary is the same as that in Clement and in Fuldensis; and we have shown elsewhere that the employment of the second consonant in the Evangelist's name to distinguish the one evangelist from the other is a device of the Tatian Harmony preserved in the Arabic.

The next thing that we observe is the prevalence of the Ammonian Sections. All the Harmonies which we are examining have them, with the exception of the Arabic Tatian. With these sections they commonly add the Eusebian number, which relates any particular group of sections to the tables of Eusebius. In the case of Zachary they stand like this:

$$M^{133}_{i}\ R^{37}\ L^{77}\ A^{309}:$$

this means that what follows comes from the 133 th. section of Mt. the 37 th. of Mark, the 77 th. of Luke and the 309 th. (it should be 109 th.) of John, and that these four parallel sections are in the first table of Eusebius.

In the case of the Fuldensis to which Zachary is closely related, they stand on the margins of the Ms.

In the case of the Durham Ms. the actual sections are given one after another, so that either they have been expanded from the numbers given, or are themselves primitive.

Now let us see whether the same feature occurs in the Old Dutch Harmony at Liège, to which Dr. Plooij has recently been drawing attention.

When the Liège Harmonist comes to the preaching of John the Baptist, he introduces it as follows:

> "Van derre materien so spreken drie evangelisten, Lucas, Matheus ende Johannes, ende segt Lucas aldus."

This answers exactly to the opening of the thirteenth section in Zachary, which is headed

$$L^{6}_{iii}\ M^{7}\ A^{2}$$

Evidently the Liège Harmonist had the Ammonian sections before him in his copy in the very order of Zachary. In the same way, when he comes to the imprisonment and decapitation of John the Baptist, he says again:

> "Van derre materien spreken drie evangelisten Marcus, Matheus ende Lucas, ende sprect Marcus aldus."

We conclude that in the ancestry of the Liège Ms. also there was a reference to the Ammonian sections.

The prevalence of this feature in the Primitive Latin Harmonies being established, we have now to ask the question as

to how far back the use of the Ammonian sections can be traced in this branch of Biblical literature. Does it go back to an earlier date than Eusebius, or, in any form, to Tatian himself?

It is well-known that Eusebius improved on the sections of Ammonius, by classifying them under ten separate heads ranging from such passages as are attested by all four evangelists or by three or two of them down to those which have the attestation of a single evangelist. If then the number which indicates the Eusebian grouping of the sections, such as we have seen in preceding cases, is present, and *if it is not a later accretion*, the Harmony which has the indicating number is post-Eusebian. Such cases as that of the Fuldensis and the Harmony of Zachary of Chrysopolis come under this head. If, however, Victor of Capua added the Eusebian numerals, there is no reason for denying priority to the Ammonian sections in the Ms. from which he copied. On the other hand, the prefaces to the existing Latin Harmonies usually transfer long passages from the Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus, in which he describes his method of making and marking the Evangelical Canons. In Zachary for instance, in the Liège Ms., and in the Durham Ms. It would, therefore, seem that we should not be very far from the truth if we said that the ancestry of the existing Harmonies contained Eusebian matter, as in the Codex Fuldensis.

This does not mean, however, that the fundamental form of the Latin Harmonies is later than Eusebius, nor that the apparatus of the Harmonists (numerals, sections and prefaces) is all due to later hands. It is still open to us, for instance, to enquire whether any part of the Prologues of Victor, Zachary and the others is the survival of a prologue due to Ammonius or Tatian; and also, and this is a matter of even more importance, whether it is possible to find, in the parallel sections prefixed to the Durham Harmony, the remains of the Ammonian sections which we have shown to be a necessary preliminary to the Tatian Harmony; in the light of which juxtaposition we may be able to understand why, in the tradition of the Syrian Church, it is sometimes said that Ammonius and Tatian are the same person.

The student who is familiar with the Mss. of the New Testament has always been struck by the extent to which the margins of his documents are decorated with Ammonian and Eusebian numerals, and his first reflection upon them usually takes the form of an observation that these figures are the equivalent of the marginal references in modern Bibles. When, however, he begins to trace the history of his Mss., and especially when he examines early Syriac and Armenian texts, he finds that these figures, arranged along the lower margin of his copies, and in harmonized form, show at a glance what Evangelists are in internal parallelism and how many of them. These foot-harmonies are evidently the survival of the original Ammonian sections; and their wide circulation is a clear testimony to the part which the Harmonies have had to play in the evolution and diffusion of the Gospels.

How far, it may be asked, is it possible to reconstruct a text of Ammonius from the Durham Harmony, on the hypothesis of the ultimate dependence of Clement upon Ammonius? The question is not an easy one to answer. We can easily demonstrate the dependence of the Liège Harmony upon the Victor tradition, (as we shall show, presently, by an example); but when we come to the Llanthony texts there will be so much readjustment and subdivision that the way-marks are lost, and the hypothesis seems to be contradicted. For instance when we put the sections in Victor and in Liège side by side, we have the following parallels.

Victor	*Liège*
[Luke 1 1-4]	
John 1 1-5	John 1 1-5
Luke 1 5-80	Luke 1 5-80
Matt. 1 1-16	Matt. 1 1-24
[Lucan Genealogy from Abraham to God]	[Genealogy added at a later point]
Matt. 1 17-25	
Luke 2 1-39	Luke 2 1-39
Matt. 2 1-23	Matt. 2 1-23
Luke 2 40-52	Luke 2 40-52

Luke 3 1–3	Luke 3 1–3
Matt. 3 2–3	Matt. 3 2–3
Luke 3 5–6	Luke 3 5–6
John 1 7–18	John 1 7–18

and so on.

The coincidence in the divisions is almost perfect, and where it is broken, the cause is apparent; the prologue to Luke was no part of the original Harmony; and from the fact that the specially Lucan part of the Genealogies is inserted at quite different places, it may be inferred that the Genealogies were a fluctuating factor of the Harmony, and only came into it gradually.

If we try the same method of parallelism for Durham and Liège, or even for Glastonbury and Durham, we shall not find it easy to reconstruct a common primitive, and it is clear that there has been a good deal of disturbance of the Harmonistic sequence. Until we can find out the causes of this disturbance, our hypothesis that the sections of the Durham Ms. are primitive must remain unverified.

In the foregoing account of the Harmony of Clement it has been tacitly assumed that Clement made his own apparatus for the Harmony, and that the main thing to be learned from him was the method of composition of such a harmony, which could not be very different from that adopted by Tatian himself. If however, it be true, as the Clement Harmony suggests, that Tatian presupposes Ammonius, why should we take it for granted that Clement had no literary antecedents? May it not be that he also presupposes the Ammonian matter? If we find upon examination that the Sections of the Gospel which he transcribes are wholly, or in part, the Ammonian sections, then these parts are of the first importance. They may be expressed in Vulgate language, but they are the oldest, if not the only, tabulation of the Ammonian sections in detail, apart from their representation by means of numerals.

So we must examine these parts of the Durham Ms. carefully to see if they are genuine Ammonius. It should also be borne in mind that it is extremely improbable, *a priori*, that

the work of Ammonius would be done over again by every person making a Harmony. Even in the Middle Ages, and in the enthusiasm of a revival of Biblical study, the brevity of life has to be allowed for. It will take as long time as any student can afford to introduce Vulgate readings in place of pre-Vulgate, make the necessary supplements of omitted matter, and re-arrange what may have been displaced. We may almost take it for granted that Ammonius is the father of all harmonisation by parallel or consecutive sections. The Llanthony Harmony shows us clearly, how his work would be involved in the Harmony and then would itself disappear; for we see the successive copyists of Clement discarding the preliminary matter as no longer necessary after the consecutive story has been produced. And if that be true of the Llanthony Harmony, it may be equally true of others at Alexandria, Edessa or elsewhere. The sections would disappear except so far as the margins of the Harmony indicated them by alphabetical or numerical signs.

In another direction we have a suggestion of the non-originality of Clement in the arrangement of his Biblical matter. It will be found that such originality as characterises him is in his Commentary, and not in his text. Here we have abundant scope for literary activity, and in the use of Augustine. Bede and other writers, we may recognise both freshness and erudition. The case is nearly the same with Zacharias of Chrysopolis, who occupies on the Continent a position comparable with that of Clement in England. Here also we have a Harmony *plus* a system of glosses; but there is no preliminary Tabulation of the Gospels, or, if it ever existed, it has disappeared. It is probable that Zacharias was simply reproducing as far as the text goes, the tradition of the Fuldensis, or some closely related Harmony. His collection of glosses may, however, very well be his own.[8]

[8] William of Nottingham's edition of Clement, to which reference was made above, was presented to the Durham library by Bishop Langley in 1437. See Surtees Society, *Catalogues of the Library of Durham Cathedral*, p. 119.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND PHILOLOGY

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1. CHAOS AND THE ORIGIN OF LIGHT IN GENESIS I[1]

The first verses of Genesis have been interpreted in support of the most varied cosmogonical theories,[2] as well as of the most divergent hypotheses of comparative mythology. It would seem that additional discussion would be superfluous, at least until discovery of further materials for comparison. The following

[1] Note the following abbreviations: AA = *Archäologischer Anzeiger*; AAA = *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*; AJP = *American Journal of Philology*; AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*; AJTh = *American Journal of Theology*; *Annual* = *Annual of American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem*; AV = Authorized Version; EA = Knudtzon-Weber-Ebeling, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*; G = LXX; GB = Gesenius-Buhl, *Heb. u. aram. Handwörterbuch*; JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature*; JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*; JPOS = *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*; JSOR = *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*; M = Masoretic text; MVAG = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*; RA = *Revue d'Assyriologie*; RB = *Revue Biblique*; OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*; OT = Old Testament; ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*; ZATW = *Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*; ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

[2] It has even been maintained that the creation described in Gen. I is a recreation of a destroyed earth. Few scholars could perhaps be found to endorse the following argument, which the writer heard in an address by the present pastor of "Moody's Church" in Chicago, that the word "replenish," used in the AV for Heb. *mil'û*, means "fill again," and refers to the repopulation of the earth.

remarks may, however, contribute in slight degree to the interpretation of the passage.

As is well-known, there are two alternative explanations of the syntax of Gen. 1 1 f., both of which were recognized by the Masoretes as valid, and indicated by them implicitly in the vocalization of the first two words. They thus left it open to their successors either to read *berêšîṯ berô elôhîm*, "in the beginning of God's creating," or *bārêšîṯ bārâ elôhîm*, "in the beginning God created." The Greek transcriptions *βαρησηθ* and *βαρησεθ* indicate that the second alternative triumphed in ordinary exegesis, a fact established by the versions. On the other hand, ancient oriental parallels, especially from Mesopotamia, show that the first possibility is more original. Nearly all Accadian cosmogonies begin with the word *inûmi*, later *enûma*, literally "in the day that," but semantically meaning "when." Thus the Seven Tablets of Creation begin *enûma eliš lâ nabû šamâmu, šapliš ammatum šuma lâ zakrat* = "When above the heaven had not been named, Below the earth had not been called a name." The style is typically Sumerian; Sumerian cosmogonies also usually begin with *ud(a)* = *inûmi*: e. g., *ud an-ki-ta dab-gi-na bad-a-ta-eš-a-[ba]* = "When from heaven and earth the sure fastenings had been removed."[3] In cosmogonies the concluding clause is not introduced by a special conjunction, but must be worked out from the sequence of ideas. It is only in the theological introductions with cosmogonic background which we find so often prefaced to historical inscriptions or royal edicts, that the more stilted formal style, *ud(a)—ud-bi-a* = *inûmi—inûmišu*, "when—then," is employed; e. g., in the Code of Ḫammurabi, col. I, lines 1 ff., 27 ff. The absence of a particle, such as *az*, to introduce the concluding clause of the Hebrew, is doubtless related to the Accadian usage already described. It naturally does not follow that the Hebrew is translated from a cuneiform prototype, but only that Hebrew (i. e., Canaanite and Phoenician) cosmogonic literature has been stylistically influenced from Mesopotamia (a term which culturally includes northeastern Syria, i. e., the western side of the Upper Euphrates valley).

[3] Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, no. 4.

We are, therefore, entirely justified in rendering Gen. 1 1–3 as follows: When God began to create heaven and earth—and the earth was chaotic and empty, and darkness was over the primordial ocean, and the spirit of God was hovering over the water—, (then) God said, Let light come into existence, and light came into existence. For effectiveness combined with simplicity this cosmogony can hardly be excelled. One would, however, very much like to know the background of the conceptions indicated so summarily, though we are sorely hampered by the effacement of original outlines in the form in which P has handed them down to us. As will appear, the writer does not believe that the cosmogony of P is derived from Mesopotamia, but that it belongs to the same general milieu as the eastern Mediterranean cosmogonies preserved to us in Hesiod and "Sanchuniathon," from which the philosophical cosmogonies of the Ionian school, especially of Thales, sprang directly. Since the milieu in question was highly syncretistic, and borrowed freely from Egyptian[4] and Mediterranean sources, we are justified in drawing on both for elements of comparison.

The expression *tōhû wa-bōhû* is very interesting because of its being the clearest case of rhyme-formation in Hebrew, but there is still a lack of clarity as to its exact meaning, and the relative originality of the component elements. *Tōhû* is generally regarded as the more original word, and supposed to be connected with Arab. *tîh*, "desert," *tyh*, "lose one's way, be distracted," Aram. *twh*, "be distracted," etc.[5] It would then mean "waste, desert," and *bōhû* might be derived from it just as Arabic *barṭûm* (humorous: "snout") is derived from *ḫarṭûm*. But "desert" is a most unsatisfactory explanation of a word which should, according to all analogies, mean something like "chaos." *Bōhû*, on the other hand, has a perfectly natural series of cognates: Arab. **bh* has the meaning "be empty," illustrated variously by the derived stems—*abhâ* (from *bhw*), "to empty, house, vessel, etc.," = *baha'a* and *abha'a*; *bahw*, "vast plain,

[4] For Egyptian religious influence on Phoenicia and Canaan cf. especially JPOS II, 190—198.

[5] For the Egyptian cognate cf. AJSL XXXIV, 253, no. 121.

cavity of the chest," i. e., "empty space"; Assyr. *bûbûtu* for **buhbuhtu*, "emptyness, hunger." Since Gr. χάος also means properly "empty space," from χαίνειν, "gape, yawn" (cf. the Norse *Ginunga Gap*), the suitability of the etymology is evident. We must evidently consider *bōhû* as the primary word, and regard *tōhû* as a blend between *bōhû* and *tehôm*, from which the initial *t* was borrowed.[6] The Phoenician βααυ, explained by Philo Byblius as meaning "night," shows that the original form of the noun was **bâhu*,[7] like Arab. *bahw*; **buhw* has changed *a* to *u* under the influence of the labials. The two words then refer to chaos as "void," in the early Hellenic sense, and chaos as a watery deep, or *tehôm*, in the Mesopotamian sense. The same obvious tendency to harmonize the opposing theories of chaos is found in the Byblian cosmogony transmitted to us by Philo, whose two primordial elements are "dark, breath-like air" (ἀέρα ζοφώδη καὶ πνευματώδη or πνοὴν ἀέρος ζοφώδους) and "muddy pitch-black chaos" (χάος θολερὸν ἐρεβῶδες), from the "sexual" union of which the world egg comes into existence. There is accordingly a much closer similarity between the Byblian and Priestly cosmogonies than has generally been supposed. This similarity is illustrated also by the second Phoenician cosmogony described by Philo, in which Aeon (= ʿÔlâm) and Protogonos (= Adam?) are born of the first pair, Κολπία ἄνεμος and his consort Βααυ, whose name is explained by Philo as meaning "night," probably because the first pair of Hesiod are Erebos and Nyx. The term κολπια can hardly be explained otherwise than as the name of a particular wind or type of wind, though the old interpretations on the

[6] For the principle of blend formation in Semitic cf. also Contribution 3, below, and note 9.

[7] Several futile attempts have been made to identify *bōhû* with the Sumerian goddess Bau, consort of Ninurta. For the latest effort see Caspari (in the Hommel memorial volume, MVAG XXII, 1—20), whose arguments are singularly weak and mainly irrelevant, though some good observations are scattered through his discussion. On the other hand there seems to me little doubt that the name of the Aramaean Gnostic archon, Yaldabaoth, has been correctly explained as *Yaldâ de-Bahût*, "Child of the Primordial Chaos" (like *Dumu-zi-abzu* in Sumerian); cf. AJSL XXXVI, 291 f.

basis of fanciful Hebrew etymologies are worthless.[8] In its present form the word is evidently corrupt, perhaps owing to the influence of the similar word κόλπος or a derivative like κολπίας, which misled the scribe, as so often. Possibly ΚΟΛΠΙ (the A may be dittography of the initial A of the following word) is a corruption of ΚΟΔΜ, i. e. east (wind); cf. Phoen. *qdm*, applied by the Byblians, according to the Sinûhe Romance, to the region east of them, as well as Heb. *qadîm*, Aram. *qaddûmâ*, both "east wind." For the vocalization with *u* cf. Assyr. *qudmu*. In this case the (east) wind would represent the element of dryness, the *baau* that of moisture, by the mixture of which the other elements were created.

It is difficult to separate the idea just described of the union between wind and the *baau* from the continuation of our cosmogony in Genesis: And darkness was over the primordial ocean, and the *rûᵃḥ elôhîm* was hovering over the water. Here it is obvious that we must think of the darkness as belonging to the ocean (*tehôm*); the *rûᵃḥ elôhîm* created light, so it cannot have been dark, but was rather neutral. By "waters" the waters of the ocean are naturally meant. The relation between the *rûᵃḥ* and the *tehôm* is "sexual," and does not refer to the brooding of the *rûᵃḥ*, conceived of in bird form, upon the world egg, as held by many exegetes, misled by an erroneous interpretation of *meraḥèfeṭ*. The rendering of Heb. *rḥp* as "brood" must be given up definitively in favor of the alternative one, "flap wings, flutter, hover," after the late Dr. Peters' articles on the subject in JBL XXX, 44—54, and XXXIII, 81—86. The stem *rḥp* does not occur except in Hebrew and Syriac, where it may not be original (cf. JBL XXX, 48, n. 10), and is therefore perhaps a secondary blend-form in Hebrew. Haupt long ago combined the word with Arab. *raffa, rafrafa,* "quiver, flutter, beat wings, of bird," found also in Hebrew as *rff*, "sway, tremble." For the other element behind the blend one may compare Arab. *ḥaffa*, "flap wings, make noise in fluttering"; *rḥp* would then be a blend of *rpp* and *ḥpp*.[9] It has, in any case,

[8] For a selection of these etymologies cf. Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Heft I, p. 13.

[9] For the principle involved in the formation of triconsonantal stems

a meaning precisely opposite that of "brood." The world egg theory, favored especially by Gunkel, falls to the ground completely. On the other hand, Peters' view that the *rûᵃḥ* corresponds to the winds which Maruduk sends against Tiâmat (= Tehôm) is very improbable; these winds, or better, storms, called *abûbu* and *imḫullu*, are the characteristic weapons of Maruduk, as storm god, and have no further cosmogonic significance in the Mesopotamian myth. Nor can there be any question of a sexual union between the storms and Tiâmat, whom they serve to destroy. The most probable view seems to be that *rûᵃḥ elôhîm* means "spirit of God," but is substituted for an original *rûᵃḥ*, "wind," in order to bring the personality of God into the cosmogony from the beginning.[10] It is hardly probable, therefore, that P had in mind an intermediate feminine hypostasis of a divine attribute, like the Aramaic Ḥokmetâ or the Sophia of Philo Judaeus;[11] the feminine gender of *rûᵃḥ* doubtless had no more significance at this stage than the same gender in the words for "hand," or "eye," when used in connection with the Deity. But the *rûᵃḥ elôhîm* was evidently still thought of as exercising a "sexual" influence upon the *tehôm*, just as in the case of the *ἄνεμος* and *βααν*. The conception of God's creative activity as corresponding to sexual activity in man is very prevalent in Rabbinic thought, especially in the Qabbâlâ, though hardly less in Philo Judaeus.

The first result of the divine action upon the inert mass of *tehôm* was the creation of light. The idea that light sprang from water is very wide-spread, and cannot be called Mesopotamian, since it survived there only in traces. Even there, however,

from original biconsonantal roots cf. Blakes's important paper on "Congeneric Assimilation as a Cause of the Development of New Roots in Semitic," in *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* (New Haven, 1920), pp. 35—48.

[10] The verb *rāḥáf*, which is particularly applied to the fluttering of birds, suggests that the *rûᵃḥ elôhîm* was conceived of originally in the form of a bird, like the Egyptian *bꜣ nṯr*. The author of our section presumably used the word because it was the most natural one in this connection, and without any mythological connotation.

[11] Cf. AJSL XXXVI, 285 ff.

Gibil, the fire-god, was called *mâr Apsî*, "son of the subterranean ocean" (= *tehôm*), perhaps, it must be said, because of the naphtha wells, whose burning substance was believed to rise from the subterranean ocean.[12] In Egypt fire first came into existence with the emergence of Amôn, the sun-god, as a "living flame" from the primordial ocean (Nûn). In view of the tremendous influence exercised by Egyptian religious ideas upon Phoenicia, and hence perhaps also upon Palestine, this parallel is probably the most significant. Yet we should add, for completeness, that similar ideas prevailed among the Indo-Europeans; Agni, god of fire (*ignis*) is born from the water, and the rain-clouds are his womb.[13] Here the origin of lightning in rain-clouds is responsible for the conception, which, as shown long ago by Kuhn, lies also behind the story of the theft of fire from heaven by Prometheus. In Genesis the sequence of water and light (fire) is preserved, though the concrete ideas lying behind it have been discarded, as usual with P. P's mind was an enlightened product of the sixth century B. C.; we must consider his world-view in connection with the philosophy of contemporary Ionia, and of other cultured lands of the eastern Mediterranean, instead of comparing it directly with Mesopotamian myths which were fully developed at least 2000 B. C., and only continued in favor among the erudite because of their hoary antiquity and the possibilities of a fanciful exegesis, which could be used, as in contemporary Egypt, to modernize the crudest and most primitive conception. The founder of the Ionian school of philosophy, Thales, flourished in the beginning of the sixth century B. C., and thus was almost contemporary with the author of P. That both were able to throw off the mythical point of view and simultaneously adopt a logical scheme of cosmogony in which water was the primal element argues for a common milieu which influenced both. This common background was probably the syncretistic culture developed in the eastern Mediterranean by the Phoenicians.

[12] Cf. AJSL XXXV, 165.
[13] Cf. Bloomfield, JAOS XVI, 1—24 (*passim*).

2. THE NAME *YAHWEH*.[14]

Of theories advanced since Hellenistic times to explain this sacred name there is no lack, and it may seem rash to enter the lists once more. Our justification is, that we will not propose a new explanation of the name, but will rather try to establish the reasonableness of an old view, now generally disregarded. There is no gain in recapitulating all the hypotheses which have been suggested by an almost endless procession of scholars, beginning—so far as our information goes—with the unknown Alexandrian who equated the contracted form *Yô* with Late Egyptian *yô* (Coptic ⲓⲱ), "ass," and started the canard regarding the image of an ass in the Holy of Holies. The latest that the writer has seen is that proposed by Torczyner,[15] who thinks that *Yahwéh* stands for **Wahwah*, "the roarer" (Arab. *whwh*, "to roar"), though he has not explained the absence of a *mappîq* in the final ה.

It is doubtful whether any serious scholar now adheres to the theory of the Mesopotamian origin of the name *Yahwéh*, especially since the element *ya'um* found in early Accadian proper names has been convincingly explained as being the independent possessive pronoun of the first person, so that *Ya'um-ilu*, for instance, means "Mine is god," i. e., "I have a (protecting) deity."[16] On the other hand, it is probable that the view that *Yawéh* is an expansion of *Yâhû*, itself the name of some hitherto unidentified non-Semitic god of early Syria, a view which became popular after the publication of the Elephantine Papyri, is the most widely accepted one today. Before proceeding, we will try to show that this theory is untenable from the standpoint of Hebrew phonology, which requires the operation of the opposite process, the reduction of *Yâhû* from *Yahwéh*.

[14] It is hardly necessary to go into detail on the subject of the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton; for a clear and full recent discussion cf. Arnold, JBL XXIV, 153ff.

[15] See the discussion at the end of his brochure, *Die Bundeslade*, Berlin, 1922, pp. 73ff.

[16] Cf. Landsberger, ZA 1923, 24, n. 2.

There are three main suggestions as to the original form of the name *Yâhû*, on the theory that *Yahwéh* is a secondary formation: that **Yāhō* was original (Sachau);[17] that it is derived from **Yâho, Yahwéh* being an old abstract plural with the ending *ai* (Grimme)[18]; and that the original form was **Yâhō*, with endorsement of Grimme's further theory of the abstract plural ending (Leander)[19]. All these theories are based on the supposed necessity of deriving the form *Yehô* in composition from an original form with *ô*, while the *û* in *Yâhû* is then explained as due to the fact that the syllable bearing it is unaccented, *ô* being elsewhere changed to *û* in an unaccented syllable—though not always. They are all, however, artificial, since they disregard the philological analogies of Hebrew, and postulate forms and processes that have never been found elsewhere. A name *Yâhô* is otherwise wholly unknown, and the "abstract plural" in *ai* is a pure assumption, since the plural in question does not actually occur in any Semitic language, unless one maintains, in defiance of analogy, that the Heb. *šamáyim*, Assyr. *šamai*, and similar forms are plurals instead of duals. But if one does regard them as plurals, one must not forget that a *Yâhû* with this ending would become *Yahwáyim*, or the like, in Hebrew, and not *Yahwéh*.

If one cares at all to be guided by analogy, i. e., by a method which takes the relative probability of things into account, it should be evident that *Yahwéh* must be a form like *Yaʿqob*, *Yiṣḥaq*, *Yôsef*, and other imperfects, properly hypocoristica of theophorous names, usually with *el*, "deity," as the second element. Such abbreviated names, with the theophorous element left out, are common in the whole ancient orient, especially in Egypt, but also in Mesopotamia and Palestine. In the OT we find, e. g., *Aḥaz* for *Yehô-aḥaz*, and in the case of *el*-names, *Yaḥdî-el* and *Yaḥdô* or *Yaḥdî*, *Yaʿśî-el* and *Yaʿśô* or *Yaʿśai*, *Yiftaḥ-el* and *Yiftaḥ*, *Yeraḥme-el* and *Yeroḥam* or *Yeraḥem*, etc. The same alternation is found in the Canaanite names preserved in

17 Cf. *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantine*, p. 9.
18 OLZ XV, 12—13.
19 OLZ XV, 151—3.

the Amarna Tablets and the Phoenician inscriptions: cf. *Yanḥamu* = *Yaʿam(-el)*, *Yabnî-el* = *Yabne-el* or *Yabnéh* in the OT.

It does not, however, follow that *Yahwéh* is a hypocoristicon of *Yawéh-el*! The very fact that the abbreviation in question was so common gave the imperfect an independent status, raising it to the level of an appellation or designation of deity. In Western Semitic names we seldom or never have the participle used, as regularly (though by no means invariably) in Accadian, a fact which shows clearly that the imperfect was not used in them with a future, but rather with a present or general connotation. Just as we have, therefore, Accadian divine names of participial form (*Nâbû*, *Bânûtu*, *Pârisu*, *Namra-ṣît*, etc.) so we have Western Semitic divine names of imperfect form, as *Yaʿqob*, *Yakîn*, *Yahwéh*, *Yaʿûq*, *Yaḡûṯ*, etc. The formation of appellative names in this way was favored also by the fact that, since *el*, *ilu* was only a general designation for the supernatural power which was incorporated secondarily in individual gods, the easiest way in which to form new appellations of deity, in some one of its phases, was to take an imperfect form which was familiarly associated with it in personal names. Thus *Yabnî-el* does not mean primarily either "God builds," or "a god creates," but "supernatural power creates," with the proviso that "supernatural power" is an approximate rendering equivalent to the *mana*, *orenda*, or *wakonda* of Marrett and his followers. The present writer has believed for years that *el* in early Semitic thought had this connotation, and was very glad to find his views, already developed independently, coinciding almost entirely with those of Beth, as presented in the latter's article, "El und Neter" (ZATW XXXVI, 129—186).[20] Names of this type do not,

[20] Cf. also ZATW XXXVII, 199—208, for Grapow's criticism, replied to by Beth in ZATW XXXVIII, 87—104. While Grapow's observations on the technical Egyptological side are mainly just, they do not affect the arguments of Beth at all seriously. Some of Grapow's criticisms are gratuitous, and only show all the more clearly that Egyptologists do not really understand what such an expression, e. g., as *pɜwty*, "Urgottheit" in current Egyptological jargon, connotes. Of course, it can hardly be doubted that Beth, with the enthusiasm of the discoverer, has pushed his

therefore, prove either that the early Semites were monotheists, or that they worshipped an *agnostos theos*, but only show that they did revere an impersonal *mana*, which might be male or female, and might appear simultaneously in a celestial body, a tree, and a sacred stone (see below on the *maṣṣebah*). Naturally, the worship of more personal manifestations of this primary godstuff began before the dawn of history, but traces of the original conception, antedating polytheism, pantheism and monotheism, may be found as late as the second millennium B. C. —From such expressions as *Yabnî-el* it was easy to abstract special designations for a more personal characteristic of deity, as "Creator," etc. We may even go farther and maintain that, in view of the facts cited, the imperfect form of the verb was the normal mode of expressing a "hypostatized" divine attribute.

Unless the writer has overlooked some discussion of the subject, no previous student seems to have had a clear idea of the reason for the variant *Yâhû*, which appears beside *Yahwéh*, especially in the Elephantine Papyri, the jar-stamps from the same period found in Jericho, and as the final element in proper names. Imperfects used in composition or separately, as hypocoristica, may appear either as indicatives or as jussives. The origin of this variation may perhaps be sought in imperfect forms which could be regarded as either, and thus formed a bridge over which it was possible to interchange jussives and indicatives of different structure occurring in proper names.[21] In the OT we find numerous jussives employed as proper names: e. g., *Yôsef* for **Yôsîf*, *Yadôn* for **Yadûn* (Neh. 3 7), *Ya'beṣ* (1 Chr. 2 55; 4 9 f.), *Ya'zer*, *Yafleṭ*, *Yamlek* (?), *Yanô'ḥ*, etc. The last named case is particularly instructive, since there can be no possible question here of a different interpretation, or of a mistake of the Masoretes, since *Yanôḥ* appears in modern Arabic as *Yânûn*, whereas a *Yanûḥ* could only appear as *Yânûḥ*, or the

interpretations too far, like Curtiss in his attempt to identify the saint-cult of Moslem welis with primitive Semitic religion, psychologically speaking.

21 For a similar interchange between imperfect and imperative of the verb in composition with a noun, especially, in this case, *'am*, "people," cf. *Annual*, II—III, p. 24, n. 10.

like.[22] Since *Yáhû* is a perfectly regular jussive from *Yahwéh*, there is thus not the slightest difficulty in assuming it to be a normal by-form of *Yahwéh*. The only difficulty offered by the reduced forms of the word is in the case of *Yehô-*, where we have an anomalous product of analogy, like the equally absurd *Yehôsef* for *Yôsef*. The Assyrian *Yauḫazi* shows clearly enough that the actual pronunciation was *Yᵃhû-* in composition. *Yehô-* is obviously formed on the analogy of the contracted form *Yô-*, used in the late pre-exilic period (Jewish seals, ostraca of Samaria) both for the divine name at the beginning of theophorous compounds, and also at the end. The postexilic writing *Yáhû* is naturally due to a revival of the historical spelling, accompanied, no doubt, by a similar archaistic pronunciation.

If we, then, regard *Yahwéh* as an imperfect verb, it is most naturally to be derived from *hwy* (as still in Aramaic), later *hayah*, "to come into existence, become, be." The preservation of an archaic form with *waw* in proper names is illustrated also by *Ḥawwah*, "Eve," as well known. The *a* vowel, moreover, shows that *Yahwéh* must be a causative, corresponding thus exactly to Late Hebrew *mehawweh*, "he who causes to be, brings into existence." The principal objection raised to this interpretation seems to be that it is too abstract to have originated

[22] This statement will perhaps appear cryptic, until elucidated. In Hebrew place-names we have two entirely distinct endings, *ô* (from **âyu*—*Annual*, II—III, p. 6, n. 6), as in *ʿAkkô*, *Yap(p)ô*, *Megiddô*, *Ûsô*, *Yerîḥô*, *Šîlô*, *Gîlô*, *Śôkô*, and *ôn* (from **ânu*), as in *ʿAbdôn*, *Dîbôn*, *Kesalôn*, *Bêṯḥôrôn*, *ʿEfrôn*, *Madôn*, etc. Both used the same gentilic, *ônî*, and hence there arose a confusion in forms, *Šîlô*, e. g., becoming **Šîlôn*, modern *Seilûn*, by a back-formation from the gentilic *Šîlônî*, and *Kesalôn* becoming **Kesalô*, Arab. *Keslā* (the change must have taken place actually in Aramaic, where the later back-formation **Keslân* became, by the operation of the same principle, *Keslâ*). Now, a number of place-names with long *ô* in the final syllable, followed by a weak laryngeal (*ʿayin* or *ḥet*), were attracted into the double category of place-names in *ô* and *ôn*: e. g., *Eštemôᶜ*, actually pronounced *Eštemôʿ*, becomes *Eštemô* (with *he*, Jos. 15 50); *Neftôḥ* becomes **Neftô*, whence Arab. *Liftā*; *Gilbôʿ* becomes **Gilbô*, **Gilbôn*, Arab. *Jelbûn*. On the same principle we have *Yanôḥ* = *Yānûn*, though we have also *Yanôḥ* (name of a town in Galilee) = *Yanûḥ*. On the other hand, **Yanûḥ* could not be attracted into the *ôn* category, because of the *û* vowel.

among the Hebrews of the second millennium B. C., and that concrete explanations like "the one who blows," from Arab. *hâwâ*, "blow," or "the one who fells," from Heb. *hawah*, Arab. *hâwâ*, "to fall," are more plausible for so early a period. This objection does not, however, reckon with the facts. In Assyrian, *šubšû*, the causative of *bašâ*, "come into existence, be," is common from the earliest period, while *śḫpr*, the causative of Egyptian *ḫpr*, "come into being, become," is still commoner, and occurs at all periods from the Pyramid Age on down. In Phoenician the corresponding verb is *kwn*, like Arab. *kâna*, and the imperfect causative, *yakîn*, occurs in composition with *el*, as *Yakîn-ilu*, "god brings into existence, creates," as early as the first quarter of the twentieth century B. C.[23] The same form, *Yakîn*, is also the name of one of the pillars which stood before the Temple of Solomon, personifying (?) attributes of Yahweh, but borrowed from Phoenician sources, and hence meaning "Creator," rather than "Establisher." In Aramaic at a later age, we find both the *af'el*, *ahwî*, and the causative *pa'el*, *hawwî*, both meaning "cause to be," nor may it be irrelevant to remind ourselves that the Hebrews of the Mosaic age probably spoke Aramaic.

The suggestion that *Yahwéh* is causative of *hayah*, "to be," was apparently first made by Le Clerc (Clericus) in 1700 (cf. De Lagarde, *Übersicht*, pp. 137—8), with the rendering *creator et effector rerum*. De Lagarde's own explanation as "derjenige, welcher das Verheissene in das Dasein ruft," which is too elaborate to convey a clear idea, is hardly an improvement; Haupt's "Insdaseinrufer"[24] is much better, though hard to reproduce adequately in English.[25] "The one who brings into existence" means, to all intents and purposes, "Creator."

The question of the meaning of our name is indissolubly connected with that of the text and interpretation of the famous passage of E, Ex. 3 13–16. By far the fullest and best treatment

[23] See Pinches and Newberry, JEA VII, 196—9; and for the correct reading of the cuneiform name, which Pinches read *Pikin-ilu*, cf. JPOS II, 120.

[24] Greek offers suggestive equivalents to this expression in γενεσιουργός and δημιουργός.

[25] See Haupt's article, *Der Name Jahwe*, OLZ 1909, 211—4.

of this passage is found in Arnold's elaborate paper "The Divine Name in Exodus iii. 14" (JBL XXIV, 107—165), where the conclusion is reached that no light is thrown upon the Hebrew text by the versions, even after an exhaustive consideration of them, and that the Hebrew text must therefore be interpreted from itself. Arnold here pointed out convincingly that the famous phrase אהיה אשר אהיה, in its Masoretic form *ehyéh ašer ehyéh*, can only mean in idiomatic Hebrew "I will be whatever I choose."[26] Since such a statement naturally connotes "resentment and rebuke", Arnold further concluded that there must be something wrong with it, since an innocent questioner cannot well be "rebuked for impertinence and inquisitiveness before even the occasion for his question has been encountered."[27] He accordingly supposed that verse 14a, containing this phrase, is a Midrashic gloss to 14b, though not explaining why a glossator should have hit upon so extraordinary a comment on his own responsibility. There is, however, another much more natural way out of our dilemma, to suppose that the phrase is not pointed correctly by the Masoretes, perhaps because of a slight previous corruption. As it stands the phrase does not explain the divine name *Yahwéh*, which is causative, as shown again above. The problem has been solved, in the writer's opinion, by Haupt's happy emendation to אהיה אשר יהיה, *ahyéh ašer yihyéh*, "I cause to be what comes into existence" (Haupt: Ich rufe ins Dasein was da ist).[28]

Since Haupt did not attempt to reconstruct a plausible text of E in our passage, we may try our hand at it, following a valuable suggestion made by Arnold in the paper already cited. According to him, the reading אהיה in 14b is not original, but secondary, being a purely phonetic *kinnui* of יהוה, designed "to prevent the utterance of the ineffable name in this one passage of the Pentateuch where the employment of the ordinary synagogue surrogate for יהוה, namely אדני, was from the nature of the case impossible."[29] This explanation of the enigmatic

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 128.
[27] *Op. cit.*, p. 129.
[28] *Op. cit.*, col. 211.
[29] *Op. cit.*, p. 162.

אהיה seems to me very happy indeed. If we accept it, we find ourselves face to face with a new problem, which Arnold apparently failed to consider: since both 14b and 15a are couched in practically identical terms, are they not doublets? That they are is indicated by the suspiciously harmonistic ויאמר עוד, which introduces 15a, bringing the verb ויאמר for the third time in rapid succession, in a single brief speech of Yahweh. 15a is thus a variant of 14b containing the identical words כה תאמר אל בני ישראל יהוה שלחני אליכם, and deriving its additional matter from verse 16, which introduces the following J section, and cannot possibly be severed from it and attached to E. Moreover, 15a is not only an amplification of 14b on the basis of J, but also breaks the connection between 14 and 15b: This is my name for ever, and my designation (*zikrî*) from generation to generation. In discussing the supposed gloss אהיה אשר אהיה, Arnold has pointed out that it spoils the natural sequence, which demands that 14b follow as the reply to Moses' question in 13. This is very true, but may be avoided if we suppose that a scribe was led astray by the repeated *wayyomer*s, and transposed 14a and 14b in part, a correction which has the great additional advantage of restoring the connection in what follows. We may now read the text as follows: ויאמר אלהים אל משה כה תאמר לבני ישראל יהוה שלחני אליכם ויאמר אהיה אשר יהיה זה שמי לעלם וזכרי לדר דר = And God said to Moses, Thus shalt thou say to the Israelites, Yahweh hath sent me unto you, and He said, I cause to be that which cometh into existence—this is My name for ever, and My designation from generation to generation. The formula *ahyéh ašer yihyéh* is in fact the complete form of the name of Yahweh, put into the first person in God's mouth. In the third person it would be *yahyéh* (older *yahwéh*) *ašer yihyéh*, "He causes to be what comes into existence."

The writer has elsewhere[30] pointed out that this formula is not a mystification, but is an old litanic or liturgic formula which

[30] Cf. JBL XXXVII, 142. In this connection it may be observed that the writer, though adhering to the principles and main contentions of this paper, has altered his opinion on a great many minor points, so that it can no longer be considered as accurately reflecting his point of view.

goes back unmistakably to Egyptian modes of thought and expression. This identical formula is found not infrequently in Egyptian inscriptions of the Eighteenth Dynasty, referring to the sun-god, or to his royal incarnation on earth, the reigning Pharaoh, god in his own right. Besides the formula *šḫpr. f pw wnn. ty. fy,* "he creates (lit. causes to come into existence) that which comes into existence," we have, e. g., *'Imn-Rᶜ qm3 wnn. t,* "Amôn-Rêᶜ, who has created what exists," etc. Variations of the same idea are very common in Egyptian theology; the sun-god, in some manifestation of his as the supreme deity, has created the universe, and continues daily to recreate it—creating whatever comes into existence. The conception is characteristically Egyptian, and does not occur in any of our available Mesopotamian sources, where all that exists was created at the beginning of the world, and continues to unfold itself according to the eternal plans prefigured then.[31] Now that we know that the Levitic names are largely Egyptian, and that Egyptian influences on early Hebrew religion and culture were almost as important as Syro-Mesopotamian (Sumero-Accadian), this additional testimony to Egyptian influence on Mosaic thought and theology cannot be surprising. Whether Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians or not, he was without doubt profoundly affected by the environment of his formative years in Egypt, where the germs of Yahwism were planted in his mind.

3. GOG AND MAGOG.

Here again we are attacking a problem whose solution has long been associated with squaring the circle and counting the number of miracles involved in the Noachic Deluge. I naturally have no intention of competing with our chiliastic friends, though perhaps tempted to accept the views of a Persian Jewish "Messiah," one Mosheh Eliyahu, as he outlined them to me once in his Persian Hebrew. After giving the good old identifications of Magog, Rosh, Meshech and Tubal with Mongol,

[31] Cf. JBL XXXIX, 143—151, especially pp. 150f.; JSOR VII, 79.

Russia, Moscow and Tobolski, he advanced an original theory regarding Gog. The latter, he said, is Trotzsky, since the number of the Beast is made up of תרום = 400 + 200 + 6 + 60 = 666—and *sky*, being found in all Russian names, does not count anyway.

The names *Gôg* and *Magôg* are obviously based on some process of blending or rhyme-formation, such as that which produced the rhyming pair *tōhû wa-bōhû* (cf. above, on Gen. I). Rhyme-formation is, of course, so common in Arabic, as well as in the Indo-European languages, that it is hardly necessary to establish its existence in Hebrew. A large number of good illustrations of rhyme-words and blend-formations in Hebrew are given by Blake, in his paper on "Congeneric Assimilation in Semitic," mentioned above, pp. 42—4. It may not be self-evident, however, that rhyme-formations are just as common in place-names and personal names as in common nouns, so a few illustrations, mainly from Hebrew and Canaanite, may be given. First there is the classic case of *Pelētî u-Krētî*, "Pelethites and Cherethites," which is clearly a modification of an original *Pelištî u-Krētî*, "Philistine and Cretan," as noted by Brockelmann, ZDMG LXVII, 108. There is also that pair of prophets in the Wilderness, called *Eldad* and *Mêdad* (Num. 11 26–9), whose legendary fame was still further amplified in the late apocalyptic Book of Eldad and Modad (so). Gen. 4 20ff. furnishes us with a typical *Märchen* group of the three sons of Lamech, who introduced the arts of civilization into the world—*Yabal, Yûbal*, and *Tûbal the Smith* (קין). Since *Yabal*, though unexplained, offers a perfectly normal Semitic form, and *Tûbal* is the people of Tûbal living in the ironbearing mountains of Pontus (Kizzuwadna), the name of *Yûbal*, inventor of music, is evidently a blend between the other two, perhaps influenced in its connection with music by *yôbel*, "jubilee."

The foregoing examples from Hebrew illustrate the principle that alterations of this type are usually made in legendary or remote and unfamiliar names. Countless cases of this character may be collected from Arab legend: e. g., *Jîḥân wa-Šîḥân* = Gihon and Pishon; *Hâbîl wa-Qâbîl* = Abel and Cain; *Tâlût wa-Jâlût* = Saul (David) and Goliath (Heb. *Ša'ûl we-Golyat*);

Yajûj wa-Majûj = Gog and Magog. Many more may be found in such repositories as *Qiṣaṣu 'l-Anbiyâ'i.*

In judging cases of rhyme formation in Hebrew we must naturally be on the watch for mistakes in lists of persons or places which are due to dittography or erroneous repetition of letters. A good case of this is found in Jos. 15 49, where *M* now reads דנה וקרית סנה היא דבר instead of דנה וקרית ספר היא דבר, which the text naturally should have.

The names *Gôg* and *Magôg* are mentioned together only in the apocalyptic section of Ezekiel, ch. 38—9. There are two formulas, the first of which (Ez. 38 2) reads in our present text גוג ארץ המגוג נשיא ראש משך ותובל, and the second, shorter of which (Ez. 38 3, 39 1) runs גוג נשיא ראש משך ותובל. Following *G* most commentators have regarded ראש as a proper-name, *Rôš*, but this desperate assumption does not make any better sense out of our text, besides introducing us to a proper name nowhere else mentioned in our sources, which happen to be very full for this period of unrest in the North. As so often elsewhere in awkward passages, there has been a transposition, due to accidental omission of a phrase, which was inserted on revision in the margin, and later put into the text in the wrong place.[32] We should naturally read the longer formula in the following order: גוג נשיא ארץ המגוג ראש משך ותובל, Gog, prince of the land of Magog, chief of Meshech and Tubal. The shorter formula, which is repeated, then means, Prince Gog, chief of Meshech and Tubal.

Of all the suggestions advanced by modern scholars for the explanation of the name *Gôg*, only three deserve attention. The

[32] The writer must confess that he has been needlessly slow in accepting the principle of transposition as a method of textual emendation of OT passages. His partial conversion has come through intensive study of the topographical material in the OT, where the sources may be checked by the facts of topography. Striking illustrations are found in the account of the northern boundary of Benjamin, in Joshua, and in the description of the extent of the Megiddo district in Solomon's kingdom, 1 Kings 4 12, where the present order of clauses, abcdef, should certainly be altered to acfdeb. The former will be discussed in the *Annual*, Vol. IV—V, and the latter in a paper on the administrative divisions of ancient Palestine, to appear in JPOS.

first is the identification of *Gôg* with *Gûgu* (Gyges) of Lydia, who flourished a century before Ezekiel, and undoubtedly made a great impression upon his contemporaries.[33] This view is probably correct in part, in so far as it explains why the name *Gôg*, whose similarity to *Magôg* suggests a different origin, becomes that of a mythical personage, a chief of Anatolian peoples. The second idea which we may single out for special mention is that of Van Hoonacker, who thinks that *Gôg* is the Sumerian *gug*, "darkness," while *Magôg* is *ma* (*MA* = *mâtu*, Brünnow, no. 6774) + *gug*, "land of darkness."[34] *Magôg* as an ethnic name is vouched for by Gen. X, so this awkward Sumerian etymology need not be taken very seriously, but since *gug* = *kukku* = *LÚ* = *dalâḫu*, "muddy, confuse," probably means "chaos" in Sumerian,[35] this explanation of *Gôg* would be plausible if *gug* were ever used in Sumerian as an appellation of the monster of chaos. Since it never is, Van Hoonacker's hypothesis will have to be rejected. The third view is based upon EA no. 1, lines 36—40, where the Cossaean king Kadašman-Ḫarbe is quoted as fearing that the Egyptians had palmed off on his emissaries as his sister some daughter of a plebeian (*muškênu*), of a man of Gaga (*Gagâ'a*), Ḫanikalbat, or Ugarit. That this land of Gaga refers to a barbarous region is evident, and since it is mentioned with Ḫanigalbat, or Melitene, and Ugarit in northwestern Syria, it clearly lay also in the north, a circumstance which has led many scholars to identify it with Gog. Since, however, *Gaga* is not mentioned elsewhere in our Egyptian or cuneiform sources, it is presumably a contraction of some better known name—*Gargamiš* (Carchemish) according to Weber, EA 1015. But it is not easy to see why Carchemish should be a proverbially barbarous land, as Gaga clearly was. In the writer's opinion, *Gaga* is a slight corruption of *Gašga*, a name applied in the Boghaz-köi tablets to a wild, mountainous district north of Melitene, on the confines of Armenia and Cappadocia.[36]

[33] Cf. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, pp. 246 f. and Meyer, *Geschichte*, § 464.

[34] See ZA XXVIII, 336.

[35] Cf. JAOS XLII, 198.

[36] For the location of Gašga see Garstang, *Index of Hittite Names*, I, 14, and AAA X, 177 ff. Having worked with Professor Garstang over

According to Forrer, the people of Gašga are spoken of as swineherds in the Hittite texts, a fact which sufficiently characterizes their barbarous habits of life.[37] In the Egyptian texts of the Nineteenth Dynasty the people of Gašga are called the *Kškš* (Hittite Gašgaš), and in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I they appear as a race of northern barbarians, under the name *Kaški* (written *Kaski*, but pronounced *Kaški*); in the Anatolian languages there is little or no distinction between the voiced and voiceless stops.[38] The correctness of our result is supported by the fact that we now have a regular geographical sequence—Gašga, Ḫanigalbat, and Ugarit—from north to south.

Since *Gôg* is a perfectly regular Hebrew obscuration of *Gâga*, the gentilic seems to have survived long after the Gašga folk passed into oblivion, with the general meaning "barbarian." Whether *Gôg* in Ezekiel reflects the historical Gyges or not, it almost certainly is, to some extent, at least, a reminiscence of *Gâgâ'a*, "barbarian."—But what is the origin of the name *Magôg*, so curiously like *Gôg*?

Aside from our passage in Ezekiel, *Magôg* only occurs in the list of the sons of Japheth: *Gomer, Magôg, Madai, Yawan, Tûbal, Mešek*, and *Tiras*, i. e., Cimmerians (Assyr. *Gimirâ'a*), Magog, Medes, Ionians, Tibareni of Pontus, Moschi (Assyr. *Muski, Muški*)[39] of Phrygia and Cappadocia (later of Armenia),

most of the material, the writer feels certain of the correctness of the main results of his work.

[37] Forrer's discussion may be found in a recent issue of MDOG.

[38] Cf. JPOS I, 57, n. 2.

[39] The Heb. *Mešek* shows that *Muski* (pronounced *Muški*) is the right spelling. The writing *Muški* is parallel to that of *Išgûza* or *Ašgûza*, where the correct form, as shown by the Hebrew, would be *Asgûza*. This variation is not, however, anomalous; the writer has elsewhere (JBL XXXIX, 167) pointed out that in Assyrian the *s* is confused with *š* before *k*, *q*, and *g*. In the Assyrian dialect this means that *šk* becomes *sk*, not the reverse, as might be thought from the orthography. If any are still uncertain in their minds about the law that Assyrian and Babylonian have inverted the values of the sibilants, let them read the remarks of Tallquist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, pp. XVIII f. This does not, however, indicate that the Babylonians preserved the original Semitic values, which the Assyrians reversed, but precisely the opposite; the Assyrians kept the Accadian values of the sibilants, which are those of

and Tarsus (?—Assyr. Tarzi, Aram. Tarz). *Magôg* evidently refers to a nomadic people of the north, probably, according to Josephus, the Scythians. No other people whom the references fit is known. It is true that the Scythians seem to appear again as *Aškenaz*, i. e., *Škunz* (?),[40] listed among the Cimmerian tribes, but this misunderstanding is quite as natural as the double listing of the Sabaeans under the heads *Sebâ* and *Šebâ*, one being properly the native South Arabian, the other being the Hebrew pronunciation of the name. The name *Magôg* I would explain as a blend of *Manda*, the regular Mesopotamian designation for "northern barbarian," and *Gôg*, the Hebrew equivalent, just explained. The Manda, or Ummân Manda are usually, perhaps always, combined with the nomadic Indo-Iranian hordes which periodically burst into Western Asia, and are often referred to in the cuneiform documents from Babylonia, Assyria, and Cappadocia, from the early part of the second millennium, if not earlier, down to the sixth century B. C.[41] In the earlier sources the terms *Manda* and *Gôyîm* are practically synonymous, it would appear.[42] *Magôg* would then represent a fusion of *Ma(nd)*, with the short vowel dropped, as regularly in Hebrew, and *Gôg*. This is more likely by far, it seems to me, than the alternative suggestion that *Magôg* is Assyr. *mât*, "country," plus *Gôg*, like *Zamua* and *Mazamua*.[43]

parent Semitic (cf. Worrell, JPOS I, 19; Luckenbill, AJSL XL, 12 f.; the writer, JPOS II, 124).

[40] Most cuneiformists accept this equation without hesitation, but the supposed scribal error of *nun* for original *waw* is improbable, since the *matres lectionis* would not have been written when Gen. X was composed. On the other hand, Forrer's recent effort to reintroduce the old identification with Ascanios and Ascanian cannot be treated lightly. It is true that the termination offers difficulty, and that the name is never mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions, but my suggestion that *Aškenaz* stands for **Škunz* is just as doubtful.

[41] The term *Manda* for the Indo-European (and other?) hordes from the northeast is now known to be very much earlier than supposed, since it occurs in texts of the Akkad Dynasty, and is also not uncommon in the Boghaz-köi texts (Forrer, ZDMG, 1922, 247—269).

[42] Cf. JPOS I, 75 f.; II, 129.

[43] That *Mazamua* cannot stand for *mât Zamua* is pointed out by Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, p. 43. Mazamua is the capital of the land Zamua, and the prefix cannot be Semitic.

The difficulty here is that *Gôg* is not an Assyrian word at all, while *mâtu* is not Hebrew at all.

Fortunately, we are able to exhibit a perfect parallel, from the Amarna Tablets. ARAD-Ḫepa,[44] prince of Jerusalem, writes to the Pharaoh (EA no. 288) complaining that the latter is not supporting the Egyptian administration in Palestine adequately, and that the country has fallen into a state of anarchy. He goes on to say (line 33 ff.): "As truly as there is a ship in the midst of the sea, the mighty arm of the king will seize Naḫrima (Naharîm = Naharáyim) and Kapasi, but now (meanwhile) the Ḫabiru (Hebrews) are seizing the towns of the king."[45] *Kapasi* is usually considered a mistake of the scribe for *Kasi* = *Kašši*, the land of the Cossaeans (Babylonia),[46] but there is nothing to explain the intrusion of *pa*, whereas all other mistakes in proper names in the Amarna Tablets are due to omissions of syllables, or the like (*Gu-la* for *Gu-ub-la*, *Na-aḫ-ma* for *Na-aḫ-ri-ma*). A much more natural explanation is at hand: *Kapasi* is a blend of *Kaptara* = *Kaptor* of the OT and *Alasi* = *Alašîya-'rs-Elîšah*,[47] i. e., *Kap(tara)-(Al)asi*. *Kaptara* means properly Crete, but was probably applied to Aegean lands in general, while *Alašîya* is Cyprus. The form *Alasi* is due to the omission of the typical Anatolian ending *ya*, and the use of the Amorite pronunciation of the sibilants, as in *Urusalim* for *Yerušalem*; the people of Jerusalem spoke an Amoritic dialect, in which *s* was the prevailing sibilant, while *š* was the prevailing one in Canaanite and Hebrew.[48] The worthy prince of Jerusalem—or his scribe—had a hazy idea of Mediterranean geography and

[44] This pronunciation of the name read ordinarily *'Abdi-ḫeba* will be defended elsewhere; cf. for the present the Egyptian transcription *gp* for *ḫe-ba* or *ḫe-pa*.

[45] This translation will be explained in a paper on the occurrence of the name *Selê* ("*Zaru*") in the Amarna Tablets, to appear in JEA.

[46] Cf. Weber, EA 1340 f.

[47] For Alašîya = Cyprus cf. Weber, EA 1076 f. The equation is demonstrated by the Report of Wen-Amôn, and the references in the Boghaz-köi texts. Contrast Wainwright, *Klio*, Vol. XIV, 1—36, who tries to show that Alašîya lay on the coast of Northern Syria, a view which is now no longer tenable.

[48] The writer expects to treat this theme at length in the near future.

nomenclature, and the notions he had imbibed from time to time converged and formed a composite picture in his mind.[49] We can hardly smile; have we not ourselves perpetrated such monstrosities as *Eurasia* and *Amerindia*?

4. THE RÔLE OF THE POSTDILUVIAN PATRIARCHS IN HEBREW HISTORY

It has long been recognized that the list of eight patriarchs between Shem and Abram, Gen. 11 12–24 is a traditional document of great importance, but there were as many different ways of interpreting it as there were commentators. Passing by the two extreme groups which believe either that the list represents an actual primogenitive genealogy or that it is a tribal pantheon, we have every possible intermediate view. Some have even thought that the postdiluvian list of ten was a doublet of the antediluvian list, nor are there lacking arguments to support such a contention. The striking analogy which exists between some of the names of our list and geographical names of northwestern Mesopotamia has, however, convinced most scholars that a connection is there and must be explained. In our opinion the connection is much clearer and more important than has generally been realized; in fact, our list seems to shed unexpected light on the prehistory of the Hebrew people, and to enable us to bring important evidence in support of the fundamental equation, Ḫabiru = Hebrew.

In the case of the last three pre-Abrahamic patriarchs, we have little difficulty, since the necessary combinations have already been made by others. Yet there are some fine points which have not been properly elucidated. The name of Serug (שרוג) was compared long ago with Syriac *Sarûg*, Assyr. *Sarûgi*[50] (written with *s* but pronounced with *š*, as always in Assyrian),[51] modern Arabic *Serûj*, the name of a town or district west of

[49] Exactly such a composite picture in the early Greek mind is illustrated by the blend of Ἀσσύριος and Τύριος to Σύριος, "Syrian."

[50] For Assyr. Sarûgi cf. Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, p. 64, n. 1, etc.

[51] Cf. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, p. xviii.

Harrân. The sibilant offers no difficulty when we recall that Heb. שׂ, which corresponds etymologically to Aramaic ס, is transcribed with a *s*, pronounced *š*, in Assyrian; e. g., *Širlâ'a* (written *Sirlâ'a*) = *Yiśra'elî*, *Šanîru* (written *Sanîru*) = *Śenîr*, etc. The explanation of this seeming inconsistency cannot yet be given; there are still serious difficulties in defining the exact pronunciations of Hebrew *sin* and *samek*. We can only establish the philological rules governing them, and trust to the future for the interpretation of our rules.

Heb. *Naḥôr* (נחור) corresponds, as suggested for years, to Assyr. *Til-Naḫîri*, the name of a town in the Ḫarrân district.[52] The vocalism of the two names is really exactly equivalent, for *Naḫîri* should evidently be written *Naḫḫîr(i)*; since Heb. *qaṭôl* (e. g., *qarôb*, *qadôš*) corresponds morphologically in a whole grammatical category to Aram. *qaṭṭîl* (e. g., *qarrîb*, *qaddîš*), the two forms are practically interchangeable, on the principle of morphological adaptation, or analogical back-formation (cf. above). In this case, *Naḫḫîr* is presumably original, while *Naḥôr* is a back-formation in Hebrew, since the Hebrews originally spoke Aramaic.

The third name of this group, *Teraḥ* (תרח) is presumably to be found in the place-name *Til-ša-turâḫi*, belonging to a town on the Balîḫ. This combination was originally suggested tentatively by Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 80, and remained unnoticed until Kraeling proposed it independently.[53] Assyr. *turâḫu* means "ibex," so we clearly have to do with a personal name, which also appears as *Trḥ* in the Safaitic inscriptions. The two names *Til-Naḫîri* and *Til-ša-Turâḫi* are very interesting, since they belong in the same category as *Tell el-ʿAmârneh* (one below Carchemish, another in Egypt), "Mound of the ʿAmârneh Tribe" (Benī ʿAmrân), and *Tell Ḥasan eṣ-Ṣâliḥ*, *Tell Abū Maḥfûz* (both in Palestine), called after former owners of the sites. Place-names formed with the word *tillu*, "mound," are found almost exclusively within the Aramaic region of northwestern Mesopotamia, where they are very common. Their formation

[52] For Til Naḫîri cf. KAT 477 f.; Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, pp. 24 f.
[53] ZATW XL (1922), 153 f.

seems to be like that of Arabic place-names with *tell*; e. g., one of the most important Aramaic centers of Upper Mesopotamia was called *Til-abnê*, "Mound of Stones," like modern Arabic *Tell el-Ḥajar*, a common name. Another important town was called *Til-Barsip*, i. e., "Mound of (the city) Barsip"; in the early Sumerian period of Mesopotamian history Barsip was the name of the place,[54] afterwards destroyed and renamed Til-Barsip. There can be no doubt as to the general period at which the old Sumerian and Ḫurrian (?) towns of Upper Mesopotamia were destroyed; this must have occurred in the early part of the second millennium, presumably in connection with the great irruption of northern barbarians between the nineteenth and the seventeenth centuries B. C.[55] It was at this time that we must place the first development of the Aramaean settlements in Mesopotamia (see below). The Aramaean settlers gave names beginning with *tell* to the mounds which represented the sites of old towns, destroyed in the great barbarian inundation; when they became sedentary they reoccupied many, perhaps most of the ancient sites, which still kept their former Aramaean names, however. Exactly the same process is familiar to all students of Arab history in Syria and Mesopotamia.

Having found the names of the last three patriarchs before Abram represented by place-names in Upper Mesopotamia, let us turn to the two preceding, Peleg and Reu. Peleg is probably identified correctly with Phaliga on the Euphrates, just above the mouth of the Ḫābûr. Isidore of Charax explains the name as meaning "half-way station" (*μεσοπορικόν*),[56] naturally thinking

[54] The name *Barsip* can hardly be separated from *Barziba* = *Borsippa*, with which it seems to have first been compared by Hommel. There are a number of other Sumerian place-names in Upper Mesopotamia; e. g., *Ḫa-bur*, "River of Fertility" (identical in name but not otherwise with the river Ḫubur in the underworld); *Kar-Gamiš*, "Quay of Gamis" (JAOS XL, 319); *Ḫarran*, "Road"; not to mention more doubtful cases. In the light of this material, Ungnad's theory that the Subaraeans or Ḫurrians formed the aboriginal stock of Mesopotamia becomes doubtful, to say the least; cf. his brochure *Die ältesten Völkerwanderungen Vorderasiens*, Breslau, 1923, p. 8.

[55] Cf. JSOR VIII, 55 and n. 8; JPOS II, 122ff.

[56] *Parthian Stations*, 1; Schoff's edition, p. 4.

of Aram. *pilgâ*, "part, half, middle," but a derivation from Assyr. *palgu*, "canal," seems more likely. The idea expressed in Gen. 10 25 that Peleg received his name from the division of the earth in his days is naturally a learned deduction from a popular etymology.

The name Reu (רעו) has not been identified, so far as we know. The ending *û*, as in *Penû-el*, etc., shows clearly enough that *Reʿû* is an abbreviation or hypocoristicon of *Reʿû-el*, a name otherwise familiar in early Hebrew history. The view that *Reʿû* is shortened from *Reʿû-el* is also held by Skinner (*Genesis, ad. loc.*). We would propose the identification of the name with that of Raʾilu, a town situated on an island in the Euphrates just below ʿAnat (ʿAnah), and thus about half-way between the mouth of the Ḫābûr and the Babylonian frontier at Rapîqu. The place is mentioned by Šamaš-rêš-uṣur, prefect of Sûḫi and Maeri (Mari),[57] who spells it *Ra-ilu*, and also in the new Nabopolassar Chronicle,[58] where it is written *Ra-ḫi-i-lu*, so the pronunciation *Raʾilu* is quite certain.

We still have left three names between Shem and Peleg, those of Arphaxad, Selah, and Eber. Arphaxad (ארפכשד) is still a puzzle. The difficulties in the way of a combination with the district of Arrapḫa, older Arraphu[m] and Greek Arrapachitis, are too serious to make this view likely at present, though the writer formerly defended it.[59] The name is most certainly non-Semitic, and resembles the numerous Ḫurrian (?) or Anatolian place-names beginning with *ar* or ending with *ad/t* (voiced and voiceless stops are practically interchangeable in the Caucasian and Anatolian languages) closely in formation. It surely belongs with such Upper Mesopotamian place-names as *Ḫaligalbat*,[60] *Ukulzat*, *Aštat*, *Araḫat*, and *Kaḫat*, all in use during the second

[57] Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, no. 1, col. IV, 1.

[58] Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh*, p. 33, line 33, and n. 10.

[59] Cf. JBL XXXVII, 133ff.; JPOS I, 78. My attempt to connect Ur with Arbela was unfortunate, and deserves the drastic statement of it given by Clay, *Origin of Biblical Traditions*, p. 43, n. 9. One may operate too freely by far with hypothetic alterations of text.

[60] The form *Ḫanigalbat* is probably dissimilation of a more original *Ḫaligalbat*; cf. AJP XLIII, 167.

millennium B. C. We may, therefore, expect it to turn up before long in the triangle formed by the Ḫābûr and Euphrates, or in the land of Ḫana-Šanĝar[61] to the south of the Ḫābûr. It is hard to answer the query which comes up in spite of all: is there a connection between *Arpakšad* and *Ûr-Kaśdîm*? Such a connection has often been assumed, and may well exist, though one suspects a modern calembour; one cannot be too careful to avoid making artificial comparisons which belong to the category of misplaced wit rather than to that of scientific method. Yet the possibility that the enigmatic *Arpakšad*, handed down by hoary tradition, was explained by some ingenious scribal historian as representing the South-Babylonian city of Ur, then in Chaldaean hands, cannot be gainsaid. It is certainly wiser at present to avoid making elaborate hypotheses on the basis of the *Ûr-Kaśdîm* of our Masoretic text, which is not even found in *G*, offering a translation based upon a Hebrew *ereṣ hak-Kaśdîm*, or the like.

The following name Selah (שֶׁלַח) cannot be identified as yet, though it is probably a good old Semitic personal and tribal name like Methuselah. The element *šelaḥ* is also a separate word which means in Hebrew "dart, lance" or "canal, watercourse," where the final consonant was originally *ḫ* as in Assyr. *šiliḫtu*, "canal."[62]

ʿEber, on the other hand, has a certain identification, though a muchdisputed etymology. Since the question is coming up again for discussion, we may defend our position, which has not been clearly stated, so far as we know. In our opinion, Heb. *ʿEber*, for **ʿIbr*, stands by epenthesis for **ʿAbir*,[63] an intransitive participle of the type *fāʿil*, from the stem *ʿbr*, "traverse, cross, wander," and thus means "wanderer, nomad." The name is thus equivalent in significance to *ʿArab*. Haupt has pointed out that the stems *ʿbr* and *ʿrb* are practically transposed doublets, since their derived verbal and nominal forms transpose their

[61] Cf. now my discussion of Šanḫar-Šanĝar in AJSL XL, 125ff.

[62] Cf. Dhorme, JPOS III, 45—8.

[63] The philological process is familiar in all the Semitic languages; the classical example for this particular type is Arab. *bʾsa* from *baʾisa*.

consonants frequently.[64] Since the oldest known form of the name *ʿArab* appears as *ʿAribi*, i. e., *ʿArib*, in the Assyrian texts, we are hardly going too far if we consider *ʿAbir* and *ʿArib* as actually transposed doublets. In this case, the former was the term in use during the third and second millennium B. C., with the sense of "Aramaean Bedawī" (the parent Hebrew stock is termed *arammî ôbéd*, "wandering Aramaean," in Deut. 26 5),[65] while the latter was the designation applied to Arab Bedawîn from the beginning of the first millennium B. C., after the former had become restricted to the Israelites and related Palestinian tribes alone.

Since the discovery of the Tell el-ʿAmârneh Tablets it has generally been assumed that the ^{awîlût}*Ḫabiru* which appear in the letters of the prince of Jerusalem are identical with the Hebrews. After the discovery of the identity of the *SA-GAZ* people with the Ḫabiru,[66] there has been more hesitation, because

[64] The suggestion that the words "Hebrew" and "Arab" are transposed doublets we owe to Haupt, who has maintained it for many years. Among the transposed derivatives we may mention *ʿarabah* = *ʿabarah* (Haupt). In Ethiopic *ʿabra*, "to be desert," is clearly denominative from an archaic **ʿabir*, "desert wanderer," or the like. The derivatives of the Arabic stems *ʿbr* and *ʿrb* are closely interrelated, so closely, in fact, that it seems impossible to disentangle them, as may readily be seen by a careful comparison.

[65] Luckenbill has recently suggested another explanation for the expression *Arammî ôbed*, AJSL XXXVI, 244f., equating it with *Aramu ḫalqu munnabtu* of the Taylor Cylinder, col. V, 11. It is true that *munnabtu*, "fugitive," comes from the same stem as *ôbed*, but as a reflexive (*nifʿal*) it is rather voluntary than involuntary. The expression *Arammî ôbed* may perhaps be rendered "stray Aramaean," like *śeh ôbed*, "stray sheep," for the sake of the metaphor, but since the Aramaeans were nomadic to begin with, "wandering" is much more adequate as an English rendering than "stray." On the other hand, the expression *ḫalqu* in the Assyrian passage is a synonym of *amîr damê*, "bloodsoaked," and *ḫabbîlu*, "bandit," so must have a pejorative meaning not attached to *ôbed*, though the stems have the same significance.

[66] Thanks to the Boghaz-köi tablets, the identity, divined by Winckler, has been established beyond cavil. Yet there is no agreement as to the reason why the ideogram *SA-GAZ*, which stands also for *ḫabbatu*, "robber," should be employed regularly in the second millennium for *Ḫabiru*. The usual idea, which we share, is that no clear distinction was made between

of the wide range of the *SA-GAZ* in the ʿAmârneh and Boghazköi correspondence. The god Ḫabiru also appears in Hittite and Assyrian documents. Dhorme has recently emphasized the importance of the new material for the elucidation of the problem, regarding it as decisively settling the debate against the identity of the Ḫabiru with the Hebrews.[67] His theory is that the Ḫabiru were a group of Syrians hostile to Egyptian domination, and hence under Hittite protection. The word he considers an appellative, derived from Canaanite *ḥaber*, "friend, companion," and thus to be rendered "confederate" or "Eidgenosse." He argues that *Ḫabiru* is an appellative and not a gentilic at all.

Undoubtedly *Ḫabiru* could be considered as respresenting *ḥaber*, but this explanation is difficult to reconcile with other facts. In the letters from Jerusalem, other names of peoples,

roving bands of robbers and bands of equally thievish Bedawîn. Even in our days practically every Bedawî is an actual or potential robber; in ancient times it was still more so. The close relation is illustrated by the fact that the same word means "Bedawî" in Egyptian (*šôse*) and "robber" in Hebrew (*šôseḥ*); cf. Böhl, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer*, p. 89, n. 2. Very likely, the suggestion for the use of this particular ideogram came from the similarity in sound between *ḥabbatu* and *ḥabiru*, as *ʿabiru* was pronounced by the Accadians. Luckenbill's view (AJTh XXII, 37, n. 1; AJSL XXXVI, 244f.) that *Ḫabiru* is an Accadian appellative, meaning "brigand," from an otherwise unknown stem *ḥabâru*, parallel to *ḥabâlu*, breaks down before the fact that the god Ḫabiru and the gods of the Ḫabiru are mentioned in Assyrian and Hittite sources (cf. Jirku, OLZ 1921, 246f.; Gustavs, ZATW XL, 313f.). Moreover, *Ḫabiru* is marked once as a Canaanite word in EA 290, 24, while in another passage it is written with the determinative for "country." These objections do not affect Dhorme's theory, however. The exact meaning of the Sumerian expression *SA-GAZ* is difficult to decide, since *sa* means "cord, tendon," while *gaz* is "to kill." Ungnad (*op. cit.*, p. 15) thinks that *SA-GAZ* means properly "slinger" (Schleuderer), but this is apparently deduced from the ideogram, which hardly lends itself to such an interpretation, since *gaz* means "strike, slay," not "throw." I would suggest that *SA-GAZ* means properly "strangler" (slayer with a cord); it is well-known that a robber guild like the Thugs of India practises this mode of slaying victims almost exclusively.

67 Dhorme's paper, read before the Palestine Oriental Society May 8, 1924, will appear in the *Journal* of the society, vol. IV; cf. already RB 1924, 12—16.

like *Kâši*, are treated in the same way as *Ḫabiru/i*. Thus in no. 287, line 31 we have (in genitive, *ana* accidentally omitted) ^{awîlût}*Ḫa-bi-ri*; in line 33 (also in genitive) ^{awîlût}*Ka-ši-ya* (written *PI*), "my Nubians," like ^{awîlût}*Su-te-ya*, "my Bedawîn," in no. 195, 29 (here immediately after ^{awîlût}*SA-GAZ*^{pl}-*ya* = "my Ḫabiru"). Illustrations may be multiplied, but this is not necessary here. To judge from a passage like no. 288, 38, where we have *teléqi'û* ^{awîlût}*Ḫabiru*, "the Ḫabiru take (in the plural)," *Ḫabiru* is treated as a collective, like *Midyan*, *Mô'ab*, *Yiśra'el*, etc., in the Old Testament; cf., e. g., 2 Kings 3 21: וכל מואב שמעו. This construction is so exceedingly common in Hebrew that we cannot be surprised to find it in the older Canaanite.

Moreover, the Ḫabiru appear in Mesopotamia long before the Egyptian Empire in Asia. They are mentioned several times in documents from the Larsa Dynasty, toward the close of the third millennium B. C.[68] More recently the *SA-GAZ* have been found mentioned in Hittite translations of the inscriptions (or romance?) of Narâm-Šin of Akkad.[69] Here, however, one cannot help suspecting that *SA-GAZ* is a translation of the archaic *Su-ti-um*^{KI}, or the like, and merely shows that *SA-GAZ* was the ordinary Hittite equivalent of "Semitic nomad" in general. The occurrences in the Larsa texts are, however, phonetically written, and thus make it impossible to accept the correctness of Dhorme's view unless we suppose that these Ḫabiru have nothing in common with the Ḫabiru of the fourteenth century, a highly improbable supposition.

The picture of the Ḫabiru which we draw from our inscriptional sources is very like that we draw from our analysis of the Old Testament traditions concerning the Hebrews. In both we have a nomadic people occupying the steppes of Mesopotamia during the general period corresponding to the end of the third and the early part of the second millennium B. C. This folk played so important a rôle in Upper Mesopotamia and northern

[68] The texts mentioning the Ḫabiru have been published by Scheil (RA XII, 114 f.) and Miss Grice, whose publication does not happen to be accessible to me.

[69] See Forrer, *Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift*, Leipzig, 1922, no. 5, rev. 10.

Syria that its gods are mentioned in the oath formulae of the treaties between Ḫatte and Mitanni, as well as between Ḫatte and Nuḫašši. Since the oath formulae in these treaties are almost exhaustive, mentioning even the Indo-Iranian divinities of the Manda hordes, who seem to have formed a privileged category of the population, it would be surprising if the gods of the Hebrews were omitted. From the list of the ancestral Hebrew tribes preserved in our catalogue of patriarchs, as well as from the traditions concerning the career of Abram, Laban, and their families in Ḫarrân, it is evident that the Hebrews were one of the most important elements in the population of the region between the Euphrates and the Ḫābûr, though they were presumably looked down upon as semi-nomadic barbarians by the inhabitants of the civilized centers.

There are many additional phases to this question, but we have said enough for the moment. It can no longer be doubtful that the first home of the Aramaeans, which then called themselves "Hebrews" after leaving their cradle in Arabia, was in the valleys of the Euphrates and its tributaries, in the west and northwest of the greater Mesopotamia. It was from this region, called Paddan-Aram by the Hebrews, that Abram and the Benê Ya'qob came to Palestine and Egypt, probably swept into the current of the Hyksos irruption, as the writer has maintained elsewhere.[70] [71]

[70] See JPOS I, 65 ff.; II, 121 ff.

[71] The writer hopes to continue this series of biblical notes with brief studies of the *maṣṣebôt*, teraphim, etc., as well as discussions of lexicographical and hermeneutic questions.

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER, 1923.

THE fifty-ninth meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis was held at the Jewish Institute of Religion, West 68th Street near West Central Park, New York City. The first session was called to order at 2.00 p. m. on Thursday, December 27, 1923: President Margolis in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting having been printed in the Journal were not read. Reports of the Corresponding Secretary, of the Recording Secretary, and of the Treasurer were read and ordered to be filed. To audit the treasurer's account Professors Fowler and DeLong were appointed.

Professors Haupt, Arnold, and Fullerton were appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

The Committee on arrangements consisting of Professors Gottheil, Bewer, and Marx made a verbal report.

The Secretary was instructed to send a letter of thanks to the Jewish Institute of Religion in appreciation for the hospitality extended to the Society at this meeting.

Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By M. L. Margolis: "Our Own Future: A Forecast and a Program." (Presidential Address.)

By A. G. Sellen: "The Interpretative Value of the Synoptic Source Analysis."

By W. H. Worrell: "The Operation of Polarity in Semitic."

By J. A. Montgomery: "More Comments on the Greek Versions of Daniel."

By G. A. Barton: "Some Influences of Apollos in the New Testament."

Thursday Evening, December 27. The Society met at about 8.30 p. m. The following illustrated papers and reports were presented:

By M. I. Hussey: "Report of the Field Secretary of the Oriental Fund."

By W. H. P. Hatch: "Sinai and Nitria: An Expedition in Quest of Manuscripts."

By W. J. Moulton: "Report of the American School in Jerusalem."
By D. G. Lyon: "Publication of the Harvard Excavations at Samaria."
By D. G. Lyon: "Hebrew Ostraka from Samaria."

Friday Morning, December 28. The Society convened at about 9.00 a. m. The Nominating Committee suggested the following officers for 1924 who were forthwith elected by the Society:

Prof. C. R. Bowen	*President*
Prof. J. A. Bewer	*Vice-President*
Prof. H. J. Cadbury	*Secretary*
Prof. M. I. Hussey	*Treasurer*
Prof. B. W. Bacon Prof. R. H. Gottheil Prof. J. H. Ropes Prof. N. Schmidt Prof. H. P. Smith	*Associates in Council*
Pres. W. J. Moulton	*Representative among the Trustees of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*

Report was made of the proceedings of the Council. Their report was accepted and the persons named by them were elected members of the Society. At their suggestion it was voted that the Society should accept the invitation of Chicago University and of the Chicago Society of Biblical Research to hold the next annual meeting in Chicago. The question of the time of meeting was referred to the newly elected Council.

It was voted that the Secretary be instructed to change the By-Laws of this Society so that Section VII first sentence should read simply "each member shall annually pay a tax of $ 3.00."

It was voted that the Treasurer be permitted in sending out bills for membership in the Society to enclose a request for support of the American School of Oriental Research.

The Committee appointed to prepare the list of Biblical Manuscripts in America reported that their list had now been published in the Journal. At their request the Committee was discharged.

The following memorial resolutions prepared by Professors Hincks and Montgomery were adopted by the Society and the Secretary was instructed to send copies to the families of the deceased. The resolutions are as follows:

Dr. William H. Cobb graduated at Amherst and studied theology at Princeton and Andover. After spending fifteen years in the pastorate he became in 1887 librarian of the Congregational Library in Boston, and held that position until his death, May 1, 1923. The library, which was founded primarily "to preserve the religious history and literature of New England," and "to serve the special interests of Congregationalists," under Dr. Cobb's direction enlarged its scope without losing its essentially historical character. A noteworthy addition to its contents during his long period of service was that of Bishop Stubbs' library of English history and literature. Dr. Cobb's service as a learned librarian is illustrated by his little monograph "Seven Centuries of Congregational Literature." He served this society as recording secretary from 1892 to 1916. During much of that time he was a member of the publishing committee and gave time and labor without stint to preparing the Journal for publication. "During his incumbency," wrote his immediate successor, "the Congregational Library in Boston, was practically the permanent office and depository of the Society." The accompanying words of appreciation may also fitly be quoted. "As secretary I have come to realize more than ever the invaluable services rendered by the late secretary." Dr. Cobb's scholarly contributions to the society consisted for the most part of elaborate discussions of the historical and critical questions suggested by the book of Isaiah, of which book he was, through his active life, an enthusiastic student. They are characterized by great familiarity with the text, wide knowledge of the criticism of the prophetic literature and a deep feeling for the aesthetic qualities of the writings discussed. While the author's views are maintained with vigor, his polemic is courteous and not uncandid. Conservative feeling was blended in Dr. Cobb with love of truth, and did not prevent him from accepting some of the leading positions reached by Old Testament criticism. A striking evidence of his sincerity and candor appeared in his frankly acknowledging that a certain critical device which he had invented and had applied with immense labor he had found to be futile.

Dr. Cobb's most elaborate contribution to Old Testament study was the essay entitled *A Criticism of Systems of Hebrew Metre*, which received a prize offered by Manchester College, Oxford, and was published by the Clarendon Press, (Oxford) in 1905. In it the qualities of the author's scholarship, thoroughness, accuracy, and

discrimination appear at their best. Those traits of character which endeared Dr. Cobb to his friends do not come within the scope of this minute. Perhaps it may properly include the reflection that in him that admirable product of Protestant Christianity the learned minister was well illustrated.

The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis shares with many and varied groups in the feeling of deep sorrow and great loss at the passing of the Honorable Mayer Sulzberger from this world's life, April 20, 1923. One of the leaders of the Philadelphia Bar, an eminent jurist whose name will long be remembered in the legal traditions of his city, a wise, devoted and generous patron of the religion and philanthropy of his beloved community, and a citizen in the largest sense of the word, he possessed the genius and found the time not only for the cultivation of Biblical studies but also for original contributions to the knowledge of the Bible. We have to note in particular his several series of constitutional studies in the history of Israel, a field for which his rich endowments of mind and training peculiarly fitted him: *The Am-ha-Aretz: The Ancient Hebrew Parliament* (1909); *The Polity of the Ancient Hebrews* (1912); and the posthumously published volume (1923), *The Status of Labor in Ancient Israel*. He was always interested in the causes of this Society, and his death marks the passing of an elder type of scholarship, at once profound and human, which the professional can but envy.

The Auditing Committee reported that they had examined the account of the Treasurer and found it correct. A vote of commendation was given to the retiring Treasurer for his faithful service.

Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By P. Haupt: "The Origin of Circumcision."
By P. Haupt: "Salted with Fire."
By P. Haupt: "Camel and Needle's Eye."
By K. Fullerton: "On Job 40 1-5 as the Original End of the Book."
By C. C. Torrey: "The Prophecy of Habakkuk and the Armies of Alexander."
By F. J. Stephens: "The Babylonian Dragon Myth in Habakkuk 3."
By T. J. Meek: "Babylonian Parallels to the Song of Songs."
By G. S. Cooke: "The Song of Songs and Modern Palestinian and Syrian Folk Songs."
By R. P. Dougherty: "Cuneiform Parallels to 1 Kings 4 7-28."
By J. H. Ropes: "The History of Certain New Testament Uncials."

Friday Afternoon, December 28. The Society met at 2.00 p. m. Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By F. P. Ramsay: "Psalm 103."
By N. Schmidt: "Some Recent Studies of the Term 'Son of Man'."
By C. R. Bowen: "Notes on the Fourth Gospel."
By B. A. Elzas: "The Gentle Art of Text Emending."
By R. H. Pfeiffer: "The Oldest Decalogue."
By H. T. Fowler: "Paul, Q, and the Jerusalem Church."
By I. J. Peritz: "The Earliest Interpretation of the Death of Christ in Social Terms."
By J. A. Maynard: "The Element of Controversy in the Documents of the Pentateuch."
By A. M. Perry: "Jesus in Jerusalem: A Note upon Chronology."
By H. S. Gehman: "Notes on Persian Words in Esther."
By W. H. Johnson: "Evolution and the Fall."
By J. A. Kelso: "Note on 1 Sam. 13 19-23."

The following papers were read by title only, either on account of the absence of the author or from lack of time.

By L. Finkelstein: "Traders and Artisans in Prophetic Times."
By I. Eitan: "Short Grammatical Notes."
By I. Eitan: "The Crux in Prov. 27 16."
By I. Eitan: "An Egyptian Loan Word in Isaiah 19."
By P. Haupt: "The First Poem of Deutero-Isaiah."
By J. A. Kelso: "The Tombs and Sanctuaries of Petra."
By J. A. Kelso: "The Role of the Hittites in the Old Testament."
By J. Bloch: "Syriac Rendering of *borith* in Jer. 2 22 and Mal. 3 2."
By R. Levy: "Deutero-Isaianic Influences in Biblical Literature."
By L. I. Newman: "Huss, Zwingli and Servetus: Their Contribution to Biblical Exegesis."
By J. R. Harris: "The Gospel Harmony of Zacharias Chrysopolitanus."
By C. P. Coffin: "The Meaning of 1 Cor. 15 32."
By W. N. Stearns: "A Christian Hymn 1700 Years Old."
By C. C. Torrey: "'Cast It Unto the Potter,' Zech. 11 13; Matt. 27 9 f."
By B. A. Elzas: "Note on Job 10 20-22."
By B. A. Elzas: "A Further Word on Amos 2 6, 7."
By C. C. Torrey: "'He Shall Be Called a Nazarene,' Matt. 2 23."
By K. Fullerton: "Notes on Isaiah 8."
By G. A. Barton: "Origin of the Discrepancy between the Synoptists and the Fourth Gospel as to the Date and Character of Christ's Last Supper."
By J. A. Bewer: "Nehemiah's Repair of the Wall According to Josephus."
By J. A. Montgomery: (a) "'These Twenty Years, etc.'
(b) "Some Aramaisms in Ecclesiastes."

The Society adjourned at 4.30 p. m.

HENRY J. CADBURY, *Recording Secretary.*

REPORT OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

During the year the following numbers of the Journal have appeared: the reprint of volume XXXIV; part 4 of volume XL (including index to volumes XXI to XL); and volumes XLI and XLII entire. As a consequence, the Editorial Board is in a position to congratulate itself on having at last brought the Journal up to date.

Members are urgently reminded that the Journal cannot prosper unless the Editors are offered a larger number of appropriate articles. It often happens that some of the best papers read at our meetings are never submitted for publication. With the passing of members who in former years contributed generously to the Journal, it is more than ever necessary that those who remain take seriously to heart their responsibility toward the organ of this Society. The need is the more pressing in view of the fact that within the last decade or so several new journals have appeared to claim the time and attention of our members.

GEORGE DAHL, *Corresponding Secretary.*

REPORT OF RECORDING SECRETARY

The membership of the Society of Biblical Literature appears to be 345 which is an increase of 9 over the number reported last year.

22 Members have joined during the year, a few have been reinstated in membership, several resigned or allowed their membership to lapse and the following have deceased:

Rev. W. O. Ruston joined in 1921, died May 27, 1922.
Hon. Mayer Sulzberger joined in 1916, died April 20, 1923.
Rev. William H. Cobb joined in 1882, died May 1, 1923.
Rev. Philip S. Moxom joined in 1887, died August 13, 1923.

There are also ten honorary members.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY J. CADBURY, *Recording Secretary.*

Dec. 20, 1923.

TREASURER'S REPORT, 1923

Receipts

Jan.	1, Balance from 1922	$ 1511.37
Feb.	2, Interest on Trust Acc't	40.00
Mar.	8, Yale University Press	337.07
May	12, K. Fullerton	22.00
„	12, B. W. Bacon	26.80
June	1, Interest on Savings Acc't	2.62
„	20, „ „ Trust Acc't	17.50
Nov.	20, R. H. Bainton	73.31
Dec.	1, Interest on Savings Acc't	1.50
„	11, J. W. Flight	116.20
	Dues in 1923	957.70
		$ 3106.07

Disbursements

Jan.	1, Shea Brothers, printing	$ 27.00
„	3, Editorial expense	16.00
„	16, Home News, printing	4.00
„	25, Stamped envelopes, Treasurer	10.00
Feb.	1, O. H. Gates, expense of Index	25.00
„	5, Clerical work, Treasurer	2.88
„	7, W. Drugulin, Vol. 40, 3	168.85
Mar.	2, Clerical work, Secretary	4.35
„	23, Exchange on Canadian check	0.25
„	23, Returned check	3.00
Apr.	14, W. Drugulin, 34, 1—4; 41, 1—2	679.30
May	10, „ „ , 40, 4	114.40
June	7, Editorial expense	6.00
„	7, „ „	28.50
„	20, W. Drugulin, 41, 3—4	174.63
Oct.	4, Editorial expense	13.15
„	29, „ „	16.15
Nov.	10, W. Drugulin, 42, 1—2	272.99
Dec.	8, Editorial expense	26.58
„	18, W. Drugulin, 42, 3—4	286.15
„	18, „ „ , reprints	10.40
„	26, Cash on hand	1216.49
		$ 3106.07

T. J. MEEK, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct, December 28, 1923.

HENRY T. FOWLER
IRWIN H. DE LONG

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY[1]

HONORARY MEMBERS

Prof. K. Budde, D.D., Marburg, Germany.
Prof. F. C. Burkitt, M.A., Cambridge, England.
Prof. Ernst von Dobschütz, D.D., Halle, Germany.
Prof. Adolf Harnack, D.D., Berlin, Germany.
Prof. A. Jülicher, D.D., Marburg, Germany.
Prof. Rudolf Kittel, D.D., Leipzig, Germany.
Prof. Marie Joseph Lagrange, Jerusalem (care of M. Gabalda, 90 Rue Bonaparte, Paris).
Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., Oxford, England.
Rev. John Skinner, D.D., Cambridge, England.
Prof. G. A. Smith, D.D., Aberdeen, Scotland.

ACTIVE MEMBERS[2]

(693) '22 Rev. G. Abbott-Smith, D.D., D.C.L., Westmount, P.Q., Canada.
(628) '21 Rev. Prof. Howard C. Ackerman, B.D., M.A., Nashotah, Wis.
(593) '20 Prof. Arthur Adams, Ph.D., Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
(496) '13 Miss Charlotte Adams, 135 E. 52d St., N.Y. City.
(242) '92 Pres. Cyrus Adler, Ph.D., 2041 North Broad St., Phila., Pa.
(731) '22 Rev. Abel Ahlquist, Ph.D., New Britain, Conn.
(576) '17 Wm. Foxwell Albright, Ph.D., American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, Palestine.
(466) '11 Prof. Herbert C. Alleman, D.D., Gettysburg, Pa.
(415) '07 Prof. Frederick L. Anderson, D.D., Newton Centre, Mass.
(711) '22 Rev. Prof. S. Angus, Ph.D., St. Andrew's College, Sydney, Australia.
(305) '96 Prof. Wm. R. Arnold, Ph.D., 17 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
(724) '22 Rev. Prof. J. Cullen Ayer, Ph.D., S.T.D., 200 St. Mark's Square, Philadelphia, Pa.
(184) '88 Prof. B. W. Bacon, D.D., 244 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn.

[1] This list has been corrected up to Aug. 1, 1924. Members are requested to notify the Recording Secretary, H. J. Cadbury, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge 38, Mass., of any change of address.

[2] The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

(373) '04 Dean Wm. Frederic Badé, Ph.D., Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal.
(690) '22 Moses Bailey, A.M., 6 Norfolk Terrace, Wellesley, Mass.
(594) '20 Prof. Roland H. Bainton, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.
(712) '21 Lieut. C. C. Baker, care Dominguez Laud Corporation, Towance, Calif.
(722) '22 Prof. J. F. Balzer, M.A., Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.
(210) '91 Prof. George A. Barton, 3725 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(211) '91 Prof. L. W. Batten, Ph.D., 6 Chelsea Sq., N.Y. City.
(561) '16 Prof. John W. Beardslee, Jr., Ph.D., D.D., Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N.J.
(694) '22 Prof. Irwin R. Beiler, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
(718) '22 Rev. C. D. Benjamin, Ph.D., 1441 Pine St., Norristown, Pa.
(568) '16 Rev. C. Theodore Benze, Lutheran Seminary, Mt. Airy. Pa.
(326) '99 Prof. George R. Berry, D.D., Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N.Y.
(318) '98 Prof. Julius A. Bewer, Ph.D., D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(618) '21 Pres. James A. Blaisdell, Pomona College, Claremont, Cal.
(551) '15 Rev. Joshua Bloch, Ph.D., 346 E. 173th St., N.Y. City.
(604) '20 Rev. P. F. Bloomhardt, Ph.D., 134 E. Delevan St., Buffalo, N.Y.
(751) '23 Father A. M. Bolduc, S.M., S.T.L., Marist College, Brookland, D.C.
(380) '05 Prof. Edward I. Bosworth, D.D., Oberlin, O.
(423) '08 Prof. Clayton R. Bowen, Th.D., Meadville Theol. School, Meadville, Pa.
(370) '03 Rev. Lester Bradner, Ph.D., 289 Fourth Ave., N.Y. City.
(311) '97 Miss Emilie Grace Briggs, 414 Clifton St., Lakewood, N.J.
(569) '16 Mrs. Beatrice A. Brooks, Ph.D., Wellesley, Mass.
(301) '96 Prof. Wm. A. Brown, D.D., 3041 Broadway, N.Y. City.
(102) '84 Prof. M. D. Buell, Mount Dora, Fla.
(719) '22 Prof. Walter E. Bundy, Ph.D., De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind.
(586) '18 Prof. Ernest Ward Burch, Ph.D., Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
(747) '23 Rev. Millar Burrows, 107 Carmel St., New Haven, Conn.
(91) '83 Pres. E. D. Burton, D.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(554) '15 Prof. R. Butin, Catholic University, Washington, D.C.
(589) '18 Prof. Moses Buttenwieser, Ph.D., 252 Loraine Ave., Clifton, Cincinnati, O.
(471) '11 Prof. Henry J. Cadbury, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge 38, Mass.
(631) '21 Rev. James T. Carlyon, S.T.M., D.D., Iliff School of Theology, Denver, Col.
(784) '24 Mr. L. L. Carpenter, B.A., Th.D., 1419 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.

(472) '11 Prof. Henry Beach Carré, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
(746) '23 William David Carroll, B.A., American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem.
(632) '21 William Owen Carver, Th.D., D.D., LL.D., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.
(564) '16 I. M. Casanowicz, Ph.D., National Museum, Washington, D. C.
(392) '06 Prof. Shirley J. Case, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(222) '91 Rev. James L. Cheney, Ph.D., Euclid Avenue Baptist Church, Cleveland, O.
(595) '20 Prof. Edward Chiera, Ph.D., 1538 S. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(369) '03 Prof. Calvin M. Clark, Bangor Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.
(414) '07 Prof. Albert T. Clay, Ph.D., 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn.
(523) '14 C. P. Coffin, 1744-208 S. LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.
(606) '20 Rabbi Simon Cohen, P. O. Box 473, Springfield, Ohio.
(686) '22 Rabbi Simon R. Cohen, 1421 Ditmas Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
(662) '22 David C. Cook, Elgin, Ill.
(615) '21 Rev. Francis T. Cooke, 673 Jefferson Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
(582) '18 Rev. George S. Cooke, Houlton, Me.
(714) '22 Rev. M. Coover, D.D., Lutheran Theol. Sem., Gettysburg, Pa.
(785) '24 Prof. Douglas Hilary Corley, Th.D., Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
(390) '06 Rev. Wm. M. Crane, Ph.D., Richmond, Mass.
(296) '96 Prof. Harlan Creelman, Ph.D., 118 North St., Auburn, N.Y.
(759) '24 Prof. Earle B. Cross, Ph.D., Rochester Theol. Sem., Rochester, N.Y.
(498) '13 Prof. D. E. Culley, Ph. D., 1120 Pemberton Ave., N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa.
(573) '16 Charles G. Cumming, B.D., Bangor Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.
(739) '23 Mrs. Muriel Streibert Curtis, B.D., Wellesley 51, Mass.
(401) '07 Miss M. Elizabeth Czarnomska, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va.
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(645) '21 Miss Clara W. Davidson, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
(526) '15 Prof. Israel Davidson, 531 W. 123d St., N.Y. City.
(451) '10 Prof. Richard Davidson, Ph.D., Knox College, Toronto, Can.
(675) '22 Prof. John D. Davis, Ph.D., 58 Mercer St., Princeton, N.J.
(705) '22 M. E. Davis, Th.M., D.D., Box 178, Brownwood, Tex.
(756) '23 Prof. W. Hersey Davis, Ph.D., Norton Hall, Louisville, Ky.
(500) '13 Prof. Frank Leighton Day, Ashland, Va.
(458) '10 Prof. Thomas F. Day, Box 126a, R.F.D., San Rafael, Calif.
(633) '21 Prof. John Pitt Deane, M.A., Beloit College, Beloit, Wis.
(524) '14 Prof. Irwin Hoch DeLong, Ph.D., 523 West James St., Lancaster, Pa.
(121) '84 Prof. F. B. Denio, D.D., Bangor, Me.
(723) '22 Prof. H. T. De Wolfe, D.D., Acadia Univ., Wolfville, N.S.

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(600) '20 Rev. Samuel Dickey, Oxford, Pa.
(619) '21 Rev. Prof. Charles Allen Dinsmore, 282 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn.
(417) '07 Prof. Winfred N. Donovan, Newton Centre, Mass.
(596) '20 Prof. R. P. Dougherty, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md.
(634) '22 Rev. Benj. R. Downer, 1043 Laurel Ave., Kansas City, Kansas.
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(402) '07 Prof. Burton S. Easton, Ph.D., 9 Chelsea Sq., New York City.
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(403) '07 Prof. Henry Englander, 904 Lexington Ave., Cincinnati, O.
(745) '23 Rev. Morton Scott Enslin, B.D., 62 Freeman St., Arlington, Mass.
(263) '94 Pres. Milton G. Evans, D.D., Crozer Theol. Sem., Chester, Pa.
(280) '95 Prof. Charles P. Fagnani, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(753) '23 S. Feigin, 100 N. Fairmount St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
(735) '23 Pres. Carl A. Felt, The Peking Theol. Sem., Peking, China.
(388) '06 Prof. Wm. W. Fenn, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
(762) '24 Rabbi Louis Finkelstein, 531 W. 123rd St., N. Y. City.
(763) '24 Rev. John W. Flight, Ph.D., Winsted, Conn.
(578) '17 Rev. Robert B. B. Foote, East Norwalk, Conn.
(629) '21 Rev. Donald F. Forrester, M.A., B.D., 175 Ninth Ave., N. Y.
(441) '08 Dean H. E. W. Fosbroke, General Theological Seminary, Ninth Ave. & 20th St., New York City.
(587) '18 Rabbi Solomon Foster, B.A., 90 Treacy St., Newark, N.J.
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(312) '97 Prof. James E. Frame, Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(418) '07 Prof. D. J. Fraser, Presbyterian College, Montreal, Can.
(671) '22 Rabbi Samuel Fredman, 6046 Washington Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
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(541) '15 Prof. Leslie E. Fuller, Ph.D., Garrett Bibl. Inst., Evanston, Ill.
(366) '03 Prof. Kemper Fullerton, Oberlin Theol. Sem., Oberlin, O.

(764) '24 Prof. Frank Gavin, Th.D., General Theol. Sem., N. Y. City.
(765) '24 Mr. Henry S. Gehman, Ph.D., 5720 N. Sixth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(750) '23 Rev. Ralph William George, S.T.B., Auburn, Maine.
(758) '23 Rev. P. B. Gibble, B.D., 112 W. Conway St., Baltimore, Md.
(198) '89 Prof. George W. Gilmore, 354 Fourth Ave., N.Y. City.
(766) '24 Prof. Louis Ginzberg, Ph.D., 531 W. 123rd St., N. Y. City.
(340) '00 Prof. Edgar J. Goodspeed, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(447) '09 Prof. Alex. R. Gordon, Litt.D., Presbyterian College, Montreal, Can.
(162) '86 Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil, Ph.D., Columbia Univ., N.Y. City.
(635) '21 Rev. William C. Graham, S.T.M., Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal, Canada.
(384) '05 Prof. Elihu Grant, Ph.D., Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
(621) '21 Rev. Frederick C. Grant, S.T.D., 125 E. 26th St., Chicago, Ill.
(678) '22 Rev. Oscar F. Green, P.O. Box 805, Lockwood, Tex.
(588) '18 Miss Ettalene M. Grice, Ph.D., Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven, Conn.
(179) '88 Rev. A. D. Hail, D.D., 33 Kawaguchi Cho, Osaka, Japan.
(607) '20 Prof. B. Halper, Ph.D., 1903 N. 33rd St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(729) '22 Rabbi Harry Halpern, 905 East 15th St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
(647) '21 F. Watson Hannan, S. T. D., Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N.J.
(728) '22 Victor E. Harlow, M.A., 2203 W. 18th St., Oklahoma City, Okla.
(119) '84 Prof. J. R. Harris, Litt.D., 172 Withington Road, Whalley Range, Manchester, England.
(215) '91 Prof. Paul Haupt, Ph.D., Longwood Circle, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md.
(668) '22 Prof. Charles A. Hawley, S.T.M., International Y.M.C.A. College, Springfield, Mass.
(648) '21 Prof. Howell M. Haydn, B.D., 11432 Mayfield Road, Cleveland, Ohio.
(367) '03 Prof. Doremus A. Hayes, Garrett Bibl. Inst., Evanston, Ill.
(322) '98 Rev. Henry H. Haynes, Ph.D., Derry Village, N.H.
(757) '23 Prof. Katherine S. Hazeltine, S. Hadley, Mass.
(503) '13 Prof. Charles B. Hedrick, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.
(124) '84 Rev. C. R. Hemphill, D.D., Louisville, Ky.
(577) '17 Prof. Ralph K. Hickok, Wells College, Aurora, N.Y.
(454) '10 Prof. W. Bancroft Hill, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
(147) '86 H. V. Hilprecht, Ph.D., 1830 S. Rittenhouse Square, Philadelphia, Pa.
(79) '83 Prof. E. Y. Hincks, D.D., 58 Washington Ave., Cambridge, Mass.

(434) '08 Prof. Wm. J. Hinke, Ph.D., 156 North St., Auburn, N.Y.
(659) '21 Rev. Chas. T. Hock, 222 Liberty St., Bloomfield, N. J.
(354) '02 Rev. Richard M. Hodge, D.D., 552 W. 113th St., N.Y. City.
(563) '16 Rev. Louis H. Holden, Ph.D., 26 Union St., New Brunswick, N.J.
(427) '08 Rev. Ivan L. Holt, 5068 Washington Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.
(685) '22 Rev. Prof. L. H. C. Hopkins, M.A., B.D., Emmanuel College, Saskatoon, Sask.
(539) '15 Prof. Lynn H. Hough, Central M. E. Church, Detroit, Mich.
(304) '96 Rt. Rev. Hiram R. Hulse, S.T.D., 15th and 8th Sts., Havana, Cuba.
(439) '08 Prof. Mary I. Hussey, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
(452) '10 Prof. Henri Hyvernat, Catholic University, Washington, D.C.
(559) '16 Prof. F. J. Foakes Jackson, Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(679) '22 Prof. Fleming James, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.
(386) '05 Prof. James R. Jewett, Ph.D., 44 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
(485) '12 Miss Harriet E. Johnson, 32 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass.
(636) '21 Rev. William H. Johnson, Ph. D., D. D., Lincoln University, Pa.
(537) '15 Prof. Lucy E. Keith, Western Coll. for Women, Oxford, O.
(151) '86 Prof. M. L. Kellner, D.D., 3 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
(592) '20 Rev. Edwin H. Kellogg, Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, N.Y.
(660) '22 Prof. Fred T. Kelly, 2019 Monroe St., Madison, Wis.
(725) '22 Prof. Alexander P. Kelso, B. Sc., James Millikin University, Decatur, Ill.
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Biblische Zeitschrift,	Freiburg i. B., Germany.
Expository Times,	Edinburgh, Scotland.
International Index to Periodicals, 958 University Ave.,	New York City.
Jewish Quarterly Review, Dropsie College,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Journal of Theological Studies,	London, England.
Journal of Transactions of the Victoria Institute,	London, England.
Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift,	~~Amsterdam~~, Holland.
Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft,	Berlin C 2, Schloss, Portal 3.
Princeton Theological Review,	Princeton, N. J.
Review and Expositor (So. Bapt.),	Louisville, Ky.
Revue Biblique Internationale, 90 Rue Bonaparte,	Paris, France.
The Expositor, Warwick Square,	London, E. C. 4, Eng..
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Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,	Berlin-Schlachtensee, Friedr.-Wilhelmstr. 55.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901 and Dec. 28, 1923)

CONSTITUTION

I

THIS association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

Each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

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WHY ESCHATOLOGY?[1]

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IT is long since anything has made me feel so modest as your action in conferring upon me the presidency of this distinguished society. It is with a very great and very real sense of the honor you have done me that I stand before you. In asking me to preside over your deliberations of the present session you have made it incumbent upon me to indicate in some degree my own attitude toward the studies which make our bond of union. I am glad of an opportunity to say that my attitude is that of one who pursues a course of study for what he can get out of it, for himself and for others. I study the Bible (specifically the New Testament) for a purpose. I believe that our attitude should be profoundly pragmatic. There is that kind of Biblical study—we have all met it in books, in articles, in lectures—which inevitably provokes the question: Why? As an exercise in ingenuity a game of chess would have done quite as well. Whatever be true of art, Biblical science is not an end in itself. We rightly regard our researches as in a very genuine sense akin to the ministry of religion; a large proportion of us, inevitably, are clergymen. That is not because of the material on which we work, it is because of the purpose for which we work.

I shall, therefore, not apologize (save as these introductory comments are a kind of *apologia*) for asking: Why? Why do these matters about which we write papers and read them to

[1] President's Address at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature & Exegesis, Chicago, December 29, 1924.

each other at these meetings really concern us? What difference does it make? If I choose thus a topic rather practical than academic, if I consider the values of critical results rather than present the critical processes by which such results are attained, if, in brief, you find me homiletic rather than scholastic, you will know that it is of deliberate purpose. The scholarly tradition of our society, witnessed by a long succession of presidential addresses of a very high order, will more than restore the balance.

As an example of the problems we work at, let me choose one: a topic, indeed, on which we held a symposium at a meeting not many years since: a topic on which as critics we have all whetted our scholastic blades. The topic I have in mind is eschatology. Why does it vex us so sorely? Why bother about it? Biblical students, especially students of the New Testament, cannot leave it alone; in all their lectures, their articles, their books, their discussions of whatever sort, its problems are always thrusting themselves to the fore. If we cannot leave it alone, it is because it will not leave us alone: it will be heard. We may attempt to make it marginal and secondary; we may grant it only grudging and half-hearted recognition, but we cannot so act with a perfectly clear conscience. We have a guilty feeling that it really belongs far more in the center of the stage than we have allowed it to appear, that it really comes far nearer being the hero of the piece than one of the supernumeraries.

Yes, for better or for worse, the truth has won our perhaps reluctant assent and must now be definitely acknowledged. The New Testament is an eschatological product; it is the deposit of what today we should call a millenarian movement. Not a single document of the twenty-seven but is definitely oriented with reference to this one conviction. Even a writing so positively non-eschatological as the Fourth Gospel is none the less controlled by this concern: its writer is not free: he must perforce be anti-eschatological. This traditional John is quite as clearly a witness to the eschatological nature of primitive Christianity as his antipodal colleague, the actual John whose apocalypse closes our New Testament. However much we dislike these notions in our own time, and repudiate the type of

Christianity which makes them central, they are none the less part and parcel of our religion in its earliest stages, of the faith of the founders and of the church as they founded it. We may cast aside as worthless and illusory what Jesus believed, what Paul taught, but we must be honest enough to admit that they did so believe, so teach, even if we do not.

I am stating categorically what is, of course, not yet universally recognized. Despite all the work of Christian scholarship in this field for the last generation, there is still in most Christian circles, even in some circles of theological scholarship and teaching, a vast deal of confused thinking or confused failure to think, on this cardinal matter. The dilemma seems too harsh, too cruel. We cannot believe the Kingdom of God to be at hand in this first third of the twentieth century: we know it was not at hand in the first third of the first century. We know, equally, that Jesus confidently believed in its imminence and to this conviction related his whole religious message; to interpret the sources otherwise is a simple exegetical sin. And yet we would not be wiser than Jesus or reject as false what he fondly believed to be true. A disciple is not above his master—at least he is uncomfortable if he finds himself so elevated. It is a dilemma not so much theological as personal and religious. We are assured that Jesus knew better than we; yet we honestly think we know better in this matter than he. The time is past for evasions and "interpretations" and all forms of self-deception. The exegetical sin just referred to is a sin against the light. We whose allegiance to the single pursuit of truth qualifies us as members of this Society of Biblical Scholars and brings us to this gathering as guests of a great university, we must do all in our power to mediate clarity and certainty to those whom we teach and through them to the great hosts of men and women who make up that fellowship of religion, however named, which is, in the end, the object of all our service.

I have said that the presence of eschatology as an integral element in Christianity at its initial proclamation, must be accepted. Let me go on to ask: must it be accepted under protest, reluctantly, regretfully? And let me answer: By no means. Let us accept it joyfully, enthusiastically, appreciatively. Or rather

let us stop *accepting* it, as something thrust upon us, and begin to *claim* it, as something of value we would not willingly do without, which adds power and vitality and significance to our religion. In short, I would speak a good word for eschatology. And I would speak it in this presence, not only because eschatology is a prime element in the documents with which we here, as witnessed by the name of our Society, are especially concerned, but because I believe our preoccupation with these documents has an end beyond itself. We study the Bible because the Bible is worth studying. We have not come here to work out cross-word puzzles; we have come that by our associated labors we may become more fruitful in bringing to bear upon the world's life the world's great spiritual treasure, the Bible. Of that treasure the eschatological element is an integral and important part; it has its rich contribution to make. At present that contribution is made only imperfectly, because of misapprehensions and ignorances which it is precisely our task to clear away so that eschatology may do its perfect work.

What has made the conception which was central for Jesus so peripheral and so distasteful for us, his twentieth century disciples? Why is it that we at best "admit" that he held such conceptions? Is it not, in the first instance, because we live, even the most fundamental of us, in an evolutionary world? Deny it as some of our brethren may, they and we alike draw our mental breath in the clear air of development, process, and the chief moral mandate of our age is the universal insistence that we put our hands to the shaping of the better social order, else it will go unshaped. Our eschatology is no dream of the Kingdom of God, but a determination to achieve the democracy of man. We expect no *parousia* of a heaven-sent Messiah; we put our trust in our own slow processes of education, of legislation, of leagues and plans and conferences. The event toward which our whole creation is moving we conceive as necessarily a human achievement and as very far-off. To each word in Jesus' pronouncement we oppose a sharp denial. The Kingdom of God is at hand? No kingdom, but a democracy—not of God, but of man—not at hand, but to be won only by generations of slow and patient effort. The first-century thought-world

that shaped Jesus' assurance is passed away like a childhood dream.

And in the second place, ancient eschatology is distasteful to many of us because, so at least we claim, it is materialistic, political, external; it is too Jewish; it is human, all too human. In an age like ours, indeed, this ought to be no disqualification. Are we not ourselves of all generations most concerned with an environmental salvation, with the shaping of a social order within which men's economic needs may find their due satisfaction, and the goods of this world shall be equitably shared by all? It is surely a monstrous irony when modern Christians insist that the expression of Jesus' hopes for mankind shall be "purely spiritual", untainted by concern with food and shelter, with labor and its product, with government and the state. Clearly, this objection, whatever truth it may contain, cannot really hold.

More valid is the feeling that the eschatology ascribed to Jesus must be discredited on the ground that it was obviously illusory. These expectations, if he cherished them at all, he cherished mistakenly. If he meant that the Kingdom of God was really at hand, he was quite wrong, for it simply wasn't. Indeed the Kingdom of God itself, as conceived by him and his contemporaries, was an ideal which at that time or any other, could not be, and should not be, at hand. What have we here but one of the classic errors of history, pathetic, perhaps, but sheer error still? So many feel; and we cannot wonder that many, so feeling, shrink from ascribing the great mistake to Jesus himself. Many in all times have believed the great consummation near at hand in their own generation; one and all they were victims of a fond delusion. There are such gratuitous blunderers today; can we class Jesus among them? Perhaps no consideration has done more than this to drive men to a more or less thorough-going refusal to group Jesus among the eschatologists.

And one other point must be touched upon. By their fruits ye shall know them. In all Christian centuries since the first, whenever eschatology has played a major part in the shaping of men's thoughts and feelings, it has seemed an influence, not for good, but for evil. It has turned men away from the legit-

imate concerns of life, from true religion and social duty; it has made them fanatical, narrow, bigoted, intolerant. Where is breadth and vision, where consecration and hope and sweet reasonableness, where the veritable spirit of Jesus, helpful, healing, compassionate, tender with publican and sinner and the bruised and broken life? Not, one feels, with the millennarians of this world. Between them and the Master whose convictions they claim to reproduce is too often apparent to others only a glaring incongruity. He cannot, simply cannot, have meant what they mean. We others, to whom the whole millennial scheme is but a folly and an intense aversion, we it is who are really his representatives.

Thus I have tried to give a few (only a few) of the many reactions against the alleged eschatology of Jesus which the "modern man", in some of his endless embodiments, feels. All of them I have met, in various individuals, as doubtless each of you has. In the face of these well-founded objections, with some or all of which some or all of us may have distinct sympathy, can we still speak a good word for eschatology? I would still essay to do so.

Cannot we whose professional duty it is to understand the Bible and the history it presents and to make others understand them, see with all clarity what is the heart of the eschatological conviction? Can we not see also that it represents an integral and deathless element in all true religion? What made Judaism the most religious of ancient religions, so that in a truer sense than the Hebrews dreamed, they were a chosen people, an elect vehicle in which man's divinest impulse was most certainly carried down to later ages? It was that Judaism was a religion of history, concerned with a cosmogony. It had a sense of two great realities, both primarily related to human kind, the one contradicting the other. The first was that this world and everything in it was the creation of a good God and that its crowning constituent, man, was the image of his Creator. The other was the profoundest sense the ancient world anywhere possessed of moral evil, of the wrong and shame, the ungodlike, the anti-divine, permeating every human life. Each of these convictions had corollaries in plenty, the sum of which makes

up what is loosely called Jewish theology: but these are central. The collision of these two convictions in the Hebrew mind gives rise to those great reflections on religion and life which make the Old Testament immortal. Now eschatology stands ultimately for a third conviction, which sprang out of the interplay of the other two. It was born very early, in that prophetic consciousness which is really a unique element in Jewish racial history. It developed and underwent alteration and deepening; it applied itself to spheres of human life and destiny as numerous and varied as the reflections of the prophets who voiced it. But at bottom it is one thing, and a simple thing.

Let us put it in Hegelian terms. Eschatology is the ultimate synthesis which shall resolve the antinomy of the thesis that God made all things good and man in his own image with the antithesis that there is not one righteous, no not one, and the whole world groaneth and travailleth together in pain. It is the *Doch* to Creation's *Ja* and Sin's *Nein*. It is indispensable; without it Hebrew religion would be only a baffled cry, an anguished query without an answer. True Jewish eschatology was always a *palingenesis*, a restoration of all things, a going back to that primeval situation in which God looks upon every thing which he has made, and beholds it as very good; and unto man he says: Thou art my beloved son, in thee I am well pleased. That is what eschatology really means. What would religion be without it? It is the undefeatable conviction that in the end God, and not the devil, shall rule, that all the age-long course of sin and shame shall end in purity and peace, that what creation made implicit shall become explicit, that the universe is at heart good and from it evil as a foreign intruder shall ultimately be expelled.

I have often been grateful to Professor Kirsopp Lake for a remark he somewhere makes that the Greek is separated from the perfect world by space, the Jew by time. The religion of the Jew, and by the same token, the religion of the Christian, is therefore a religion of history: it inevitably includes an eschatology, a conviction as to the destiny, not of men only, not of men primarily, but of man. The time-element, like the social concern, is of the essence of our religions. By hope are we

saved, whatever be true of others. The realization of our dream lies ahead, and the length of the vista at the end of which it gleams is the simple measure of our faith in its reality and in its certain fulfilment.

Why should it be a defect that for the faith of John and Jesus and Paul the great day was at hand, very near, very real, only just beyond their outstretched hand—*there comes one after me—there be some that stand here—ye shall see—we that are alive, that are left?* Was not this intense foreshortening of historical perspective rather a virtue? To a whole generation these things were things that must shortly come to pass. And how greatly they were thereby brought near—how much did come to pass! All that was meant, in the last analysis, was that the divine *dénouement* was real, was sure, was graspable—*fear not, little flock, it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom!*

The assurance of faith translated itself in these men into terms of the time-equation, but what concerned them was not an item of chronology, but a mighty giving of substance to things long hoped for. Nor is the equation invalid; the assurance of faith does hasten the time, it does quicken the pace. How swiftly did the human spirit in those illumined years of the first century make progress towards its goal, leaping where we crawl! We shall spring forward once more, rejoicing as a strong man to run a race, when prophets rise again, telling our time, in its language, that the goal no longer gleams afar, but is very near, because intensely believed-in. Such a message will not rest on calculations from ancient texts or on any mechanical interpretation of ancient prophecies, not even those of Jesus. It will spring out of a fresh contemporary religious experience.

So it was with those great eschatologists whom both Judaism and Christianity are proud to claim. The moment we ask seriously: why was John, why was Jesus, sure that the Kingdom of God was at hand, we get a new approach to their eschatology. Not because the time and times and half a time of Daniel the prophet were reckoned to have elapsed, but because the divine world had drawn very close to their spirits. If, as interpreters of our historical faiths, we keep alive the eschato-

logical sense, we shall help to kindle again, in our confused and troubled time, where ultimate realities have become obscured, a flaming up of the synthetic conviction that sees deeper than the antinomies, beyond the battle, to where beyond these voices there is peace—with victory. We who study and teach the Bible have as the largest element among our students those who are in training for the ministry of religion, whether in synagogue or in church. We shall fall far short of conveying to them the dynamic that throbs in our great Scriptures, which through them is to vitalize all human relations, if we fail to implant in them the eschatological faith that burns white-hot at the heart of those Scriptures.

The world suffers today from the lack of a genuine eschatology. The millennialists' attempt to transfer to our time the empty apocalyptic thought-forms of the first century, without knowledge of the reality which then filled these forms and overflowed them, with concern only for the unessential and the transient, is of course working at quite another task and is doing rather less than nothing to meet this need. Those who seriously and understandingly expound the prophets and Jesus and Paul can do much to meet it. Is it too much to expect that the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis shall justify its existence, not merely as the ancient scribes were said to do, by the elucidation of ancient texts as an end in itself, but also as one did of whom it was said that he spoke as one having authority and not as the scribes—one in whose brief and incredibly dynamic career the Kingdom of God was actually at hand, within grasp, had all men been as ready as he? Emily Dickinson once pathetically wondered whether the love of God couldn't be presented so that it didn't sound like bears; I wonder whether, even in meetings like this, the assurance that the Lord God the Almighty reigneth may not be presented so that it sounds not like long Greek words such as eschatology and apocalyptic, but like the Hallelujah Chorus!

JOSEPHUS' ANTICIPATION OF A DOMITIANIC PERSECUTION

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DOMITIAN has commonly been named along with Nero among the first persecutors of early Christianity, yet available data for a Domitianic persecution are scanty and obscure. In a recent essay Professor Merrill sets the entire tradition aside as practically worthless. He believes that Domitian's violence reached only the Roman aristocracy, and that, while suspicious of Jewish revolutionists, he did not concern himself with the Jewish religion in particular, much less with Christianity.[1]

It is somewhat surprising that Josephus has not been studied more carefully in this connection. True, his narrative does not come down to the time of Domitian[2], yet he wrote his later works during this emperor's reign and it would be strange indeed if these compositions did not mirror to some extent the contemporary situation. If one should discover in these

[1] E. T. Merrill, *Essays in Early Christian History* (New York, 1924), pp. 148—173. A less skeptical but thoroughly critical estimate of the evidence may be found in the following representative discussions: S. Gsell, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Domitien* (Paris, 1894), pp. 287—316; A. Linsenmayer, *Die Bekämpfung des Christentums durch den römischen Staat* (München, 1905), pp. 65—84; L. H. Canfield, *The Early Persecutions of the Christians* (New York, 1913), pp. 70—85; A. Manaresi, *L'impero romano e il cristianesimo* (Torino, 1914), pp. 57—71; Donald McFayden, "The Occasion of the Domitianic Persecution", *American Journal of Theology*, XXIV (1920), 46—66.

[2] Probably he never carried out his plan to continue his history of the Jews down to a later period (*Antiq.* XX, 267).

documents the presence of a new anxiety for the future of Judaism, that fact of itself would have no little weight in confirming the opinion that under Domitian the Christians also suffered inconvenience because of the resistance which they, along with their Jewish contemporaries, offered to the demands of Caesar-worship.

Josephus lived comfortably at Rome for some thirty years after the close of the Jewish war. From this vantage point he reviewed the history of the Jewish people under Roman rule and felt keen regret that his brethren in Palestine had been unwilling to submit themselves peaceably to the dominion of the Romans. At the same time he unhesitatingly affirmed that the loyalty of the Jews to the religion of their fathers could never be surrendered. Although Josephus now owed house, lands and privileges at court directly to the imperial favor[3], he was an outspoken apologist for the Jewish religion. He accepted with good grace the Roman destruction of the Jewish state, but he never admitted it proper for Rome to interfere with the religious freedom of his kinsmen. The burning of their temple and the complete subjugation of their land[4] meant the utter destruction of their nation, and logically this result might well have carried with it a determination on the part of the victor to abolish also their religious rites. But Vespasian and Titus did not push logic to its ultimate issue. In fact it never was the policy of the Romans to meddle with the religion of conquered peoples. But toward the surviving Jewish religion they were, under the circumstances, surprisingly lenient.[5]

[3] *Life*, 422—430; cf. *War*, VII, 448 ff.

[4] Vespasian ordered the sale of all the land of the Jews, according to Josephus, *War*, VII, 216.

[5] Even Cassius Dio testifies that Vespasian permitted the Jews still to follow their customs (65 7) and this favor was granted in spite of much strong popular feeling against the recently defeated revolutionaries. For example, an attempt to force pagan religion upon the Jews at Antioch, and to deprive them of their former rights in the city, was frustrated by Titus (Josephus, *War*, VII, 46—62, 100—111). One feels, however, that Titus' piety is being overdrawn when Josephus makes him desire to save the temple and lament the fate of Jerusalem (*War*, Pref. 27 f.; VI, 236—243; VII, 112 f.).

To be sure, they destroyed the temple at Leontopolis[6], in order that no focal point for the cultivation of national sentiment might remain, and they required the Jewish population of the Empire to pay to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome the half shekel tax that formerly had been paid yearly to the temple in Jerusalem.[7] But so far as the separate worshiping congregations were concerned, their rights were not interfered with but were in reality reaffirmed by imperial authority.[8] When, late in the seventies, Josephus brought out his *Jewish War,* he seems to have thought that the Jews had no occasion to anticipate from the conqueror any interference with the free pursuit of their ancestral religion, if only they would abstain from revolutionary attempts at national rehabilitation.

In the year 93, while still living at Rome under the favor of Domitian and his wife Domitia[9], Josephus published his much more extensive treatise on *Jewish Antiquities.* During the time that had elapsed since the writing of the *War,* the status of Judaism in the Roman Empire seems to have considerably deteriorated, especially under Domitian. In the first place, his need of money became so acute that, as Suetonius says[10], the tax upon the Jews was levied with extreme rigor, even on those persons who had adopted Judaism without publicly professing themselves to be proselytes, and also on those who endeavored to conceal their Jewish ancestry in order to avoid paying the poll-tax. Suetonius adds from his own experience an incident, which must have occurred early in the reign of Domitian, where an old man was examined in public by the Emperor's steward to determine whether or not he belonged to the Jewish race. According to Cassius Dio[11], by the year 91 the personal vanity of Domitian had reached so high a pitch

[6] *War,* VII, 420 f.

[7] *War,* VII, 218; Cassius Dio, 65, 7.

[8] Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain* (Paris, 1914), I, 225, N. 3, and II, 282—284.

[9] *Antiq.* XX, 267; *Life,* 429.

[10] *Domit.* 12.

[11] 67, 8.

as to bring it about that all over his realm were to be seen images and statues of the Emperor in both silver and gold. When an accused individual would avert the imperial displeasure he had only to do obeisance before Domitian and address him as Lord and God.[12] In the immediate context Cassius Dio also mentions Domitian's hostile action against certain persons on account of "atheism", and their disposition to drift into "Jewish ways". Clearly the implication here is that the Emperor was displeased by those who, following Jewish custom, were unwilling to call him a god.[13]

For Josephus, living in Rome at this time under imperial patronage, yet retaining his attachment to Judaism and his interest in the perpetuation of that faith, the situation must have been growing delicate, if not indeed critical. Explicit evidence that this was the fact is easily discoverable. The change of tone and difference of emphasis in the discussion of certain topics in the *Antiquities,* as compared with the *War,* clearly indicate that the Jews were much less at ease in the time of Domitian than even in the early years immediately following their subjugation by Titus. Josephus' personal circumstances prevented an open protest, but he could assume the rôle of didactic historian. This he did, and with rather more boldness than might have been expected. As he told over again in the *Antiquities* the story of the relations between the Jews and the Romans, the items which he selected for emphasis and the supplementary materials introduced show how keenly he felt the need of reminding the Roman government that heretofore the Jews had never been deprived of their religious liberty and that it had always been utter folly for any government to assume that it could with impunity violate the rights of Jewish worship. While God might permit, or even approve, the overthrow of the Jewish nation, he would never forsake his chosen people when the purity of their religion was at stake. More specifically, it had been futile for even a

[12] Cassius Dio, 67, 13.

[13] *ἀθεότης, impietas,* made one guilty of high treason because the attitude was a crime, not simply against the Emperor as a man, but against his divinity. See Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie,* VI, col. 2578.

Roman emperor to suppose that he could successfully require the Jews to worship his image. Josephus' new interest in these matters when writing his *Antiquities* strongly suggests that he feared an impending outbreak of imperial hostility toward Judaism on distinctively religious grounds.

To present the evidence in detail, in the first place one may note the additional citations of ancient imperial decrees, as a new feature in the *Antiquities*.[14] These documents confirmed the right of the Jews to economic justice and were precedents especially in point at a time when Domitian's vigor in collecting the poll-tax seemed likely to exceed the bounds of propriety. But the economic problem was only incidental to the larger question of the Jews' traditional right to religious freedom in general. The reason given for introducing this type of document in the *Antiquities* is to show from history that the Jews had always been protected by Rome in the undisturbed performance of their own distinctive religious customs. In this way Josephus hoped to avert the "hatred of irrational men".[15] Doubtless he found it both gratifying and significant to note that the edict of Augustus in favor of the Jews at Ancyra had been inscribed on a pillar in the very temple of the Emperor.[16] With similar satisfaction he cited the sharp letter of Petronius, governor of Syria under Claudius, to the magistrates of Dora demanding the apprehension of those offenders who had insolently set up an image of Caesar in the Jewish synagogue, a proceeding directly contrary to a recent edict of the Emperor giving the Jews full permission to pursue their own religious practices unhindered.[17] This citation of legislative precedents in favor of Judaism is a device distinctive of the *Antiquities*.

[14] See XVI, 160—178; XIX, 281—285; 287—291; 303—311.

[15] *Antiq.* XVI, 175.

[16] *Antiq.* XVI, 165.

[17] *Antiq.* XIX, 303—311. That Josephus correctly represents Claudius' attitude toward the Jews is attested in a recently published papyrus, No. 1912, where the Emperor confirms the right of the Jews to their traditional worship and the observance of their customs "as also under the God Augustus" (ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ), l. 87. See H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (London, 1924).

Still another striking contrast between the *War* and the *Antiquities* appears in their respective portraits of Herod the Great. In the former treatise evidently Josephus would have his readers admire the Jewish prince for his favorable disposition toward the Romans and his generosity in dealing with foreigners. Josephus manifests no little satisfaction in describing Herod's magnanimity in rebuilding cities and rearing temples dedicated to Caesar. There seems to be neither hesitation nor disapproval in the remark that Herod had been so zealous for the honor of Caesar that after filling his own country with temples he showed his favor for other territories under his rule by adorning them with many cities called Caesarea[18]. Also Herod's gifts to foreign countries, such as his endowment of the Olympian games, and even the rebuilding of a temple of Apollo, are cited without hesitation and apparently with no little pride at these evidences of magnanimity and cosmopolitanism on the part of the King of the Jews.[19]

On the other hand, in the *Antiquities* Herod's liberal policy is presented in a much less favorable light. Not only is the tone of approval more restrained; open censure is also more frequent. Now Josephus flatly accuses Herod of transgressing the laws of the Jews by constructing heathen temples and introducing other forms of heathen adornment and entertainment within the territory under his rule. While his political policy of friendliness toward Rome is still commended, his transgression of the religious scruples of the Jews is shown to have been a grave mistake which contributed more or less directly to Herod's own unhappy end.[20] Even the extent to which he had been able to impose foreign customs on the Jews had its limits. Readers of the *War* might easily have assumed that temples in Caesar's honor had been reared in all parts of Herod's kingdom, even in Judea.[21] But now Josephus hastens to remark that as a matter of course such buildings

18 *War*, I, 407.

19 *War*, I, 422—428.

20 *Antiq.* XV, 328—330.

21 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν ἐπλήρωσεν ναῶν, εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν αὐτοῦ τὰς τιμὰς ὑπερεξέχεεν. *War*, I, 407.

could not have been introduced into Judea proper, since paying "honor to statues and images" is a thing intolerable to the Jews.[22]

The interest of Josephus in toning down Herod's patronage of the imperial cult, and condemning his practice of liberality, appears at various points. According to *War* I, 403, when Samaria was rebuilt and called Sebaste, a large temple to Caesar was erected in the middle of the city, but the description in *Antiquities* XV, 296—298, while much longer, refers merely to a temple, without specifying that it was dedicated to Caesar. Again to the account of the erection of Caesar's temple at Paneion (Caesarea Philippi) the *Antiquities* add that even Herod recognized the impropriety of his conduct and tried to atone for it by remitting half of the Jews' taxes for the year.[23] In the *War*[24] attention is called in striking fashion to the magnificence of the statues of Caesar and Roma in the imperial temple at Caesarea, but in the parallel account in the *Antiquities*[25], while the images are mentioned, they are passed over without description and that of Roma comes before that of Caesar.

Even the less glaring deviations of Herod from Jewish customs are listed in the *Antiquities* among the causes that brought him into trouble. In the *War* his introduction of the games into Judea seems to be considered only a commendable mark of the king's friendship for Rome and a fitting display of his good fortune before astonished strangers. But in the *Antiquities* these same performances take on a much more sinister character. In the end they bring down upon his own head not only the violence of his subjects but also the displeasure of Providence. Josephus will still allow that the Herodian theater at Jerusalem and the amphitheater in the plain near Jericho were admirable and costly constructions, and might fittingly create awe among foreign visitors, but it is now emphasized that to Jews the shows were impious per-

[22] *Antiq.* XV, 329.
[23] Cf. *War*, I, 404, with *Antiq.* XV, 363—365.
[24] I, 414.
[25] XV, 339.

formances that violated their venerated customs and inspired a plot against the king's life. Although the conspirators were captured, they died martyrs to their "common customs which all Jews must keep or die in loyalty to them."[26] The cruel punishment inflicted by Herod did not lessen "the firmness of the people's disposition and their undaunted fidelity to their laws."[27]

Herod was shown to have been wholly dominated by a passion for honor. His numerous benefactions were no longer signs of magnanimity and disinterested generosity, as in the *War,* but were the rash expenditures of one obsessed by a morbid desire to receive from his subjects obsequious reverence such as he himself rendered Caesar. Herein he made a grave blunder, for the law of the Jews prohibited them from satisfying the king's love of honor with "images or any other such practices."[28] This is a strange rôle for Herod to play. Certainly he had his weaknesses, but to represent him as demanding from his subjects worship, after the manner of the imperial cult, probably is not true to history, and one may well doubt whether he would ever have been so pictured had not Josephus desired to warn Domitian of the impiety and futility of demanding that Jews worship the emperor.[29]

The Gaius-Domitian parallelism in the *Antiquities* is even more apparent. In the *War*[30] a brief account was given of Gaius' futile attempt to have his statue set up in the temple at Jerusalem. While it was, of course, a heinous undertaking and awakened the concern of God[31], the story was told without drawing therefrom any notable lessons to warn rulers against

[26] *Antiq.* XV, 288.
[27] *Antiq.* XV, 291.
[28] *Antiq.* XVI, 158.
[29] When commenting on the hopelessness of Herod's trust in many descendants as a substitute for true piety toward God (*Antiq.* XVIII, 127), possibly Josephus is forecasting the futility of Domitian's effort to secure a successor by adopting the two sons of his niece and endeavoring to insure the prestige of his family by applying to it the epithets *divus* and *diva.*
[30] II, 184—203.
[31] *War,* II, 186.

a similar procedure, except that the violent death of Gaius would teach sobriety to his successor.[32] A quite different picture appears in the *Antiquities*.[33] Here the story is spun out at great length and adorned with new features to emphasize the activity of God against Gaius and to enhance the value of the lessons which people in authority may derive from his unhappy end. Now we learn that Gaius' doom had been sealed from the start. His refusal to receive the Jewish embassy from Alexandria is in itself an encouragement to Philo, the chief of the ambassadors, who sees in this discourtesy a clear indication that the emperor has in fact "already started a war with God."[34] A new evidence that in this crisis God is on the side of the Jews is furnished Petronius, whom Gaius sends to Palestine to carry out his wishes. A heavy shower of rain out of a clear sky in a season of drought seems even to the Roman general an indubitable demonstration of God's care for his people and of his presidency over their destiny.[35] Further, Agrippa is introduced in the rôle of missionary to his old friend Gaius to teach him that the correct way of securing divine assistance for the imperial government is to refrain from demanding emperor-worship of the Jews.[36] Moreover, the good fortune of Petronius in receiving news of Gaius' death before the imperial letter ordering Petronius' own destruction arrived, is now explicitly credited to God's care for one who had protected the Jews. Indeed it is their God who is responsible for the removal of this impious emperor.[37]

When introducing his long description of events attending the assassination of Gaius, Josephus almost drops his mask. Openly he declares that his purpose in recounting the incident is (1) to furnish persons in affliction great comfort and assurances of the power of God, and (2) to hold up Gaius as an example of misfortune to those who suppose their happiness to

[32] *War*, II, 208.
[33] XVIII, 257—308; XIX, 1—211.
[34] XVIII, 260.
[35] XVIII, 285—288.
[36] XVIII, 297.
[37] XVIII, 305—308; XIX, 15.

be unending and who imagine that they will be able permanently to escape miseries even though they do not order their lives according to the principles of virtue.[38] Considering the circumstances under which Josephus was living at Rome, his words of assurance to his fellow-Jews in their new anxieties under the growing assertiveness of the imperial cult could hardly be more explicit, nor could he well venture to express more pointedly his warning to Domitian against treading in the footsteps of Gaius whose fatal blunder had been the violation of Jewish religious liberty.

It is clear from Josephus that the attitude of the Roman government toward the Jews became more hostile after the reigns of Vespasian and Titus. Under the fostering care of Domitian the imperial cult grew increasingly menacing. Apparently as early as the year 93 A. D. Josephus was fully awake to the impending troubles that threatened the Jews because of Domitian's interest in his own deification. Already there was need of strengthening "faith in the power of God" and providing great "consolation for those who are the victims of misfortunes," a state of affairs evidently due to someone who thought like Gaius in former times, that his own good fortune would never come to an end.[39] Even present difficulties are but a prelude to others more serious, unless the oppressor takes a timely warning from the examples of history. Legislation favorable to the Jews under great emperors of the past is held up for emulation. The calamities that overtook Herod the Great are read as a warning to anyone in authority who would transgress Jewish religious scruples, and when a situation

[38] XIX, 16. Josephus, *Antiq.*, XIX, 209, remarks that Gaius took his predecessor Tiberius as his model and inspiration in learning, which constitutes another point of resemblance to Domitian who, according to Suetonius, *Domit.* 20, restricted his reading to the commentaries and deeds of Tiberius. Perhaps half apologetically, Josephus then comments on the difficulty of practicing the virtue of moderation, which should be the characteristic of a cultured man, when one possesses absolute power to do what one pleases without restraint (XIX, 210). Possibly this is as direct an admonition as it was safe for one in Josephus' position to utter during the days of the Terror under Domitian.

[39] *Antiq.* XIX, 16.

has become especially acute, as in the case of Gaius, God can be counted upon for drastic action to prevent fatal disaster to Judaism.[40]

Josephus presents a situation into which the Apocalypse of John readily fits. Owing to the stimulus given to emperor-worship by Domitian, John of Patmos entertained a lively anticipation of trouble for Christians on account of their antagonism toward the worship of any earthly potentate. But the author of the New Testament Apocalypse cannot claim for his faith those precedents of toleration and those historical displays of providential protection by means of which Josephus hopes to avert impending danger to Judaism. Consequently Josephus is less desperate than the Christian seer, yet he clearly betrays a similar anticipation of increasing hostility on the part of the authorities under Domitian.

[40] *Antiq.* XIX, 15.

THE ORIGIN OF THE TERM "GOSPEL"

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THE Greek noun *εὐαγγέλιον* (neuter singular) is rarely found in the sense of "good tidings" outside of early Christian literature. We find *εὐάγγελος* (bringing good tidings) and the verb *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* (to bring good tidings), but *εὐαγγέλιον* in classical Greek means a messenger's reward (e. g. *Odyssey* xiv 152, 166). In the plural it means a sacrifice for good tidings (Xenophon, Aristophanes, Lucian, Plutarch, and inscriptions as early as the fourth century B. C.). In the sense of "good news" the singular appears for the first time outside of Christian literature in a papyrus letter from an Egyptian official of the third century A. D. in connection with the accession of the emperor Julius Verus Maximus. The plural is found in this sense, however, in the Priene calendar inscription of about 9 B. C., which speaks of the birth of the emperor Augustus as "the beginning of good tidings" for the world. The verb *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* is found in a doubtful reading of Dion Cassius (c. 200 A. D.), also in the "*Menandrea*" and "*Daphnis and Chloe*," and in a papyrus from the time of Hadrian or Trajan.

Whatever interest such examples may have for us, however, we naturally look to the Old Testament for the roots of the Christian usage of both noun and verb. In the Septuagint we do not find the neuter singular noun at all. The plural is used in 2 Ki. 4 10 (2 Sam. in the Hebrew) of a messenger's reward (cp. the singular in the example cited above from Homer). The Hebrew בְּשֹׂרָה seems to carry the same double meaning as the Greek *εὐαγγέλιον*. Some authorities also have

εὐαγγέλια (neuter plural) in the sense of "good tidings" in one or two places, but probably we should read rather εὐαγγελία (feminine singular), which is the form used in every other instance to translate בְּשׂוֹרָה. The use of this feminine noun is most interestingly shown in 2 Sam. 18 19–27, the passage which tells how the news of the death of Absalom was carried to David. Here in eight verses we find the word three times. The cognate verb appears four times in the same passage. Again in 2 Ki. (LXX 4 Ki.) 7 9, where the four lepers, discovering that the Syrian host has fled, begin to plunder the abandoned baggage but think better of it, they say to one another, "We do not well: this day is a day of good tidings" (εὐαγγελίας). From these facts it is quite evident that the Christian use of the noun εὐαγγέλιον is not derived from the Greek Old Testament.

The verb occurs frequently in the LXX, rendering בשׂר, with meanings varying from the news of a victory to the glad tidings of Messianic restoration and glory. The books of Samuel and Kings have it nine times, Psalms three times, Joel and Nahum once each, and Isaiah six times. It also occurs once in 1 Chronicles in a parallel to one of the passages in 1 Sam. The six occurrences in Isaiah are the most important for us; they are all in the latter portion of the book and refer to the coming deliverance of God's people, the reign of God, and the future glory of Zion (Is. 40 9.9; 52 7.7; 60 6; 61 1). It is hardly too much to say that in this book εὐαγγελίζεσθαι (i. e. בשׂר) is a Messianic term. At any rate we know that it was so understood by the early Christians. We may be quite sure that in these four passages from the Second Isaiah is to be found the main source for the Christian use of the term "gospel."

But who originated this Christian usage? Many scholars maintain (or assume) that it was Paul, and certainly he spoke of his message very often as "good tidings." The noun εὐαγγέλιον is found in every one of his letters (sixty times altogether), and the verb occurs twenty times. But was Paul original in this, or were these words a part of that which also he received? According to the Synoptic gospels Jesus described his own

message as "glad tidings." May their representation be accepted as true to history? It must be confessed that the evidence dwindles somewhat upon examination. For sayings of Jesus containing the noun εὐαγγέλιον we are dependent entirely upon Mark. There are only five of them altogether, and in three of these Matthew omits the word "gospel." If Mark was Matthew's source for these sayings, we must suppose either that Matthew had some reason for deleting the word or that he did not find it in his copy of Mark, in which case it was presumably inserted by a later editor or interpolator. In one of the two passages where both Mark and Matthew have the word Luke omits it; the other passage has no parallel in Luke. In fact Luke (like John) does not use the noun εὐαγγέλιον at all in his gospel, and in Acts it occurs only twice.

With regard to the cognate verb the case is quite different. Here it is Mark who does not use the word at all. Matthew has it only in 11 15 (Lk. 7 22), which is also the only verse from Q containing either the verb or the noun. Luke, on the other hand, shows a remarkable fondness for the verb, using it ten times in his gospel and fifteen times in Acts. Four times he uses it in sayings of Jesus: one is the Q passage already referred to; another (4 18) has no parallel; the remaining two have parallels but without the word εὐαγγελίζεσθαι (4 43, cp. Mk. 1 38; 16 16, cp. Mt. 11 12 f.).

All this is rather confusing, but the fact remains that in all three gospels Jesus speaks of his message as glad tidings. In specific cases and in the form of the word employed the evangelists differ, but in representing the Master as using the term in some form himself none of them sees any incongruity. This fact would be entitled to consideration even if we could not establish the authenticity of any of the particular sayings in which the word is attributed to Jesus.

To be quite frank, most of these passages prove on examination to be at best doubtful. Beginning with Mark's five sayings, consider first 1 14 f.—"Now after John was delivered up, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe the gospel." Mt. 4 17 reads as

follows: "From that time began Jesus to preach, and to say, Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Lk. 4 15 simply says, "And he taught in their synagogues, being glorified of all," with no statement of the contents of the teaching. Montefiore says, "This verse is one of the cases where Matthew seems to have preserved an earlier and more authentic form of the words of Jesus than Mark." It should be noted, however, that the difference between Matthew and Mark consists not simply in the presence or absence of the words "and believe in the gospel." If these words have been interpolated in Mark, the scribe or editor who added them did not simply insert them in Matthew's form of the saying, but recast it entirely. If, on the other hand, Matthew had before him Mk. 1 15 as it now stands, he did not simply drop these words, but substituted for the whole verse the similar statement which he had already used in 3 2 for the message of John the Baptist, and which he did not get from Mark. Perhaps he made the substitution for the express purpose of emphasizing the connection between the ministries of John and Jesus. If so, he was not following Q, which seems to make a point of contrasting John and Jesus. In any case, we have neither the insertion nor the omission of a clause to explain, but the substitution of a quite different form of the whole saying.

We must remember, furthermore, that to speak of a more or less "authentic form of the words of Jesus" here is somewhat misleading, because we are not dealing with a report of a particular utterance, but with a summary of all Jesus' preaching throughout his early Galilean ministry. The real question, therefore, is simply this: is Mark following an authentic tradition when he makes Jesus speak of his own message as glad tidings and call upon his hearers to accept it as true?

Wellhausen, followed by Menzies and Montefiore, says that Jesus could not have used the term "gospel" at the beginning of his ministry, because it would have been incomprehensible to his hearers. But we are not told that he went about saying nothing but "Believe in the gospel," using a term new-coined and undefined. Some word for good news was certainly in common use, and if Jesus announced the near approach of

the Kingdom, and announced it as good news, there would be nothing hard to understand in an exhortation to believe the glad tidings. Nor is it unlikely that he would utter such an exhortation, for we know that he equated the acceptance or rejection of himself *as a true prophet* with the acceptance or rejection of God. Certainly the conception of a proclamation or announcement of salvation was not new. In addition to the passages in the Second Isaiah already mentioned, Dalman cites the Apocalypse of Baruch as expressing this general idea and gives references to the rabbinical writings in which Elijah and even the Messiah himself are spoken of as heralds of salvation.

But Wellhausen and the others say that Jesus' message was not good news at all, but a proclamation of wrath and judgment, like the messages of Amos, John the Baptist, and Mohammed. It may be worth noting in this connection that the Aramaic words בַּשַּׂר and בְּשׂוֹרְתָא do not necessarily refer to good news. They are used of any announcement, sometimes with qualifying adjectives, טָבְתָא or בִּישְׁתָא as the case may be. Dalman (*Worte Jesu*) gives instances from the rabbinical literature and also cites 1 Sam. 4 17 as showing that the same thing is true of Hebrew usage. An illustration of the latter fact is afforded by an amusing bit of translation Greek in 2 Sam. 18 27. The LXX here reads *εὐαγγελίαν ἀγαθήν*. Surely the adjective is superfluous; we do not say "good good-news!" The Hebrew, of course, is בְּשׂוֹרָה טוֹבָה, and the tautology of the Greek is simply the result of a very literal translation. בְּשׂוֹרָה is regularly rendered *εὐαγγελία*; טוֹב is certainly *ἀγαθός*; if equals be added to equals the sums will be equal; therefore בְּשׂוֹרָה טוֹבָה equals *εὐαγγελίαν ἀγαθήν*! Jesus might have used the word בְּשׂוֹרְתָא to describe his message even if it was, as Wellhausen maintains, a message of stern retribution. But we need not quibble about words. The proclamation of the coming Kingdom was not one of doom but of comfort and joy. However closely it may have been related to the Baptist's message, the two were certainly not identical.

The final count in the critics' indictment against Mark is that we have here only an instance of his "Paulism." Werner,

who follows Wellhausen to the extent of doubting Jesus' use of the word "gospel," definitely parts company with him on the question of Pauline influence in Mark (*Der Einfluß paulinischer Theologie im Markusevangelium;* Gießen, 1923). His discussion of the term εὐαγγέλιον, which he regards as a missionary term in common use in the apostolic church, may be commended to those who are inclined to consider it a peculiarly Pauline expression. To be sure, as Swete and Menzies remind us, the introductory expression in v. 14, "the gospel of God," is found in Paul's letters. He uses it six times (out of the sixty times he uses εὐαγγέλιον). What Mark means by it, however, is explicitly defined by v. 15 in terms not at all Pauline: "the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Gould (*I. C. C.*) renders εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ here as "glad tidings *from* God," i. e. the good news of the Kingdom given in v. 15. Harnack vigorously defends the same interpretation. The first clause in v. 15, "the time is fulfilled," does sound like Paul; still, to quote Montefiore, "Whether Jesus used these exact words or not, there is no reason to doubt that their sentiment was his."

With regard to the final clause, "and believe in the gospel," Harnack has pointed out that while "believe" and "gospel" are both favorite words with Paul, he never uses them together. Certainly the form of the expression is not Pauline. Πιστεύειν ἐν is not Greek at all but Semitic. Outside of this verse, so far as I have been able to discover, it occurs nowhere but in the Septuagint, and even there the dative without a preposition is the common construction after πιστεύειν, as in classical Greek. In the New Testament the verb is followed by the genitive, dative, or accusative without a preposition, by ἐπί, and most common of all by εἰς, which (like the ἐν of the passage before us) undoubtedly represents the בְּ of Hebrew and Aramaic usage; but πιστεύειν ἐν occurs only in Mk. 1 15 (in Jn. 3 15; Ac. 13 39; and Eph. 1 13 the phrase with ἐν probably does not modify the verb πιστεύειν). The expression is quite *un*Pauline.

I have given this passage a disproportionate amount of attention because it is the only one in which we have any clear clue, either in modifying words or in context, to the

sense in which Mark understood the word "gospel" and expected his readers to understand it. What, then, did the word mean to Mark? Montefiore, following Wellhausen, says that, while Matthew and Luke mean by it the content of Jesus' teaching, in Mark Jesus *is* the gospel and is made to use the word in this sense himself. Surely the connection between vv. 14 and 15 is sufficient to refute this; besides, as Werner observes (*op. cit.*), Mark would hardly make Jesus begin by broadcasting his Messiahship and thereafter consistently treat it as a secret not to be divulged. Montefiore admits on another page that the word may mean here the good news that the Kingdom is at hand, and Wellhausen himself, as Harnack points out, although he takes the word in v. 15 to mean the apostolic tidings of Christ, and therefore claims that it is incorrectly attributed to Jesus, says in another place that in v. 14 it means the glad tidings of the Kingdom. But if this be admitted for v. 14, there is no ground whatever for denying it in v. 15.

Mk. 8 35 and 10 29 need not detain us long. 8 35 reads as follows: "Whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's shall save it." This saying occurs six times in the New Testament, but only here do we find our word "gospel." To be sure, the form varies widely in other particulars also, and since the saying must have been often on Jesus' lips, it is not impossible that he sometimes said "for my sake and the gospel's," if he used the word "gospel" at all. We can hardly use the verse, however, to prove that he did so use it. As regards 10 29, which speaks of the man who "hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or mother, or father, or children, or lands, for my sake, and for the gospel's sake," we find again that both Matthew and Luke omit καὶ ἕνεκεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, though it is true here also that we have not simply an addition or omission but three quite different forms of the saying.

Only in 13 10 and 14 9 is Mark supported by Matthew in the use of the word "gospel." Mk. 13 10 reads: "And the gospel must first be preached unto all nations." The parallel to this particular paragraph is in Mt. 10 17 ff., which omits this verse; but in chapt. 24, which parallels Mk. 13 as a whole,

Matthew inserts at a different point the following: "And the gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony unto all the nations; and then shall the end come." Here we seem to have two quite different versions of the same saying, both containing "to preach the gospel" (*δεῖ κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* in Mark; *κηρυχθήσεται τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας* in Matthew). Luke does not have the saying in any form. The other passage is Mk. 14 9: "And verily I say unto you, Wheresoever the gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world, that which this woman hath done shall be spoken of for a memorial of her." The parallel (Mt. 26 13) says: "Wheresoever *this* gospel shall be preached" &c. Wellhausen says of this passage: "The gospel is here as always (except 1 14) the proclamation of the apostles about Jesus, especially about his passion, death, and resurrection." Wellhausen's "always," replies Harnack, covers only 1 15; 8 35; and 10 29, where the word really means exactly what it does in 1 14. Werner in this instance accepts Wellhausen's interpretation, remarking that the word here refers to the message to be proclaimed by the apostles after the resurrection, which was that Jesus was the Christ, and that the incident from the life of Jesus—"that which this woman hath done"—is to be told only as an appendage to this. But if Jesus foresaw his death, did he not contemplate the continued preaching of the gospel by his followers? If he did, what was to be its content? Surely not biography! It was to be the good news which he himself proclaimed—"*this* gospel." There is really nothing in the use of the word "gospel" in either 13 10 or 14 9 to afford just cause for rejecting the sayings. Neither can they be discarded on the ground of insufficient attestation.

Only once does Mark clearly mean more by the word *εὐαγγέλιον* than the message of Jesus. I refer to the opening verse of the book, "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ," which is not a saying of Jesus. Whatever the term means as Mark uses it here himself, he nowhere represents Jesus as using it in any sense but that in which he would naturally use it, and that is all that concerns us here. Our present purpose is not to discuss exhaustively Mark's use of the word, but to

determine the historical value of his testimony to its use by Jesus. On this point our conclusion, while of a negative character, is quite definite: Mark does not give us sufficient evidence to make us sure that Jesus actually used the term, but the way in which he is represented as using it is not inherently improbable.

What the word meant to Matthew is easily determined. In 4 17, as we have seen, he omits it, but in two other places he uses practically the same words (4 23 and 9 35, the beginning and the end of his first great insertion from Q); and here he not only employs the word but also defines it as "the gospel of the kingdom." In 16 25 and 19 29 he omits it; in 24 14 he again adds the qualifying phrase, "of the kingdom"; and in 26 13 he says "*this* gospel." In short, as scholars have remarked, he either omits the word or qualifies it, as though fearing that his readers might misunderstand it. To him it means distinctly "the gospel of Jesus," not "the gospel *about* Jesus." Clearly it was possible in the early church to use the term without the specific connotation which Paul gave to it. As regards Jesus' use of it, however, Matthew's testimony has no independent value.

Luke, we have noted, eschews the use of the noun altogether, but uses freely the verb εὐαγγελίζεσθαι. His complete avoidance of the noun has occasioned more perplexity than seems necessary. The fact is that he was not so much averse to the noun as he was fond of the verb, and a glance at the passages in which he puts the word in Jesus' mouth will reveal the reason for his preference. In 4 43 Jesus says to the multitudes which have followed him into the desert place, "I must preach the good tidings of the kingdom of God to the other cities also" (εὐαγγελίσασθαί με δεῖ). This corresponds to Mk. 1 38, which, however, is quite different in form and uses the verb κηρύσσειν without an object. There is no parallel in Matthew. In brief, Luke here introduces the idea of glad tidings where Mark does not have it, and defines it as "the good tidings of the kingdom." In 16 16 Jesus says, "The law and the prophets were until John: from that time the kingdom of God is preached" (εὐαγγελίζεται). The parallel in Matthew (11 12 f.) puts this

saying in a different context and words it differently, omitting entirely the clause in which we are here interested. Dalman says that Luke's version "raises difficulties to the Semitic translator, the passive of בשר meaning always 'to receive a message,' not 'to be announced'." All that can be inferred with any certainty from these two verses is that Luke liked to use this verb.

4 16 ff. and 7 22 are more important. In the former Jesus is represented as reading in the synagogue at Nazareth the opening verses of the sixty-first chapter of Isaiah, including the clause: "Because he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor" (εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς). After the reading he declares: "Today hath this scripture been fulfilled in your ears." Authorities differ as to the historicity of this incident. Assuming, however, that the sermon in the synagogue was composed after the fashion of the ancient historians, presenting not so much what Jesus actually said as what the author thought he should have said, we need not assume that it was manufactured out of whole cloth. Matthew also has a discourse at the beginning of Jesus' ministry, which certainly is not a stenographic report of any particular sermon, but with equal certainty is not an original composition by the evangelist. And if, as Montefiore says, Luke chose the passage from Isaiah to sum up the significance of Jesus' mission, what made him think of these particular verses? Without venturing to discuss the composition of Luke, we need suppose only that Luke was acquainted with a tradition, written or oral, that Jesus had used Isaiah 61 in this way somewhere, at some time. Such a tradition he certainly did have in the Q passage which he gives us in his seventh chapter, and to which we shall come in a moment. But if Jesus used this prophecy once, he must have used it often. What we have here, therefore, is probably selection and adaptation rather than creation *ex nihilo*.

However that may be, 7 22 (Mt. 11 5) may be confidently accepted as an authentic saying of Jesus. In reply to the question from John the Baptist, "Art thou he that cometh, or look we for another?", Jesus sends the reply: "Go and tell John the things which ye have seen and heard; the blind

receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, the poor have good tidings preached to them." This clear reference to the same passage which Luke has represented Jesus as using in the synagogue at Nazareth indicates that Jesus himself regarded his mission as fulfilling that prophecy. Here it can hardly be said that Luke has selected the quotation. Prof. E. F. Scott pronounces this incident "one of the most certainly historical, as it is one of the most illuminating incidents in the Gospel narrative"; and Cheyne says in the *Encyclopedia Biblica:* "the authenticity of this saying of Jesus is proved by Luke's failure to comprehend it." Luke was not the last who failed to comprehend it, for our modern authorities differ so widely in its interpretation that some of them must be woefully mistaken; but all of them seem to agree that Jesus actually said on this occasion "the poor have good tidings preached to them," and said it with intentional reference to Isaiah 61.

Harnack says that this sole occurrence of the verb in Q proves very little, because the word has here no technical significance. May we not rather say that for this very reason it is of supreme importance for our present purpose? It shows exactly how the Christian use of the term arose. For that is not first which is technical, but that which is natural; then that which is technical. Jesus saw in the prophecies of the book of Isaiah a description of his own mission, and the designation of his own message as glad tidings was suggested to him by the use of the expression in that book. What was at first hardly more than a literary allusion came easily and naturally, because it was so obviously fitting, to be a quasi-technical term, on his own lips and in the speech of his followers, for the news which he proclaimed.

If we are right in finding the origin of the term "gospel" in Jesus' application of the prophecies of the Second Isaiah to his own mission, perhaps we have stumbled upon the reason for Luke's consistent use of the verb εὐαγγελίζεσθαι rather than the noun εὐαγγέλιον. As 4 18 and 7 22 show, he was aware of the connection between Jesus' use of the term and its use in the book of Isaiah, and it is the verb that we find

in Isaiah. Why Mark was so fond of the noun I cannot say. Perhaps the influence of Paul had something to do with it, but verb and noun alike were probably in common use among Palestinian Christians. In Hebrew and Aramaic, indeed, the noun is quite likely to be found along with the verb, and it is not at all improbable that Jesus himself, having adopted the verb of the Second Isaiah, employed also the noun which went with it. As for the absence of both noun and verb in John, what use would John have for the word "gospel"? Why should we expect to find it in a book which does not present Jesus as a proclaimer of good tidings? The Kingdom itself is hardly more than mentioned; it does not appear at all in the sense in which its coming is announced in the Synoptic account.

One more question remains to be considered. If we suppose that Jesus used the term himself in the sense of the message of the coming Kingdom, how shall we explain the change in meaning which it has undergone when we meet it in later apostolic writings? How did it come to mean the story of Calvary and the resurrection, the divine gift of redemption through union with Christ and life in the Spirit? Exactly, I would answer, as it has kept on changing and developing in meaning ever since, and now means one thing to some of us and another to others. The "gospel" is the message of Christianity; it means whatever the person who uses it understands the message of Christianity to be. But if Jesus employed it in one sense when he went about among the villages of Galilee, and Paul used it in another sense when he wrote to the churches of Greece and Asia Minor, the change did not all take place after the crucifixion. We can hardly doubt that the Master's conception of his own mission underwent some development during the course of his ministry. Let me quote a few sentences from Prof. B. W. Bacon's book on *"Jesus and Paul":* "From the time when he had taken up the message of the Baptist his one effort had been to prepare for the reign of God by bringing Israel through repentance and faith into 'reconciliation' with the Father in Heaven. As prophet and teacher in Galilee he had failed. Out of defeat he snatched victory. He made the cause national by his appeal as Son of

David and Son of Man in Jerusalem. Again he had failed. There was but one thing more he could do for the 'reconciliation'. He could dedicate his body and blood as an atonement offering for the forgiveness of sin, that God might be reconciled to His people." "Thus the 'glad tidings of reconciliation' was no Pauline novelty. It was the general and common gospel." Now if the thought and the teaching of Jesus developed in some such way as this, then the connotation of the term by which he designated his message grew accordingly and the word which in Galilee meant simply that the Kingdom of God was near had acquired already at the time of the Last Supper essentially the meaning which made it to Paul and makes it to us "the power of God unto salvation."

THE INTERPRETATIVE VALUE OF THE SYNOPTIC SOURCE ANALYSIS

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IT is generally agreed that Mark was used as the framework of Matthew and Luke. But there is, so far, no consensus of scholarship to account for the non-Markan parallels in Matthew and Luke unless the tendency of a large number of New Testament scholars to accept some form of the Q hypothesis be called a consensus.

Harnack's reconstruction of the teaching source that Matthew and Luke had in common has been set aside. He followed the Matthean order in building up his Q and as a result has only a heap of interesting ruins. It is significant to note that Harnack regarded his own findings as "a heterogeneous collection of discourses and sayings, the most part bound together in groups."

New Testament scholars have since discovered that by following the Lukan order in parallel material they can construct a source that has logical sequence. In contradistinction to Harnack we find that Hawkins, Stanton, Streeter, Allen, Castor, and Patton have included some narrative material. All of them agree almost to a verse in their selection of material common to Matthew and Luke; it is when they try to include material peculiar to either—careful guessing at best—that they differ in their findings.

Of all the reconstructions of the Q document, or Logia, I have found the work done by Streeter and Castor to be the best. But even their results when weighed in the balance are

found to be wanting, for the Q hypothesis does not really solve the synoptic problem. J. V. Bartlett has pointed out "the presence in various parts of Luke of a source parallel with Mark even in sections which at first sight appear dependent on Mark alone." In view of the fact, moreover, that most modern scholars ascribe to Luke a close following of his sources and the additional fact that Luke has eleven doublets and yet lays claim to tracing "the course of all things accurately from the first," there is, I think, need for a more adequate theory than the Q hypothesis.

President Burton's solution in his *Principles of Literary Criticism and the Synoptic Problem* is more adequate than the Q hypothesis. In addition to Mark, which served as a framework, Matthew and Luke have four sources: G, or Galilean document, with vivid narrative used by both Matthew and Luke; P, or Perean document, also used by both; document M, presumably the Logia of Matthew, used by Matthew alone; some minor sources for the infancy, passion, and resurrection narratives. H. B. Sharman, in his *Teachings of Jesus about the Future,* has shown by a further analysis of M that some of the material belongs to special sources. Burton's P document has been worked over by Dean R. Wickes, who points out in his *Sources of Luke's Perean Section* that P contains two documents one of which Matthew had while Luke used both. Burton's analysis as revised by Sharman and Wickes is, in my opinion, the best solution of the synoptic problem.

As one reviews the history of synoptic discussion, the question arises as to the interpretative value of the source analysis. It is obvious that the analysis has an academic interest and value and that scholars will continue to work at the problem if for no other reason than intellectual curiosity. But is there no value beyond that? Or can we say that the synoptic source analysis is essential to a true interpretation of Jesus and his message?

Judging from the method of procedure used by most scholars who attempt to write a life of Jesus, one is forced to draw the conclusion that they discuss the synoptic problem because academic considerations demand that some treatment of that

problem be included. But how many use the analysis as a basis for interpretation? There is the recognition of some source as the earliest and most authoritative, but a total disregard of that fact when Jesus and his work are discussed. Material is chosen to uphold a given position regardless of whether it be part of the earliest source or an editorial insertion.

There is, I believe, real need for a life of Jesus based on a thorough-going study of the sources. No one who would write accurately and authoritatively on the life of Jesus can ignore the work done for him by all of the scholars mentioned, and particularly the analyses made by Burton, Sharman, and Wickes. In addition to a careful study and mastery of the source analysis it is also necessary to follow any given subject for study consistently through the sources to note whether there be divergences. Sound conclusions can hardly be arrived at by any method less rigorous.

Undertaking, some time ago, a study of the religion of the historic Jesus I was anxious to avoid the usual proof text method and set out to develop a sound technique. My first task was to arrive at some solution of the synoptic problem. Burton's theory as revised by Sharman and Wickes commended itself to me. I then arranged my sources in their order of historicity, in which task I was guided by the work done by Burton and Sharman. G was placed first with P second. Using Professor Bacon's analysis of Mark I called all Markan material showing no editorial influence MK and placed that next in order. Document M followed by MKR—Markan material showing editorial influence, LkS and MtS—special Lukan and Matthean material—complete the list.

The categories chosen for the study of Jesus' religion are as follows: Jesus' relation to God as it affected his self-consciousness, worship, and relation to his fellows; Jesus' conception of sin, faith, and salvation; Jesus' teachings about the future; and his treatment of the problem of evil.

The procedure adopted was to follow each category through the seven sources to discover how each source treated it. Comparisons were then made, differences noted, and conclusions drawn.

Throughout the research every individual passage was

examined critically. This added bit of technique saved me from the all too usual indiscriminate inclusion of many passages which should be set aside on critical grounds.

My method of procedure brought out no marked differences in Jesus' conception of the superhuman except that document M and Matthew stress God's residence in heaven; twenty of the twenty-two references in this category are in Matthew.

It is significant to note that the name Son of man is never used in the two earliest and most trustworthy sources with a Messianic connotation.

The sources differ in their treatment of Jesus' relations to the rulers of his day. The earliest sources, G and P, picture Jesus as being on intimate terms with the Pharisees. He dined with them and some of their number came to warn him that Herod was seeking his life. All of the conflicts mentioned were over points of doctrine. In common with the Pharisees Jesus was often engaged in interpreting the law. He differed from them only in his method of procedure. Instead of appealing to tradition or using casuistry Jesus tried to find the principle involved in a given law and applied it anew in every case. Nowhere in G or P do the Pharisees attempt to injure Jesus. The early Markan material has the Pharisees raising the question about the legality of tribute to Caesar but it recognizes that the priests were the ones who plotted to kill Jesus. It was to them that Judas betrayed his master. The late Markan material,—MKR—however, has the Pharisees plotting to kill Jesus at the opening of his ministry, Mk. 3 4–6. A study of the early sources makes it clear that Jesus' death was brought about by the priests because he had cleansed the temple as a protest against their exploiting the religious piety of loyal Yahweh worshippers.

The source MKR must always be carefully scrutinized and compared with the earlier documents, for it changes even so fundamental a conception as faith. Professor Bacon, in his *Beginnings of Gospel Story,* points out how the editor of Mark misunderstood the incident of crossing the sea, for he transforms Jesus' absolute faith in God into a mere power to silence storms or to walk the sea.

There are divergent notes in nearly every approach one makes to the sources, but the outstanding differences occur in the report of Jesus' sayings about the future, changes that can be detected and corrected by a careful examination and comparison of document with document or of gospel with document. Document P, for example, suffered changes when incorporated into Matthew, the Matthean parallel to Lk. 17 22–37 being given a distinct eschatological turn. Document M is decidedly eschatological; it contains the account of the final judgment and the interpretations of the parables of the sower and darnel.

In speaking of the differences that occur Sharman says: "On few other themes in the teaching of Jesus will there be found such numerous and notable modifications of the words of Jesus as are detectable in those which deal with the various aspects of the Future."

It so happens that some of Jesus' teachings about the future have implications that concern other fields. An example of what I mean is the story of Lazarus, the beggar, who after death rested in the bosom of Abraham. The rich man, on the other hand, was in torment. Sharman would leave out this parable on critical grounds. Were the story included, Jesus would be teaching a philosophy of compensation as an answer to the problem of evil, a note foreign to his philosophy of life.

Enough detail has been exhibited to show the interpretative value of the synoptic source analysis if it be followed carefully and faithfully. The procedure that I have outlined is slow and at times somewhat tedious, but it is sure. It enables one to regain, as nearly as possible, the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus and to detect and avoid the changes that occur because of the march of events or the personal equation of those who report his life and teachings.

THE RITUAL DECALOGUE

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THE ritual decalogue, it is well known, is found in Ex. 34 and also in BC, principally in Ex. 23. These two versions are usually called the J and E forms, respectively. Whether these belonged originally to the J and E documents or not, a question which will be mentioned later, these terms are sufficiently appropriate, inasmuch as it seems exceedingly probable that the form in Ex. 34 originated in Judah and that in BC in Israel.

While there have been many discussions of this subject in recent years, special attention should be called to the following. Professor Knudson, *The So-called J Decalogue*,[1] gives a historical resume of earlier views. Professor Kennett[2] notes in detail the parallels between the J and E forms. Professor Pfeiffer, *The Oldest Decalogue*,[3] considers the oldest decalogue to have been of Canaanite origin.

It seems very probable that the original form of these commands was a real decalogue, as stated expressly in Ex. 34 28. While some have questioned the originality of this statement, it is accepted by most. Without assuming anything at this point concerning the question of priority as between the J and E forms, the consideration can most conveniently begin with the J form since that is less scattered than the E form.

Thirteen regulations in the J form, Ex. 34, might with some

[1] *JBL*, 28, pp. 82—99.
[2] *Deuteronomy and the Decalogue.*
[3] *JBL*, 43, pp. 294—310.

reason be regarded as belonging to the original commands, viz. the following. 1. V. 14, the prohibition of the worship of another god. 2. V. 17, the prohibition of the making of molten gods. 3. V. 18, the command to observe the feast of unleavened bread. 4. V. 19, the statement that the firstborn belongs to Yahweh. 5. V. 20 end, the command that none shall appear before Yahweh empty. 6. V. 21, the command enjoining six days of work and the seventh day of rest (Sabbath). 7. V. 22 a, the command to observe the feast of weeks. 8. V. 22 b, the command to observe the feast of ingathering. 9. V. 23, the command that all males shall appear before Yahweh three times in the year. 10. V. 25 a, the prohibition of sacrifice with leavened bread. 11. V. 25 b, the prohibition of the leaving of the Passover till morning. 12. V. 26 a, the command to bring in the firstfruits. 13. V. 26 b, the prohibition of the boiling of a kid in its mother's milk.

An effort has frequently been made to reduce the number of these commands to ten, so that various omissions have been made as later additions; for these, see particularly the article by Professor Knudson. Professor Kennett omits 2, 5 and 9, and Professor Pfeiffer 1, 2 and 5.

I think that 3, 7 and 8, the specific regulations concerning the three feasts, should be omitted. From a literary standpoint this omission greatly simplifies matters, because the confusion in the arrangement of the material is found largely in these three regulations. From the standpoint of thought they are unnecessary, since No. 9 is a summary statement which covers them. It has seemed evident to most that either these three regulations or No. 9 should be omitted, and No. 9 has much appearance of originality, being found in a substantially identical form also in Ex. 23 17 and Dt. 16 16.

In the case of several of the commands the amplifying statements vary considerably as between J and E. This makes it probable that the original statements were in all cases quite brief, a conclusion which is in accord with that generally reached concerning the ethical decalogue. The following are suggested as the original forms of the J version, as found in Ex. 34, together with those of the E version. 1. J. Thou shalt wor-

ship no other god, 34 14. E. Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor serve them, 23 24. 2. J. Thou shalt make thee no molten gods, 34 17. E. Gods of silver, or gods of gold, ye shall not make unto you (or perhaps originally: Ye shall not make gods of silver or gods of gold), 20 23. 3. J. All that openeth the womb is mine, 34 19. E. The firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give unto me. Likewise shalt thou do with thine oxen, and with thy sheep, 22 28 b, 29 a (Eng. 29 b, 30 a). 4. J. None shall appear before me empty, 34 20 end. E, identical with J, 23 15 end. 5. J. Six days thou shalt work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest, 34 21. E. Six days thou shalt do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt rest, 23 12. 6. J. Three times in the year shall all thy males appear before Yahweh, 34 23. E. Substantially identical with J, 23 17. 7. J. Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread, 34 25 a. E. Identical with J, except for the use of זָבַח in place of שָׁחַט, 23 18 a. 8. J. The sacrifice of the feast of the passover shall not be left unto the morning, 34 25 b. E. The fat of my feast shall not remain all night until the morning, 23 18 b. 9. J. The first of the firstfruits of thy ground thou shalt bring unto the house of Yahweh, 34 26 a. E. Identical with J, 23 19 a. 10. J. Thou shalt not boil a kid in its mother's milk, 34 26 b. E. Identical with J, 23 19 b.

The order of E varies at two points from J: the first commandment of J is put last, and 4 and 5 are transposed. In both points the order of J seems preferable. It can not be positively asserted that J has preserved entirely the original order, but any change from this is conjectural with no very definite basis.

It seems evident to most students that either J or E is dependent on the other. Which is the original? The palm of priority has usually been awarded to J, but Professor Kennett and Professor Pfeiffer both give it to E. Professor Pfeiffer's view that the code was of Canaanite origin and perhaps originally written on two tables of stone at the entrance of the sanctuary of Baal Berith at Shechem involves such a confusion of traditions that it is hardly thinkable, in the absence of any positive evidence. The priority of J is favored by the arrange-

ment, as already noted. The use of the name Yahweh in Nos. 6 and 9 is an indication of J rather than E. There seems to be no evidence to support the view of Professor Pfeiffer that the name Yahweh in these verses is a later addition; that view in his case is based upon the conjecture of the Canaanite origin of the code. The priority of J is also favored by No. 2, which seems more original in J, the E form being an expansion; further, the second person singular in J is clearly more original than the second person plural in E. This conclusion is also favored by No. 3, which seems more original in J, the E form again being an expansion. It seems to me, contrary to the opinion of many, that No. 8 is more original in the J form. It seems more likely that the original mention of the Passover was later generalized into *feast* than that the reverse process took place. "The house of Yahweh" in No. 9 is more probably the temple at Jerusalem than any other sanctuary.

To what time does the original belong? Possibly as early as Solomon's time. The statement of monolatry in No. 1 might readily be as early as that. The prohibition of molten gods, No. 2, might possibly also be as early. If, as seems probable, the Hebrew word here used, מַסֵּכָה, is a loan-word from the Canaanite[4], then the intent of the regulation was to forbid molten images because they were Canaanite, without interfering with the real Hebrew carved images. Such a regulation might possibly have originated in the time of Solomon as a protest against his use of foreign modes of worship, but it does not seem probable.

It is worth noting that the term מַסֵּכָה "is applied particularly to the little golden bulls (images of Yahweh) which were worshipped in the Northern Kingdom and to the similar image which Aaron made at Horeb,"[5] quoted approvingly by Professor Pfeiffer[6]. The stories told of Ahijah in 1 Ki. 14 and of the man of God from Judah in 1 Ki. 13, although some details of the latter are certainly unreliable, indicate a considerable

[4] Moore, *EB*, 2148.
[5] Moore, *Judges* (ICC), p. 375.
[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 303.

opposition to the molten images of Jeroboam. Naturally this would be especially intense in Judah, since the movement of Jeroboam on its religious side put itself in direct opposition to the cult at Jerusalem. Hence, such an expression as this commandment might readily have originated *in Judah* at any time after the division of the kingdom. A similar anti-Canaanite feeling is doubtless to be recognized in No. 10. There is, however, in this decalogue much of a primitive nature, suggesting a date as early as is consistent with definite indications. The second commandment, therefore, and hence the whole decalogue, is most probably to be dated not long after the division of the kingdom. This second commandment was probably not actually inconsistent with any part of the official worship at Jerusalem at that time. The brazen serpent, the worship of which Professor Kennett regards as inconsistent, was perhaps not an image in its original significance but a symbol.[7]

On this view the J decalogue is probably as early as the J document. It is by no means certain, however, that it was an original part of it, since it is quite unlike the most of J, there being no other legal code in that document. It is perhaps more likely that it was earlier than J, in which case it may have been added either by the authors of J or by an editor.

On this view, further, it is not probable that the ritual decalogue in its E form was an original part of the E document, rather having been added later with editorial changes.

[7] See Cheyne, *EB*, 3388.

THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF 2 K. 20 7–11 = I. 38 7, 8, 21 f.

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THE major difficulties in the parallel accounts of the miracle of the so-called sun-dial of Ahaz are sufficiently obvious and have often been discussed[1].

[1] *Table I*

K. 7 = I. 21

H. of K. 7	וַיֵּחִי	על השחין	וַיִּשָּׂמוּ	דבלת תאנים	וַיִּקְחוּ	ויאמר ישעיהו קח
G. retranslated	וַיֵּחִי	„ „	וַיִּשָּׂמוּ	B —	וַיִּקַּח A	B — „ ישעיהו A
H. of I. 21	וַיֵּחִי	„ „	וַיִּמְרְחוּ	—	„ „	יִשָּׂאוּ „ „
G. retranslated	וַתֶּחִי	על השחין	וּמְרַח וְשָׂם	מתאנים —	„	אל חזקיהו קח

(Syro-hex)

K. 7. reconstructed out of H. and G.

ויאמר ישעיהו יקחו דבלת תאנים וְיָשִׂימוּ על השחין וְיֵחִי וַיִּקְחוּ וַיָּשִׂימוּ על השחין וַיֵּחִי
(Targ., Syr.)

G. of K. 7 Καὶ εἶπεν — — Λαβέτωσαν παλάθην σύκων καὶ ἐπιθέτωσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἕλκος καὶ ὑγιάσει

G. of I. 21 Καὶ εἶπεν Ἡσαΐας πρὸς Ἐζεκίαν Λάβε παλάθην ἐκ σύκων καὶ τρίψον καὶ κατάπλασαι — — — καὶ ὑγιὴς ἔσῃ

Table II

K. 8-11 = I. 7-21

A. Hebrew

K. 8 ויאמר חזקיהו אל ישעיהו מה אות כי ירפא יהוה לי ועליתי ביום השלישי בית יהוה

I. no parallel — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

K. 9^a ויאמר ישעיהו זֶה־לְּךָ האות מאת יהוה כי יעשה יהוה את הדבר אשר דבר

I. 7 — — וְזֶה „ „ „ אשר „ „ „ „ „ „ „

K. 9^b-11^a הֲלַךְ הצל עשר מעלות אם ישוב עשר מעלות: 10 ויאמר יחזקיהו נקל לצל לנטות עשר מעלות לא כי ישוב הצל אחרנית עשר מעלות: 11^a ויקרא ישעיהו הנביא אל יהוה

I. 8^a הנני משיב את צל המעלות אשר ירדה במעלות אחז בשמש אחרנית עשר מעלות

K. 11^b וַיָּשָׁב את הצל במעלות אשר ירדה במעלות אחז — אחרנית עשר מעלות

I. 8^b — — — — וַתָּשָׁב השמש עשר מעלות במעלות אשר ירדה

1) The cure, K. 7, precedes the assurance of the cure. This has long been felt to be an unnatural sequence.

2) The declarative statement, K. 9 a, *This shall be a sign* —, is followed by the offer of an alternative: *Which of two kinds of sign does Hezekiah prefer*? (K. 9 b). The incongruity of these two clauses has also been increasingly felt in recent times.

3) The equivalents of K. 7 and 8 (the cure of Hezekiah, and the king's request for a sign) are found in Isaiah *after* the offer of the sign (I. 21 and 22) instead of *before* it as in K. So far as the request for a sign is concerned (I. 22 = K. 8), its position after the sign has been given is manifestly impossible. So far as the prescription of the fig poultice and Hezekiah's cure are concerned (K. 7 = I. 21) their position after the sign in I. would be better than their position before it in K., were it not that the text of I. 21 no longer refers to the cure but only to the prescription. The result is that there is no reference at all in Isaiah to the cure, except the incidental one in the title of the interpolated poem of Hezekiah (I. 6) which is not a part of the narrative. Thus the advantage that might have been secured by the transposition of the equivalent of K. 7 to the end of the narrative, after the sign, is forfeited by the alteration of the text. In K. the cure is in the wrong place; in I. it is omitted altogether from the narrative[2].

B. Greek

K. 8-10 Like H. except *πορεύσεται* = יֵלֵךְ, instead הָלַךְ at v. 9 b

K. 11 retranslation of G. { 11 a ויקרא ישעיהו הנביא אל יהוה
11 b וישב הצל במעלות — — — — אחרנית עשר מעלות

K. 11 (G.) { 11 a *Καὶ ἐβάησεν Ἡσαίας ὁ προφήτης πρὸς κύριον*
11 b *Καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν ἡ σκιὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀναβαθμοῖς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω δέκα βαθμούς.*

I. 8 a Retranslation of G. הנני משיב את צל המעלות אשר ירדה עשר מעלות בית אביך השמש
variant — — — משיב חשמש עשר מעלות אשר ירדה הצל —

I. 8 a G. *ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ στρέφω τὴν σκιὰν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν οὓς κατέβη τοὺς δέκα ἀναβαθμοὺς τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός σου ὁ ἥλιος,* — (variant) *ἀποστρέψω τὸν ἥλιον τοὺς δέκα ἀναβαθμούς.*

I. 8 b Retranslation of G. וַתָּשָׁב השמש עשר מעלות — אשר ירדה הצל

I. 8 b G. *Καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ ἥλιος τοὺς δέκα ἀναβαθμοὺς οὓς κατέβη ἡ σκιά.*

[2] I have found only one commentator who has the hardihood to defend the originality of both K. 7 and 8 and I. 21 and 22 in their present forms. Alexander of Princeton suggests that I. 21, 22 are a first draft by Isaiah himself, appended as a kind of after-thought, whereas K. 7 and 8

4) Finally, in addition to the above major difficulties within each of the two narratives, their relationship to each other also presents a serious problem. In K. the sign is given at the request of Hezekiah, and, further, the king is given a choice between two alternatives. In I. the prophet offers the sign of his own accord and defines the precise nature of it himself, no choice being allowed. The solution of the above difficulties proposed by Stade[3], and to be described hereafter, has been the one commonly adopted with but slight variations since his day[4]. This solution in its main outlines I believe to be the correct one. What follows is an attempt to clear up more completely, if possible, the puzzling problems presented by the texts of the parallel accounts and thus to strengthen Stade's main critical conclusions.

I

ON THE TEXT OF THE SIGN, K. 9–11 = I. 7, 8.

1) The verb הלך at K. 9 b is in a very harsh construction. If it is retained, the sentence can be naturally translated only: *The shadow has gone down ten steps*[5]. But in that case

represent a revision by the same author. It would scarcely be worth while to mention this curiosity were it not that this ancient apologetic trick is being reintroduced by some of our most up-to-date modern commentators. See Hans Schmidt at I. 2. 18, 19.

[3] *ZATW* 1886 p. 183 ff.

[4] Cf. Duhm, Dillmann, Marti, Cheyne (*Intro.*), H. Schmidt, Eissfeldt (in Kautzsch[4]) Kittel (*Könige*), Benzinger. Meinhold (*Jesajaerzählungen*, p. 5—8), while adopting certain suggestions of Stade, gives an elaborate reconstruction of the text which forfeits some of the main advantages of Stade's criticism and which does not seem to me to do justice to the textual evidence.

[5] I shall preserve the translation "steps" for מעלות everywhere in Kings and Isaiah. But it must be remembered that it is used with two slightly different shades of meaning. It is used as an accusative of measurement for the distance which the sun or the shadow seems to move (i. e. degrees), and also for the apparatus upon which or by which this apparent motion is indicated. Just what the exact nature of this apparatus is cannot now be ascertained. The translation sundial goes back to the Targum. The two shades of meaning just noted are

the sentence does not agree with what follows, which very clearly implies that an alternative has been offered. If הלך is preserved, the אם clause could scarcely have followed. Stade conjectures that some such clause as וישוב אחרנית עשר מעלות once stood in place of the אם clause[6]. But it seems much simpler to emend to הֵילַךְ[7].

2) At v. 11 b the text is again suspicious. a) As it stands, צל, which is elsewhere masculine, must be the subject of the feminine verb ירדה. b) The phrase, מעלות אחז, has every appearance of being a gloss to the preceding במעלות. c) B omits the relative clause and Syro-hex obolizes it, though it is retained by A. The exact phrase, במעלות אשר ירדה, is found at the end of I. 8 b where שמש is the subject, which at times is feminine. Accordingly, Kittel (*Könige*) proposes to delete it and read: *And he caused the shadow to return on the steps of Ahaz backwards ten steps.* On the other hand, the exact phrase, ... אשר אחז, also occurs in I. 8, though preceded by המעלות instead of במעלות, and in accordance with this Dillmann would reject the entire relative clause and read: *And he caused the shadow to return on the steps backward ten steps.* This reading is to be preferred since it has the support of 𝔊. But there is one drawback to it. The first במעלות, which refers to the apparatus and not to the distance, is left undefined. What steps are referred to? But whether just the steps or the steps of Ahaz are read, in either case the sudden introduction of the apparatus to measure the motion of the shadow *at the end of the narrative* is certainly curious. If the first במעלות is left standing, it *is an allusion to something not in K.'s narrative* but of which the reader is already aware. But it is possible that the entire phrase, במעלות .... אחז, is a confusion of the two separate clauses in I. 8 from which it has been taken, and the original text of Kings read: *And he caused the shadow to return backwards ten steps.*

indicated in the 𝔊 text of K. where ἀναβαθμοις, in the sense of a flight of steps or stairs, varies with βαθμους, probably to be taken in the sense of steps, meaning degrees (*gradus*).

[6] Stade, Di.

[7] So 𝔊, Targ., Syr., and Thenius (alternatively), Klost., Kittel, Meinh.

In that case the apparatus would not be mentioned in Kings but only in Isaiah. Text of K. 9 b – 11 would then read:

> Shall the shadow go (forward) ten steps or shall it return ten steps? And Hezekiah said: It is a light thing for the shadow to decline ten steps; nay, but the shadow shall return backwards ten steps. And Isaiah the prophet called unto Jahweh and he caused the shadow to return (on the steps?) backwards ten steps.

In this text there is a reference only to the shadow. Its movements are described by the words הלך, נטה and שוב אחרנית, and מעלות is regularly taken of the measure of the shadow's motion. But the text is by no means self-explanatory. What is the shadow to which reference is made? What are the steps? The gloss, alone, at v. 11 b tells us. Even if the first במעלות is read, the passage is still allusive, though in this case the allusion is expressed rather than implied. The importance of this peculiarity of the probably original text will appear later[8].

3) The last thing to be noted in K. is the impossible sequence between v. 9 a and 9 b[9]. Since the exact form of K. 9 a is found at I. 7, with the exception of the introductory וְ, it might be thought that K. 9 a was taken from Isaiah, just as the gloss in v. 11 was taken from Isaiah. But the introduction of the gloss from Isaiah in v. 11 is intelligible; it seeks to make good an omission in the present text. The introduction of v. 9 a from Isaiah would be unintelligible, for it creates a needless difficulty with what follows. The significance of this, already pointed out by Stade, will be noticed later.

II

THE TEXT OF I. 8

The present text of I. 8 can no more be correct than the present text of K. 9–11.

[8] When Thenius conjecturally introduces השמש out of Isaiah as the subject of ירדה and retains the relative clause, he sees what must have approximated to the original text in Isaiah, but he fails to see that the phrasing of the two texts in Isaiah and Kings was originally very distinct. When Klostermann sees in K.'s account a commentary on I.'s account, he is on the right track, but he fails to draw the proper text-critical inferences. A part of this 'commentary' is due to glossing of K.'s original text.

[9] Thenius failed to observe this, but Stade and Klostermann point it out, and when once seen it is inescapable.

1) In the first place the present position of בשמש is stylistically intolerable. 2) In the next place the relationship of the movement of the sun to the movement of the shadow is puzzling. They both seem to go down together. What kind of an apparatus is it on which the shadow goes down as the sun goes down? All sorts of speculations have been indulged in in order to answer this question[10]. But any explanation based on so uncertain a text will be itself doubtful.

3) Again, the phrase, 'shadow of the steps', is a curious one. If it is original, the apparatus is thought of. But where the apparatus is thought of the preposition ב accompanies it (the shadow *on* the steps). 4) In the present text צל must again be the subject of the feminine verb ירדה. 5) Finally, v. 8 b is not uniform with v. 8 a. V. 8 a says the shadow would return. V. 8 b says the sun returned. Even if it were more certain than it is that the motions of the shadow and the sun were the same, and that the descent of the one implied the descent of the other, it is not in accordance with ordinary Hebrew usage to have answering clauses so differently worded.

If anything were needed to confirm our suspicions of the present text a glance at the versions would suffice. But fortunately they also furnish us with the clues to a suitable reconstruction.

a) 𝔊 B א A Q Γ, Targum, and Arabic read השמש for בשמש and make it the subject of ירדה[11]. This helps the grammar, but the position of השמש as subject of ירדה is still intolerable and further emendation is necessary. Duhm and Eissfeldt delete 'the steps of Ahaz', but this is against the textual evidence. אAQΓ remove שמש to its proper position immediately after the verb, and this evidence is followed by Marti. But the transposition looks too much like a correction, and against it is

10 The most likely is that of Knobel, who thinks of a column standing on the top of a rounded elevation surrounded by steps which lead up to the base of the column. The sun going down in the West would cause the shadow of the column to lengthen or go down the steps on the East of the hillock.

11 This is followed by Olshausen, Di., Duhm, Marti, Cheyne, Meinh., Hans Schmidt, and practically by Eissfeldt.

the evidence for the present position of שמש in B and the Targum.

I suggest that השמש originally stood where צל stands now, the latter word having been mistakenly introduced from K. After צל had supplanted השמש, the true reading was noted on the margin and came from there into the text at the wrong place. It was then emended to בשמש in order to bring the movement of the sun into relationship to the movement of the shadow. This emendation has the support of a most interesting variant still retained in B. *I will turn back the sun ten steps.* Whether this is a real variant or a very ancient correction, I am not prepared to say. But it is certainly on the right track, for when השמש is once substituted for צל, the difficulties of the text can at once be cleared up, and the true relationship of K.'s text to I.'s becomes clear.

a) The symmetry which once must have existed between v. 8 a and v. 8 b is now restored (*Behold I will cause the sun to return . . . . . And the sun returned*). b.) The subject of וירדה is now unquestionably and properly the sun. c) When 'sun' is once substituted for 'shadow' at v. 8 a, all reference to the movement of the shadow in I. is deleted[12], and consequently all confusion between the movement of the shadow and the movement of the sun is avoided. d) Finally the singular phrase, 'shadow of the steps', is also avoided, and at the same time another distinction between K.'s text and I.'s text is revealed. If השמש once stood where צל now stands, it is clear that מעלות no longer refers to the apparatus but to the measure of the motion and must be accusative not genitive. The clause would now read: *Behold I will cause the sun to return the steps which it has gone down on the steps of Ahaz backwards ten steps*[13]. I suggest again that the phrase, 'backwards ten steps', is a gloss out of K., and

[12] 𝔊 incorrectly adds ἡ σκιά at the end of the verse.

[13] Knobel and Bredenkamp had already taken המעלות as accusative of extent of space and not genitive but clearly incorrectly so long as צל was read. Guthe and Marti sought to avoid their difficulty by emending to הצל. The last step is to substitute השמש for צל for the reasons given above. I arrived at this solution before I became acquainted with Eissfeldt's similar emendation.

originally the number of steps was mentioned only in v. 8 b.[14] Accordingly, the original text of I. 8 will read as follows:

> Behold I will cause the sun to return the steps which it has gone down on the steps of Ahaz; and the sun returned ten steps on the steps on which it had gone down.

When the two texts are thus relieved of the various accretions due to their influence upon each other, their true relationship to each other can be at once seen. K. is dealing with the shadow, I. with the sun. K. speaks of the shadow going (forward) or declining or returning backwards ten steps. I. speaks of the sun going down or returning ten steps, and we are no longer obliged to relate the way in which the motion of the shadow is described to the way in which the motion of the sun is described.[15]

So far as the miracle itself is concerned, there is no difference in principle between the two representations. One is fundamentally as miraculous as the other, as Hitzig long ago observed. But K.'s reference to the shadow is more precise than I.'s reference to the sun. As we have just seen, if the sun's motion is connected with an apparatus for measuring it, this can only be done by the movement of a shadow on the apparatus. The motion which is loosely described in I. as the sun's is more precisely described in K. as the shadow's. In this particular K. would seem to be distinctly secondary, and Klostermann is right in speaking of K. in this connection as

[14] The variant in B reads: *Behold I will cause the sun to return the ten steps which it has gone down.* If this reading be adopted, the phrase, אחרנית עשר מעלות, becomes even more obviously a gloss. But the fact that עשר מעלות in v. 8 b is without the article, and the fact that the insertion of 'ten' with המעלות in v. 8 a can so easily be accounted for, favor the view that the number of steps was originally unspecified in v. 8 a.

[15] It is true that in I. an apparatus is mentioned upon which the declension of the sun is in some way indicated, and this could, of course, only be done by the movement of a shadow. But the point is that in the corrected text of I. only the apparent motion of the sun is described. It goes down or goes back. The actual movement of the shadow is not described. Above all, it is not stated that the shadow goes down with the sun.

being a kind of commentary upon I. K. is again more precise than I. in reading וַיָּשָׁב, with Jahweh as subject. The allusive character of K., which has been already noted, is also best explained by the supposition that it was depending upon a story whose details were well known. "The Steps" in K. are, of course, the well-known steps of Ahaz mentioned in I., as the glossator is careful to remind the reader.

The secondary character of K. is further seen in the alternative which is offered to Hezekiah. Whereas K. 9 a = I. 7 is in entire agreement with I.'s formulation of the sign, it is in violent disagreement with K.'s formulation. But we have already seen that K. 9 a cannot be regarded as a gloss out of I. like the gloss in K. 11. K. 9 must have been a part of the original account of the sign which once stood also in K., and in which no choice was offered to the king. This account has been displaced by the present form of the sign in K. 9 b–11.[16] The purpose of this modification was not primarily to increase the miraculous character of the sign as Stade supposed,[17] though it possibly does do that to a limited extent, but to suggest a contrast between the pious son Hezekiah, who asks for a sign and accepts one of two alternatives proposed, and the impious father, Ahaz, who refused to make a choice when Isaiah made a similar offer to him of a sign in heaven above or earth beneath.[18]

III

ON THE TEXT AND ORIGINAL POSITION OF K. 7 = I. 21

The Hebrew Text of K. 7, in spite of its position, can only naturally be interpreted as an historical statement. The occurrence of וַיִּקְחוּ after the imperative קְחוּ makes this clear. The verse cannot be translated: *Take a cake of figs and let them*

[16] The usual view since Stade. Earlier scholars, e. g. Ges., Hitz., De., Brdk., regard I. as a later abbreviated form.

[17] So also Du., Marti, Cheyne, Di.

[18] Cf. 7 10 ff.

take and place . . . but only: *Take a cake of figs and they took and placed* . . .[19]

1) But when K. 7 is carefully examined, the question arises whether it is quite complete. Isaiah tells certain persons who are undefined to take a fig-cake, but he does not tell them what to do with it. This can only be inferred from what they did do. They laid it on the boil and the king recovered. This in itself might not be so important, for, though the symmetry of the verse is marred by the omission, it is yet sufficiently intelligible as it stands. But the fact that the remaining textual evidence *makes good the omission* is important, though its significance has been ignored by critics and commentators. 𝔊, followed by the Syriac, interprets v. 7 as a command and a promise, and not, as 𝔐 does, as a command and a fulfilment. Observe that, on the basis of this interpretation of the text, ויקחו is correctly omitted in 𝔊^{B}, though incorrectly supplied again by the incorrect form ἐλήμφθη [וַיִּקַּח, Hoph.!] in A and Syro-hex. 𝔊 also reads וישימו as an imperative in agreement with קחו. On the other hand, the Syriac supports the Targum's reading יקחו (juss.) in place of קחו in agreement with the jussives that follow. As the imperative followed by the jussive is in this instance awkward, the Targum and Syriac probably preserve the true reading at this point. The י of יקחו could easily have dropped out after the preceding ו.

The passage would then read: *And Isaiah said, Let them take a cake of figs and lay it on the boil and he will recover.* That the testimony of 𝔊 and Syriac to this form of the text of K. 7 has been so little heeded is probably due to the fact that it was so easy to explain this form as a tendency change made in order to effect a smoother transition to what follows. But that this conception of the text once actually stood in the Hebrew is surprisingly confirmed by the text of I. 21, and it is the significance of this point that commentators, with the exception of Klostermann, have strangely overlooked. In order properly to appreciate it, the difficult problem of the origin and original text of I. 21 must next be considered.

[19] The Targum and Vulgate support the Hebrew, but the Targum supplies the interesting variant, יקחו (jussive), for קחו.

2) The origin of I. 21 (and 22).

The present position of these verses is, as we have already seen, absurd. But how is it to be accounted for? Three explanations have been offered.

a) I. 21 and 22 originally stood between I. 6 and 7 (= K. 6 and 9), that is, they occupied the same position in I. as their equivalents, K. 7 and 8, occupy in K., and their transposition to their present position was *owing to deliberation*. According to Hitzig, who expounds this theory at length,[20] the editor of I. is revising K., partly in the interest of brevity. In this interest the editor of I. left out the words in K. 5 which refer to Hezekiah's going up to the house of the Lord (cf. I. 5). Therefore he was obliged to leave out at the same time K. 8 which refers to this sentence in K. 5. But when once K. 8 is omitted, K. 7 would come to stand in an unfortunate position between the promise to Hezekiah in K. 6 and its guarantee by the sign in K. 9, in both of which verses Hezekiah is directly addressed, whereas in K. 7 he is not. The deletion of K. 7 would also remove the difficulty that the cure was referred to before the sign was asked or given. The gap thus occasioned between I. 6 and 7 is closed up by the insertion of the ו at the beginning of v. 7. But the editor of I. did not intend to omit the equivalents of K. 7 and 8 altogether, and so he later introduces them into their present position at the end of the narrative.

But if the object of leaving these verses out in the first place was the desire to abbreviate, it is difficult to see why the editor should afterwards put them in again. The theory of a conscious omission and later reintroduction of the verses by the same person is so artificial and improbable that it has been abandoned by practically all subsequent writers.

b) According to a second view, vs. 21 and 22 originally stood between vs. 6 and 7, but were *accidentally* omitted and afterwards added on the margin, from which place they came into their present impossible position in the text.[21] The difficulty

[20] Cf. also Vitringa and Lowth.

[21] So Ges., Thenius, Delitzsch.

with this theory is that no gap is discernible between I. 6 and 7 in which vs. 21 and 22 *in their present form* could be inserted. On the contrary the closest possible connection between vs. 6 and 7 is established by means of the וזה at the beginning of v. 7.[22]

Both the above theories are based upon the assumption, which was the usual one up to the time of Stade and Klostermann, that I. is an abridgment of K., and that the sign was given in the form of the K. text. But we have already seen that this assumption is almost certainly incorrect and in so far as these theories are based on this assumption, they are also exposed to suspicion, even apart from their inherent difficulties. Yet an element of truth may be found in them, as we shall see hereafter.

c) According to the third theory, vs. 21 and 22 are marginal corrections to I. *based upon K.'s text.*[23] It is usually supposed that when the sign was added, K. 7 was omitted from the account as being, in its present position, inconsistent with the sign.[24] In other words the omission of the equivalent of K. 7 was purposed. On the other hand, the omission of the equivalent of K. 8 was not purposed, for, as we have seen, no equivalent of K. 8 ever stood in I. So far as v. 22 is concerned, this theory is undoubtedly correct. V. 22 never could have stood in the original Isaiah text, for it refers to Hezekiah's going up to the house of Jahweh which is found only in K. I. 22 is therefore a patent abbreviation of K. 8; and since K. 8 belongs to the expansion of the earlier Isaiah text, this allusion to K. 8 at I. 22 must belong to the very latest accretions to I.

But the relationship of I. 21 to K. 7 presents a more difficult problem. It has the two variants ישאו and ימרחו, the latter

[22] According to Gesenius this ו was either added by a later copyist in order to close up the gap caused by the omission of vs. 21 and 22, or the original editor may have at first deliberately intended to omit vs. 21 and 22 and therefore added the ו. Later, he changed his mind and appended the deleted verses to the margin, from which they found their way by means of later copyists into their present position!

[23] So Knobel, Brdk., Stade, Di., Du., Marti, Che., Eissfeldt.

[24] So Stade, Di., Du., Che.

an ἅ. λ., and above all it has the conception of K. 7 as a command and promise, i. e. jussives are read throughout; and the ויקחו of K., which shows that the last clauses are to be interpreted historically, is omitted. It is commonly supposed that the differences between K. 7 and I. 21 are owing to the same sort of loose quotation from K. as in the case of I. 22. But I raise the question whether this explanation is the probable one.

1) In the first place, the interpretation of the tenses in v. 21 as jussives could not be more unfortunate in the present position of the verse. We would certainly expect at this point the historical tenses found at K. 7. This was so strongly felt by Kamphausen and Guthe (in Kautzsch's translation, first ed.) that, following a hint of Gesenius, they emended I. 21 to the historical tenses in agreement with K. 7. This is such a simple and obvious way out of the difficulty that one wonders why the present form of v. 21 came to be adopted in the first place, since it is absolutely inconsistent with its present position. Further, it is to be noted that I. 21 does not contain any equivalent for K.'s וַיִּקָּחוּ; but it is that form which determines the historical interpretation of the tenses in K. 7 as necessary. The fact that the verb which necessitates the historical interpretation of K. 7 is *omitted* in I. 21 is strong evidence against the proposed pointing of the tenses in I. 21 as historical.

2) In the next place we have seen that 𝔊 and Syriac already read jussives at K. 7. *The fact that I. 21, which, ex hypothesi, depends upon K. 7, also reads jussives is the strongest sort of corroboration that the jussive construction was an original element in the text of K. 7 and was not due to a later harmonizing tendency in the Versions.* This does not mean, however, that jussive tenses should be *substituted* for the historical tenses at K. 7. In that case no reference to the fact of the cure would be found in K. Again the presence of וַיִּקָּחוּ after קחו of the Hebrew or after the preferable reading, וְיִקָּחוּ, of Targum and Syriac prevents the jussive interpretation of the verbs.[25]

[25] Burney (*Notes on Hebrew text of the Books of Kings*) is certainly following a wrong lead when he deletes this exceptionally important וַיִּקָּחוּ. He thereby throws away the key to the criticism of the passage.

What the textual evidence very strongly suggests is that *both* the historical and the jussive tenses once stood in K. 7. On this supposition the gap already noticed in K. 7 b would be filled out. The text of K. 7 would then have originally read as follows:

> a) And Isaiah said: Let them take a cake of figs and lay it on the boil and he will recover. b) And they took it and laid it on the boil and he recovered.

The almost exact similarity in Hebrew between the two clauses accounts for the omission of one of them. The Hebrew of K. fortunately preserved the second clause. 𝔊 and Syriac of K. *and also the Hebrew of I. 21* preserved the other clause.[26] Thus, not the *substitution* of jussives for historical tenses by 𝔊 and Syriac at K. 7 b was intentional, but the *omission* of the entire clause, K. 7 b, may have been, in order to furnish an easier transition to what follows. This omission would be facilitated by the similarity in Hebrew between the conjectured original forms of v. 7 a and v. 7 b.

3) In view of the fact that the narrative, K. 20 1–7, ends appropriately with the historical statement of Hezekiah's cure, the deduction of Stade, which has now become the commonplace of criticism, that the sign is a later accretion to the text becomes irresistible.[27] But with the establishment of the fuller original form of K. 7, it can now be seen how the sign might have become quite easily attached to the preceding narrative. When the clause containing the historical tense dropped out through accident or was purposely deleted, *the clause containing the jussives would furnish*, as has just been noted, *an easy transition to the episode of the sign*. This intermediate

[26] It is interesting to see that Klostermann almost arrived at this view, for he suggests in a tentative way that K. 7 should be read as a command in accordance with 𝔊 and I. 21, but that the historical form, represented by the Hebrew, once stood after K. 11. Meinhold ignores the claims of the jussive interpretation to consideration, but removes the whole of K. 7 to a place after K. 11. Both these scholars thus deprive themselves of the clue to the critical analysis of the passage.

[27] To take K. 7 as anticipative of the final results, (Hitz., De., Che. in *Commentary* but subsequently abandoned in favor of Stade in *Intro.*) can hardly be regarded as probable.

form of the narrative is not now represented in either of our parallel Hebrew accounts. But 𝔊 and Syriac and the Hebrew of I. 21 furnish evidence that it once existed in Kings, and I submit the following evidence, though with some misgivings, that it also once existed in a somewhat modified form in Isaiah.

a) We have seen that I. 21 presents at least one variant, ירחו, which is interesting. At first sight this word, found only here, might seem to claim greater originality than the more colorless word, ישמו, of K.[28] But if I. 21 is, as seems clear, a later accretion to Isaiah, this view is by no means so certain. The technical term may have been due to the glossator's desire to display a little medical terminology. In any case, it is not due simply to carelessness in citation.[29] It is vouched for in 𝔊 of I. 21. We have also seen that *in its present form* I. 21 could not have stood between vs. 6 and 7. But at this point 𝔊 again presents us with an interesting variant whose possible significance has been overlooked. 𝔊 makes v. 21 a direct address to Hezekiah: *"And Isaiah said to Hezekiah, Take [imper. sing.] a cake of figs and rub it* (מרח) *and place it*[30] (*upon the boil, Syro-hex*) *and thou shalt recover."* Now it is not claimed that the Hebrew text which may lie back of 𝔊 represents the original text of K. 7. That text is assured. On the other hand, why the Hebrew text back of 𝔊 of I. 21 should be thus modified *in its present position* is insoluble. The point to remember in dealing with I. 21 is that neither the Hebrew text nor the Greek text can be accounted for in the present position of the verse. It is the recognition of this fact that lies at the basis of the earlier attempts to insert I. 21 between vs. 6 and 7. Both readings are out of all harmony with the position of I. 21 at the end of the narrative. Why should mere looseness in citation take this very peculiar and incomprehensible form? And here it is to be noticed that the direct address to Hezekiah of 𝔊 still further aggravates the difficulties of 𝔊's

[28] So Kno., Meinh.

[29] On the other hand ישאו would seem to be due to carelessness. The textual evidence is overwhelmingly in favor of some form of the verb לקח, which is also preserved in 𝔊 of I. 21.

[30] שים is a conflate.

jussives in the present position. But what has thus far not been observed is that v. 21 in 𝔊's form could very easily be fitted in between vs. 6 and 7. I raise the question whether K. 7 a, as reconstructed with its jussives, could not have been deliberately reformulated in 𝔊's form of I. 21 (K. 7 b with its historical tenses being omitted either by accident or intention), in order to form a point of attachment in Isaiah for the later episode of the sign? The Isaiah text would then have read after v. 6:

> And Isaiah said to Hezekiah: Take a cake of figs and rub it (on the boil) and thou shalt recover. And this shall be a sign unto thee ...

On this theory the difference in phrasing of I. 21 in 𝔊 is not due to carelessness in citation but to deliberate purpose and the substitution of מרח for שים may have been intended to impart an air of originality to the reformulation. The present position of I. 21 in the 𝔊 form might then, indeed, be due to a simple accident, in agreement with the second theory of the origin of the verse described above. It was accidentally omitted from between v. 6 and v. 7, then added to the margin, probably opposite v. 6, from which place it found its way into its present position after the interpolation of Hezekiah's hymn. The present Hebrew form of I. 21 may then be regarded as a partial correction of the Hebrew back of 𝔊's form of v. 21, a correction based on K. 7 a as reconstructed above. That is, the present form of v. 21 in 𝔐 emends the second singular imperatives of 𝔊 to the jussives which once stood in K. 7 a, but retains the peculiar מרח which first appeared in the Hebrew back of I. 21. This theory is admittedly complicated, but so are the phenomena which it undertakes to explain. Its merits are two:

1) It seeks to explain more adequately than has been done the peculiar formulations of I. 21 both in 𝔐 and 𝔊. We have seen that the Hebrew text in its present form could never have stood between I. 6 and 7. Hence the two theories referred to above which supposed that I. 21 was transferred, either deliberately or through accident, to its present position were temporarily rejected. But the third theory which sought to account for I. 21 simply as a loose reminiscence of K. 7, added

by a later glossator who missed an allusion to the fig poultice, is not satisfactory, either. Why should this looseness in citation result in a form of the verse (the jussives) totally inappropriate to the position assigned to it in Isaiah at the end of the narrative? Why did not the glossator adopt the more appropriate historical form which is found at K. 7 b? The suggestion was made that I. 21 witnesses to a text at K. 7 in which the jussive form once actually appeared. But this in itself does not solve our problem, for if K. 7 once contained both the jussives and the historical tenses in agreement with our reconstruction above, why should the glossator select the least fitting of the two clauses (the jussives) to insert at the end of Isaiah's account? Thus, mere looseness of citation cannot account for I. 21. The citation in its present form and position is not merely loose, it is absurd. Accordingly, an element of truth is to be found in the theories which inferred from the form of v. 21 that it must have originally stood at an earlier point in the narrative. We then turned to the Greek form of I. 21 and discovered that, while the Hebrew form of the verse could never have stood between I. 6 and 7, the Greek form of the verse could do that very thing. The Hebrew back of the Greek form was then considered to be a purposed reformulation of the jussive form which originally stood at K. 7 a, in order to attach to it the account of the sign as now found in Isaiah. This form then became misplaced by accident, found its way into its present position, and was subsequently corrected back into the jussive form of the present Hebrew text of I. 21 on the basis of K. 7 a, but loosely corrected (cf. ישאו). Here lies the element of truth in the third theory of the origin of this verse.[31]

2) The second advantage to be gained from the above reconstructions is that they provide an earlier form of the narrative originally ending at K. 7 (the cure of Hezekiah) to which the episode of the sign could easily be later attached.

[31] It should be noted that v. 22 is also clearly a loose citation and also absurd in its present position. But this verse was almost certainly added after v. 21 came to occupy its present position.

To sum up the conclusions of this study: 1) The most original form of the account of Hezekiah's sickness ended with K. 7. 2) The original form of K. 7 read: *And Isaiah said, Let them take a cake of figs and let them lay it upon the boil and he shall recover* (*v. 7 a jussives*). *And they took it, and laid it on the boil and he recovered* (*v. 7 b historical*). 3) This early form of the account was subsequently enlarged by the episode of the sign in I. a) This episode was originally introduced by a clause which was a reformulation of K. 7 a and in which the jussives were changed to the second singular imperative, addressed to Hezekiah: *And Isaiah said to Hezekiah, Take a cake of figs and rub it* (*on the boil*) *and thou shalt recover.* (This form is now retained only in 𝔊 of I. 21.) b) This introduction was followed by vs. 7 and 8 in the following form: *And this shall be the sign to thee from Jahweh that Jahweh will do this thing which he hath promised. Behold I will cause the sun to return the* (*ten?*) *steps which it has gone down on the steps of Ahaz; and the sun returned ten steps on the steps on which it had gone down.* 4) Still later I. 21 in 𝔊's form was lost by some accident from its original position between I. 6 and 7, and finally found its way back into the text in its present position. 5) In certain manuscripts it was corrected on the basis of K. 7 a back again to jussives, as now represented by the Hebrew of v. 21. 6) Meanwhile, after the loss of I. 21 (𝔊's form) from its original place between I. 6 and 7, the sign of the sun was subjected to the modification of the sign of the shadow now found in K. 9 b–11. This modification was mainly in the interest of establishing a contrast between Hezekiah, the pious son, who asked for a sign, and Ahaz, the impious father, who refused the offer of the sign. The text of K. originally read: *And Hezekiah said unto Isaiah, What is the sign that Jahweh will heal me and that I shall go up on the third day unto the house of Jahweh? And Isaiah said, This shall be the sign to thee from Jahweh that Jahweh will do the thing that he promised—Shall the shadow go* (*forward*) *ten steps or shall it return ten steps? And Hezekiah said, It is a light thing for the shadow to decline ten steps, nay, but the shadow shall return backwards ten steps. And Isaiah the prophet*

called unto Jahweh and he caused the shadow to return (on the steps?) backwards ten steps. 7) Finally, after I. 21 came into its present position and was corrected on the basis of K. 7a into its present Hebrew form, v. 22 was also added (an abbreviation of K. 8).

It is at once admitted that much of what has just been stated is of a highly speculative nature. But it is believed that it does some sort of justice to all the exegetical and text-critical data. These, on their face, are of the most puzzling description, and probably no absolutely certain solution of the complicated process which is responsible for them will ever be forth-coming. But whatever may be said of the various refinements upon Stade's theory proposed above, the theory itself in its two main features, namely that the episode of the sign was not an original part of the narrative, and that the sign itself went through an expansion in K.'s form as contrasted with I.'s, seems to be established. In that case the passage is one of the most interesting and convincing instances we have in the Old Testament of the growth of a legend. We can see it starting with an historical nucleus and rapidly taking on miraculous character. *The fact, also, that this growth can be observed in one of the Isaiah narratives should put us on our guard when we come to the other and historically far more important narrative of the Sennacherib campaign.*

ZU TEXT UND AUSLEGUNG DES BUCHES AMOS

(Schluß)

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IX. DREI GESICHTE VOM UNTERGANG ISRAELS, 7 1-9

MIT den Gesichten stellt sich bei Amos, wie anderwärts überall, das „Ich" des Selbstberichts ein; das Gesicht ist das denkbar persönlichste, subjektivste Erlebnis. Im Zwiegespräch mit Jahwe, der sie sendet und selbst auslegt, begegnet uns beim dritten und vierten (7 8; 8 2) sogar des Propheten Name. Sicher handelt es sich um echte, wirklich vom Propheten so und nicht anders geschaute, erlebte Gesichte, deren Inhalt er göttliche Gewißheit beimessen muß. Soviel im einzelnen gerade bei diesen Abschnitten für die Auslegung dunkel und zweifelhaft bleibt, klar ist, daß der Prophet das stolze Bewußtsein hat, zweimal (7 2 f., 5 f.) durch seine Fürsprache das Gericht über Israel abgewendet zu haben, während beim dritten und vierten Gesicht Jahwe jede Fürbitte im voraus durch die Erklärung abschneidet, daß er nicht ferner vergeben werde (7 8; 8 2). So beweisen die beiden ersten Gesichte, daß Amos nicht etwa dem Nordreich sein Geschick gönnte, sondern eigenen Herzensanteil daran nahm. Daß das vierte Gesicht (8 1 ff.) eng mit den drei ersten zusammengehört und nur durch spätere Einschiebung der Erzählung 7 10-17 von ihnen abgesprengt ist,[1] beweist schon der Aufbau in seiner

1 Vgl. dazu des Verfassers Ausführungen in „Studien usw. Julius Wellhausen zum 70. Geburtstag", Gießen 1914, S. 65 ff.

genauen Übereinstimmung mit dem des dritten Gesichts 7 7 ff. Man mag sich wundern, daß auch die Unabwendbarkeit des Gerichts Amos zweimal offenbart wird; indessen dürfte sich das durch Fortschritt und Steigerung bis zum vollen „Ende" im vierten Gesicht erklären.

Alle diese vier Gesichte — von dem fünften in 9 1 ff. wird besonders zu reden sein — sind mit demselben „So ließ der Herr Jahwe mich schauen" eingeleitet — zu 7 7 vgl. unten — im weiteren Verlauf aber gehn das erste und das zweite Paar ganz verschiedene Wege. Im ersten und zweiten Gesicht nimmt Amos zuerst das Wort, mit der Fürsprache für Israel, im dritten und vierten Jahwe, mit der Frage an Amos, was er sehe. Das hängt mit dem Gegenstand des Schauens notwendig zusammen. Im ersten und zweiten Gesicht sieht Amos ein vernichtendes Geschehen sich vollziehen, Heuschreckenfraß und Feuerbrand: hier liegt die Bedeutung offen zutage und fordert unmittelbar des Propheten Eintreten heraus. Im dritten und vierten Gesicht sieht Amos nur an sich gleichgültige, harmlose Gegenstände, ein Lot, einen Korb mit Obst; bei dem ersteren kommt es höchstens zu einer sinnbildlichen Handlung, beim letzten bleibt es bei einem bloßen Wortspiel. So schweigt der Prophet, und Jahwe muß ihm erst den Gegenstand abfragen und die Erklärung dazu geben. Man mag diese starke Abnahme an Leben und Bewegung für einen weiteren Beweis ansehen, daß von künstlicher Mache hier gar nicht die Rede sein kann. Der starke Unterschied des Geschauten warnt davor, Gleichförmigkeit, vor allem in der Beteiligung oder Nichtbeteiligung Jahwes auch in dem Geschauten selbst, durch Eingriffe herbeizuführen.[2] Jedenfalls gibt das visionäre Erleben, das Schauen von nicht Wirklichem, allein schon dem Amos die Gewißheit der Wirkung durch Jahwe, auch wenn er nicht dabei mit in die Erscheinung tritt.

Wann Amos diese Gesichte erlebte, und wie sie sich in seine Berufstätigkeit einfügen, darüber gibt die Stelle, die sie in seinem Buche einnehmen, keinen Aufschluß; auf die Reden

[2] Sievers-Guthe lassen auch in 7 1 und 8 1 Jahwe im Gesicht erscheinen und handeln, Duhm schaltet ihn auch in 7 4 und 7 aus.

folgen vielmehr die Gesichte, zu einem Bündel vereinigt, so daß wir aus ihrem Beisammenstehn nicht einmal mit Sicherheit schließen können, daß sie bald nacheinander in der gleichen Zeit erfolgten. Immer bleibt aber der Schluß berechtigt, daß die beiden ersten, die auf einen Aufschub des Gerichtes auslaufen, Amos zuteil wurden, ehe er den Auftrag erhielt, gegen Israel zu predigen (7 15), ja daß dieser erst an ihn erging, nachdem das dritte Gesicht ihm das Gericht als unabwendbar angekündigt hatte. Damit wird Wellhausens Meinung, gestützt auf die Berufungsvisionen Jesajas, Jeremias, Hesekiels, wahrscheinlich, „daß auch die Visionen des Amos der Anfang seiner Prophetie sind", daß auch er „dadurch zum erstenmal aus seinem gewöhnlichen Bewußtsein herausgerissen wird". Das vierte Gesicht kann recht wohl erst erfolgt sein, nachdem Amos seinen Auftrag erhalten und den Prophetenberuf aufgenommen hatte. — Die beiden Aufschübe des Gerichts mag man vergleichen mit den wiederholten Plagen zur Mahnung und Warnung, ehe das Gericht unabwendbar wird, in 4 6 ff.; aber sie etwa mit den beiden letzten dort gleichzusetzen, verbietet nicht nur die Verschiedenheit der Strafmittel, sondern vor allem, daß sie gar nicht zur Ausführung gelangt sind, sondern nur als geplant im Gesichte geschaut werden. A und O der Reihe dieser vier Gesichte bleibt allein die Langmut Jahwes und die Unbußfertigkeit Israels, die ihn zum Endgericht zwingt.

Daß diese Berichte je mündlich zum Vortrag gekommen wären, wird durch nichts angedeutet und ist an sich nicht wahrscheinlich.[3] Denkbar wäre nur der zusammenhängende Vortrag über die drei ersten Gesichte; aber er hätte nur dazu gedient, die Bedeutung der Person des Propheten herauszustreichen, was Amos gewiß ganz fern lag. Daß die Einschiebung von 7 10–17 auf der Voraussetzung beruht, V. 9 sei von Amos öffentlich gesprochen worden, kommt für die Entscheidung nicht in Betracht.

Festes Versmaß ist nirgends unwahrscheinlicher als bei diesen Berichten, in denen Amos genau das und genau so viel

3 Vgl. dazu meinen Aufsatz in der Wellhausen-Festschrift, S. 66.

gibt, was und wie er gesehen. Sievers-Guthe suchen und finden je vier Siebener für jedes Gesicht; Duhm und Praetorius je zwei dreihebige Vierzeiler; Harper liest die drei ersten in je 3 × 3 dreihebigen Zeilen; Baumann sieht Doppelvierer.

V. 1–3. Das erste Gesicht. Klar ist hier nur so viel, daß der Prophet eine Heuschreckenplage sieht, die sich in mehreren Stufen nacheinander vollzieht, im Gesichte natürlich in schneller Aufeinanderfolge, ohne Einhalten der Zeitabstände der Wirklichkeit.[4] Alles Einzelne dagegen bleibt, vor allem in der Schilderung des Gesichts (1aβ–2aα), im höchsten Grade zweifelhaft, und ich bin nicht einmal imstande, überall eine mir selbst ausreichend sichere Entscheidung zu treffen. — V. 1. Die Einführung bis zu dem והנה = „es erschien, ich sah" ist in V. 1, 4; 8 1 genau die gleiche; darnach muß auch 1 7 hergestellt werden, wo אדני יהוה zwischen הראני und והנה einfach vermöge der doppelten Ähnlichkeit übergangen ist. Für die Gottesnamen ist natürlich hier wie anderwärts LXX nicht maßgebend, weil sie für יהוה willkürlich eines der Ḳerê אדני oder אלהים = Κύριος oder ὁ θεός einsetzt, und es dann oft genug bei dem einzelnen Worte bewenden läßt, statt Κύριος ὁ θεός oder Κύριος κύριος zu bieten, wie denn die Handschriften darin weit auseinandergehn. — Das überlieferte יוצר, besonders von Sievers-Guthe geschützt, ist, abgesehen davon, daß man daneben nach V. 4, 7 das Subjekt יהוה erwarten würde,[5] unwahrscheinlich, weil Jahwes Tätigkeit beim Erscheinen der Heuschrecken, der Sache nach wie bei jedem Naturprozeß selbstverständlich, fernerhin nicht hervorgehoben wird, auch der Beobachtung sich entzog. Hoffmanns יֶצֶר nach LXX ἐπιγονή, von den meisten gebilligt, wird von Duhm abgelehnt, weil es nicht „Brut" heiße. Sein Vorschlag יוצא[6] tut in der Tat dieselben Dienste, wenn man annehmen darf, daß גבי, גוב (so Nah. 3 17) insbesondere die Heuschrecke in ihrem ersten

[4] Dagegen L. Köhler 1917 S. 26, weil man „zeitlich soweit auseinanderliegende Dinge nicht in der Ekstase Einer Vision sehen könne". Warum nicht, und wie will er dann V. 4 erklären?

[5] Von Harper nach Aa. ergänzt.

[6] Nicht nach LXX (Rießler); denn deren ἐρχομένη gibt nicht יצר sondern בתחלת עלות wieder.

Stadium bezeichne.[7] — Nur auf Grund metrischer Voraussetzungen streichen viele seit Baumann תחלת und lesen bloß בַּעֲלוֹת. Das hat an LXX keine genügende Stütze und macht den Ausdruck nur ärmer und schwächer. — לקש (nur hier) kann nur den starken Schuß bedeuten, den das Gras unter dem Frühlingsregen (מַלְקוֹשׁ) treibt. Von dem „nach der Heuernte wachsenden Gras, Grummet" (Gesenius-Buhl) kann schon darum nicht die Rede sein, weil es in Palästina keine Heuernte, keinen Grasschnitt gibt.[8] — *b* könnte in dem Wortlaut von *MT*, als bloße Erläuterung zu dem seltenen Worte לקש, nur als Glosse aufgefaßt werden, so nach Nowack[1.2], Baumann, Harper viele Ausleger.[9] Indessen wäre dafür doch וְהַלקש oder והלקש הוא zu erwarten, während והנה sich von selbst als Fortsetzung des ersten והנה gibt, also eine weitere Folge des Hergangs einführen wird. Dem entspricht Hoffmanns Vorschlag יֶלֶק „Heuschrecken" nach LXX *βρούχος*, während sie für הַלקש vorher *ἑωθινή* bietet.[10] Also „Und [ausgewachsene] Heuschrecken erschienen usw." Diese leichte Herstellung be-

[7] Lehrreich ist immer noch der *„Excursus on locusts"* in Drivers *Joel and Amos*, Cambridge 1897, p. 83 ff., und selbst Credner, *Der Prophet Joel*, 1831, „Beilage" S. 261—313.

[8] Vgl. dafür vor allem Hoffmann, *ZATW* III, 1883, S. 116 ff., ferner *ZDPV* IV, S. 83, IX, S. 62. — Auf briefliche Anfrage hatte der beste heutige Kenner Gustaf Dalman die Güte, mir folgende Auskunft zu geben: „Da das Heumachen im Orient schwerlich vorkam, wird nichts anderes übrig bleiben als an den Grünschnitt der Gerste zu Grünfutter zu denken, wie er noch heut vorkommt. Die Gerste treibt dann als Spätwuchs ein zweites Mal für die wirkliche Ernte und bedarf natürlich dazu reichlichen Spätregens. Das Recht des Königs wäre gewesen, besonders für seine Pferde den Grünschnitt der Gerste bei Bedarf ausführen zu lassen. Am. 7 1 wird dann gesagt, daß die Heuschrecken zu besonders verhängnisvoller Zeit kamen, in der sie die Ernte bedrohten, und Ps. 72 6 redet von einem besonders notwendigen reichlichen Regen." Ich gebe diese Auskunft dankbar weiter, ohne an meinem Texte zu ändern. Die Erklärung von לקש würde auch mir völlig genügen, die von גוי המלך (vgl. unten) nicht, weil der Zeitpunkt dafür dann früher fiele, als das Aufgehn des לקש. Alles bleibt eben recht unsicher.

[9] Volz setzt dann vollends (vgl. Marti) עֵת הַמַּלְקוֹשׁ für גוי המלך ein.

[10] Aquila, Theodotion und Symmachos geben auch an zweiter Stelle לקש wieder.

hält ihren Wert auch ohne die Stütze der LXX.[11] — Die drei letzten Worte des Verses bieten dann die Zeitbestimmung für die volle Entwickelung der Heuschrecken. Was ist גִּזֵּי הַמֶּלֶךְ? גזז heißt „scheren", das Haar des Menschen, die Wolle der Schafe, גֵּז Dt. 18 4; Hi. 31 20 die abgeschorene Wolle, ebenso גְּזָזָה Richt. 6 37 ff. Nur Ps. 72 6 soll גֵּז die Grasmahd bedeuten; aber Sinn gäbe dort nur die Bedeutung „Geschorenes, geschorene Wiese" nach der Entfernung des Heus. Das setzt die Gewohnheit des Heuschnitts voraus, und die muß, wie oben dargelegt, in Abrede gestellt werden. Möglich wäre eine Ausnahme für den König, wie sie die Römer später in Syrien für die Versorgung ihrer Pferde in Anspruch nahmen;[12] 1 Kön. 18 5 legt wenigstens von gelegentlicher Not in dieser Richtung Zeugnis ab. Nicht an einen allgemeinen Schnitt wäre dann zu denken,[13] sondern an ein Recht des Königs auf den Grasertrag eines Teils von jedem Weidebesitz; leicht ist auch diese Vorstellung nicht. „Landesübliche [sozusagen offizielle] Mahdzeit" (Ehrlich) kann גזי המלך weder heißen, noch kann es eine solche geben. So bleibt der Deutung „Königsschur" die bei weitem größere Wahrscheinlichkeit. Ob damit die Schafschur auf den königlichen Weiden gemeint ist oder eine Wollabgabe für den König, die vor der allgemeinen Schafschur erhoben wurde, können wir nicht entscheiden. Feste Zeitlage ist die Voraussetzung.[14] — Immerhin kann es nicht wundernehmen, daß bei so unsicherer Sachlage die Richtigkeit des Textes wiederholt angefochten worden ist. Nach LXX καὶ ἰδοὺ βροῦχος εἷς Γὼγ ὁ βασιλεύς (also אֶחָד statt אחר und גּוֹג statt גזי) will Greßmann nur גּוֹג annehmen und übersetzt dann „und siehe, die Heuschrecken folgten dem Könige Gog".

[11] Hans Schmidt nur m. c. יֶלֶק אַרְבֶּה, schwerlich eine mögliche Determination.

[12] Vgl. W. Rob. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 228, *revised ed.* p. 246.

[13] So wohl L. Köhler, wenn er והנה לקש als Zusatz streicht, so daß לקש nur das nach dem Königsschnitt nachwachsende Gras, Grummet also, bedeutete.

[14] Riedel, *Alttest. Unterss.* I, 1902, S. 28, erklärt „Königsschur, d. h. die Hauptschafschur", also sprachlich wesentlich wie Ehrlich.

Dazu würde יֶלֶק nicht genügen; es müßte הַיֶלֶק gelesen werden, wovon Greßmann nichts sagt. Schwer zu verstehn ist es, wie er diesen Text noch Amos zuschreiben kann, statt ihn für eine Glosse zu erklären. In der neuen Auflage bleibt er bei MT, nur mit הַלֶקַח, und scheint dann b einer späteren Hand zuzuschreiben. Cheyne (*Critica Biblica*, 1903, p. 142) liest והנה ילק וְאַרְבֶּה וְגָזָם וְחָסִיל als ursprünglichen Text. Der Wirrwarr ist unabsehbar.[15] — V. 2. והיה אם־כלה לאכול „und als sie ganz auffraßen“ (Ewald) oder „abgefressen hatten“, „würde“, wie G. Studer richtig sagt,[16] „aller Grammatik Hohn sprechen“. Er übersetzt richtig wie schon LXX „Und dann, wenn sie des Landes Kraut | Vollständig abgefressen haben“, und erklärt das für einen Vordersatz, zu dem der Nachsatz fehlt, weil der Prophet „dem Herrn ins Wort fällt“.[17] Aber Jahwe redet ja nicht, und nur in direkter Rede, nicht in einem Berichte, wäre dieser Wortlaut denkbar. Der Text muß also verdorben sein. Statt mit Baumann אם כלה, mit Duhm außerdem noch והיה zu streichen — bei beiden spielt wohl das vorausgesetzte Metrum mit — wird man Torreys[18] feine Verbesserung וַיְהִי הֵא מְכַלֶּה, die einen durchaus anstoßfreien Wortlaut und vorzüglichen Sinn ergibt, mit ausreichender Zuversicht annehmen dürfen, was denn die meisten tun. Kühner, aber auch noch befriedigender, liest Greßmann[2] מֶחֱל statt מְכַלֶּה. Ich übergehe daneben andre Vorschläge. — עשב הארץ geben fast alle neueren Ausleger mit „das Kraut des Landes“ wieder; ich muß Ewalds „das Kraut der Erde“ für das Richtige halten und selbst die Frage offen lassen, ob Nowack das zutreffend in „das Kraut des Feldes“ verdeutlicht, oder ob die Erde als die bewohnte Welt zu verstehn ist. Die תהום רבה in V. 4 beweist, daß man sich hüten muß, den Horizont der Gesichte zu eng zu ziehen, und wenn Amos nur für Jakob das Erbarmen

15 Rießler erspart sich viel Not, indem er den Text (mit יוצא) nur bis עלות behält, das Übrige als zwei Glossen beseitigt.

16 *Die Visionen des Propheten Amos*, *Jahrbb. f. prot. Theol. 1888*, S. 251 ff.

17 Ähnlich Riedel a. a. O. 1902: „Der Satz ist abgebrochen, weil man den Schlußsatz ... gar nicht auszudenken wagt.“

18 *Journal of Bibl. Literature* XIV, 1894, p. 63.

Jahwes anruft, so beweist das nicht, daß der allein bedroht ist. — מי יקום יעקב. Man darf sich nicht wundern, daß LXX meinte יָקֻם sprechen zu müssen, da das מִי יָקוּם noch heute so befremdlich anmutet. Und doch ist das unmöglich, weil nach einem Retter neben oder gar gegen Jahwe nicht gefragt werden kann. Wir würden אֵיךְ erwarten und müssen מִי füglich so, „als wer" = „wie", also als Prädikatsnomen, zu verstehn suchen, wie denn schon Symmachos mit *τί ὢν ὑποστήσεται Ἰακώβ* dies wagt. Oorts מַיָּקוּם ist zwar leicht genug, gibt aber keinen befriedigenden Sinn. Montgomery[19] nimmt hier, Ruth 3 16 und Dt. 5 23 für מִי die Bedeutung einer bloßen Fragepartikel an; aber auch הֲיָקוּם würde doch nicht voll befriedigen. — יעקב wird hier nicht vom Nordreich allein zu verstehn sein, sondern von dem ganzen Volke gegenüber der Welt. Das Gericht über Israel allein wird hier eben noch gar nicht angedroht, sondern, ähnlich wie in K. 1 und 2, über einen weiten Umkreis. Wird doch, daß Israel besonders hart getroffen werden würde, als Grund für die Zurücknahme eingewandt. Daß Israel anderen Völkern gegenüber als klein und schonungsbedürftig empfunden wird, ist bezeichnend genug für Amos' weiten Blick. — V. 3. זאת bezieht Marti, wie stillschweigend wohl die meisten Erklärer, richtig auf die geplante Plage; nicht „um dessentwillen", nämlich des Amos Fürsprache. Rießler gewinnt dem Verse den entgegengesetzten Sinn ab, indem er nach LXX *μετανόησον* הִנָּחֵם liest, so a noch zu des Amos Fürsprache zieht, זאת von deren Begründung versteht und dann das לא תהיה Jahwes als Verweigerung der Erhörung. Es ist gar nicht denkbar, daß diese Abweisung so undeutlich ausgedrückt wäre; auch ohne das נחם wird man das לא תהיה von dem Eintreten der angedrohten Plage verstehn müssen. Und nicht minder folgt aus der doppelten Wiederholung der Drohung (V. 4–6 und 7–9) wie aus 8 b β, daß die beiden ersten zurückgenommen sind. — Ein müßiges Unterfangen ist es, die angedrohte Heuschreckenplage symbolisch zu fassen und zu deuten: Studer auf die Assyrer, die „Königsschur" auf das Ableben Jerobeams II., das „Spät-

[19] *Journal of Bibl. Literature*, 1904, p. 95; 1912, p. 144; 1924, p. 244.

gras“ auf seine Nachkommen; Cheyne seine vier Heuschreckennamen auf vier nordarabische Völker, darunter natürlich Jerachme'el. Greßmann sieht in diesen Heuschrecken und ihrem König Gog greuliche Fabelwesen, die die letzte Katastrophe, das Ende der Tage, den „Tag Jahwes“ einleiten. Davon kann nicht die Rede sein, weil das letzte, wirklich vollzogene Gericht sich mit dem ganz und gar diesem Äon angehörigen Untergang des Reichs und Königtums begnügt. Richtig ist an alledem nur, daß für das nicht vollzogene Gericht auf die Heuschrecken insbesondere gar nichts ankommt, sondern jeder andre vernichtende Schlag dieselben Dienste tun würde.

V. 4–6. Das zweite Gesicht. Hier schaut Amos zweifellos Wunderbares; es ist nicht wohlgetan, mit Wellhausen das „Feuer“ als Hitze und Sonnenbrand, die „große Tiefe“ als das Grundwasser, aus dem alle Quellen und Brunnen stammen, gleichsam rationalistisch zu veralltäglichen. Das Feuer droht ja nicht das Festland auszudörren, sondern geradezu zu verzehren, ebenso wie die Flut. Wie sich das bei der Ausführung in Wirklichkeit umsetzen würde, darauf kommt auch hier wieder gar nichts an. Auch hier zwei Stufen des Gerichts, und bei der zweiten der Einspruch des Propheten. — V. 4. In a ist von קרא an wieder alles streitig: das „Rufen“; das „Streiten“; באש „durch Feuer“ oder das ב zu קרא gehörig als „Anrufen“, oder als dittographisch zu streichen; das soweit hinausgeschobene אדני יהוה Subjekt oder anders zu verstehn? Berechtigt scheint mir vor allem Duhms Einspruch gegen den Begriff ריב. Heißt es auch nicht bloß „schelten“ (mit Worten), so doch auch nicht einfach „strafen“ (Hitzig, Ewald, Wellhausen, Marti). Aber unmöglich ist doch seine Abhilfe קֶלַע לָרֹב בְּאֵשׁ יהוה וְתֹאכַל וגו' „eine Schleuder, um das Feuer Jahwes zu schießen, daß es . . . fresse“. Das Feuer Jahwes, den Blitz, kann natürlich nur er selber werfen; aber nirgends lesen wir, daß er dazu eine Schleuder brauche, geschweige denn, daß er sie ablegte.[20] Und woran kann Amos erkennen,

[20] Ohne קלע dachte schon Hoffmann mit לְרַבֵּב אש an das Schleudern. Greßmann[2] liest für ähnlichen Sinn לְרֹב קָנֶה, „eine Röhre für die Fülle des Feuers“. Doch sehr wunderlich.

daß die geschaute Schleuder gerade diesem Zwecke dienen soll, und gar, daß das noch nicht geschleuderte Feuer Jahwes diese ganz ungewöhnliche Wirkung haben würde, während sonst der Blitz im Meer nicht zündet? Oorts Vorschlag[21] לְרִבְיֵי אֵשׁ „Feuerregengüsse", graphisch besonders leicht, scheitert daran, daß Feuerregen nicht in der Tiefe, sondern an der Oberfläche zünden und so das Festland gleichzeitig verzehren würde. Auch Riedels לְשַׁבִּיב אֵשׁ oder gar לְכַרוּב אֵשׁ hat nichts für sich; vielmehr schlägt das feminische וַתֹּאכַל auf אֵשׁ allein zurück.[22] Unter Streichung von רַבַּב lesen Sievers-Guthe einfach קְרָא לָאֵשׁ; aber woher die Vermehrung? Am leichtesten scheint mir die Not gleichzeitig mit der des קְרָא behoben zu werden, indem man dafür nicht mit Ewald קָרֵה versteht oder liest, sondern, was Oettli zur Verfügung stellte, קָרֵב, und zwar für קראלרב, so daß רב ursprünglich die Berichtigung für den Schreibfehler רא gewesen wäre. „Es nahte im Feuer der Herr Jahwe", in seinem Elemente der Gott selber. Damit würde auch das Nachstehn der Gottesnamen begreiflich werden, so daß man sie weder umzusetzen (Sievers-Guthe יהוה קרא לאש) noch zu streichen brauchte (Greßmann, Marti mit קָרָה לָרֶב אֵשׁ), noch als umständliche Apposition fassen müßte, „es nahte einer usw. — es war Jahwe, der Herr!" (Hans Schmidt), wozu doch ein וְהוּא kaum zu entbehren wäre. Aber alles bleibt sehr unsicher. — ואכלה bereitet, wenn man nicht vorher mit Baumann, Duhm und Greßmann וַתֹּאכַל gesprochen hat (s. oben), ähnliche Schwierigkeit wie der Anfang von V. 2. „Es wollte, sollte fressen" = „es war im Begriff zu fressen" kann es doch nicht heißen.[23] Mit Gunning und Sievers-Guthe וַתֹּאכַל dafür einzusetzen, ist nicht nur recht willkürlich, sondern schüttet auch das Kind mit dem Bade aus, da dann, was Amos durch seine Fürsprache retten will, bereits verzehrt ist. Dasselbe gilt, wenn man mit Krenkel

[21] Nach Krenkel, *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* IX, 271.

[22] Dem würde לְהַבַּת אֵשׁ (Elhorst, Halévy) Genüge tun; es verlangt aber vor sich das wenig überzeugende קרא. Auch Ehrlichs לְרַב אֵשׁ „er rief ein starkes Feuer herbei", ebenso Rießler mit לָרַב בָּאֵשׁ sei noch erwähnt.

[23] Vgl. auch die Ablehnung Ges.-Kautzsch § 112 tt.

und Oort אכלה einfach streicht und nur ואת־ übrig läßt. Am leichtesten wird man verbessern וְהִיא אֹכְלָה, wovon das היא zwischen ה und וא übersehen wäre. Damit wäre dann der neue Vers anzufangen: „Als es aber dabei war, das . . . zu verzehren, sprach ich". Fein ist Elhorsts Herstellung, der für ותאכל liest וַיֹּאמֶר תֹּאכַל, so daß alles bis zum Schluß zur Rede, zum Auftrag Jahwes an das herbeigerufene Feuer wird. Aber dann hat Amos gar nichts gesehen, sondern aus der Vision wird eine Audition, ähnlich wie bei Baumann usw. — Dem את־החלק hat schon LXX^{B} den einzigen möglichen Sinn abgewonnen durch die Ergänzung zu *τὴν μερίδα Κυρίου* = את־חלק יהוה[24]; aber zu billigen (Sellin) ist das nicht, weil es zu תהום רבה in gar keinem Verhältnis steht und die Anwendung auf Israel auch hier wie in V. 2 erst Amos zufallen muß. Hoffmanns הַחֵלֶק, „die Hitze sprengte sogar den harten kahlen Kiesel", und Greßmanns הַחֵלֶב, „(ihre) [der Tehom] Eingeweide", sind wahre Taten der Verzweiflung. Greßmann[2] liest אָתָה חָלָק; soll das aber heißen „[und es] sie leer [fresse]", so wäre mindestens חֲלָקָה zu fordern. Zudem bliebe es dann bei der Tehom, was doch in keinem Falle angeht. Der Sache nach das Richtige treffen Krenkel und Oort mit הַתֵּבֵל, von Oettli in תֵּבֵל verbessert, weil das Wort nirgends den Artikel hat. Fraglich ist nur, ob man dieses späte und rein dichterische Wort hier erwarten darf. Aber warum nicht das bezeichnendste Wort הַחֲרָבָה, das graphisch kaum ferner liegt? Auch dem wäre noch הַחֵלֶד vorzuziehen, wenn nur dieses Wort für „Welt, *οἰκουμένη*" besser bezeugt wäre. Und endlich befriedigt der Vorschlag von Praetorius (*ZATW* 1915, S. 22) הַחוֹל durchaus: nachdem das Weltmeer verzehrt ist, kommt sein Gestade, der Sand, an die Reihe.[25] — V. 6. Nur m. c. streicht Praetorius (a. a. O.) גם־היא und אדני, Duhm nur letzteres.

V. 7–9. Das dritte Gesicht. Mit Recht betont Riedel (a. a. O. S. 30 ff.) die Unsicherheit der ältesten Übersetzer und Ausleger

[24] Nach Rießler durch falsche Ergänzung der Abkürzung י aus ישראל geworden.

[25] Wieder gewinnt Rießler mit dem Verse leichtes Spiel, indem er ותאכל את־תהום רבה als Glosse streicht — ohne jede Begründung — und חלק ישראל liest. ואכלה scheint ihm unbedenklich zu sein.

über den Gegenstand dieses Gesichtes, die Bedeutung von אנך; nur hätte er etwas schärfer zusehen dürfen. Bei LXX und Symmachos bedeutet ἀδάμας nicht „Diamant", sondern „festestes Eisen, Stahl", und das tut, ebenso wie „Zinn", für das Riedel eintritt, dieselben Dienste wie „Blei". Das *trulla caementarii* und *trulla* des Hieronymus aber heißt nicht „Maurereimer", sondern „Maurerkelle", wie Hieronymus selbst erklärt, das Werkzeug für das Verputzen einer Mauer. Das will dann Jahwe in V. 8 niederlegen: *non adjiciam ultro superinducere eum [Israel].* Auf dieser Spur war schon Aquila mit seinem γάνωσις = Anstrich, Verputz. Was Theodotion (nicht Symmachos, wie Riedel sagt) mit τηκόμενον „eine zerfallende Mauer" meint, und wie er fortfuhr, können wir nicht mehr verfolgen. Es bleibt doch zuletzt bei dem Metall, dem Blei, und das kann hier als Werkzeug nichts weiter heißen als „Lot", was ja selbst auch nur „Blei" bedeutet, vgl. holl. *lood,* engl. *lead*; wie denn auch „Blei" für das Werkzeug des „Lotens", das „Senkblei", gebraucht wird. Aber Riedel und Praetorius meinen nun, daß dies אֲנָךְ nicht zu einer sinnbildlichen Handlung diene, sondern nur zu einem Wortspiel, wie קיץ in 8 1f. Nach Riedel meint es אֲנַךְ „als *apocopatus* von אֲנַכֶּה ‚ich will zerschlagen.'" Ob Num. 22 6 und „das syrische Lexikon" das Pi'el von נכה rechtfertigen, mag dahingestellt bleiben, weil in V. 8 die Ausdeutung nicht lautet „Siehe, ich will zerschlagen mein Volk Israel", sondern ganz anders. Davon schweigt Riedel. Praetorius bildet das Wortspiel mit einem אֲנָךְ = אֲנֹכִי, spricht so statt אֲנָךְ in V. 8 und übersetzt: „Siehe, ich will das Ich mitten in mein Volk Israel stellen." Auch hier braucht man nicht erst die Frage aufzuwerfen, ob diese Abweichung von „der gewöhnlichen Ausdrucksweise" sprachlich im Hebräischen denkbar ist, weil der so gewonnene Satz keinen brauchbaren Sinn gibt, auch nicht, wenn man ein gewöhnliches אֶת־נַפְשִׁי für אנך einsetzt. Es wird also doch wohl bei der symbolischen Handlung mit dem Senkblei sein Bewenden haben müssen. — V. 7. Ergänze nach dem zu V. 1 Gesagten הראני והנה [אדני יהוה]. Dafür bietet LXX kein Zeugnis, weil dort, bzw. in ihrer Vorlage, vielmehr die Lücke bemerkt war und durch Umstellung von והנה und אדני ausgefüllt wurde. Aber verfährt man danach (Baumann usw.), so fehlt hinter והנה wieder

das Subjekt, wie der Alexandrinus usw. sehen, indem sie ἀνήρ einfügen. Statt dem mit אִישׁ zu folgen (Marti und, wie es scheint, L. Köhler), hat man das אדני des MT hinter והנה festzuhalten (Oort). Vgl. auch 9 1 אדני vor נִצָּב. — Das Stehn auf einer Mauer entspricht dem Senkblei, das nur frei an der Schnur hängend als solches zu erkennen ist. Darum ist der Vorschlag von Lods (*Le livre du prophète Amos* 1913, q. 21) חֹמֶר für חומת, „er stand bei einem Haufen Blei und hatte Blei in der Hand", oder der Rießler's אַבְנֵי נְכֹת (letzteres von נכה abgeleitet) „er stand auf einer Mauer oder einem aufgeschichteten Haufen von Meteorsteinen", durchaus nicht zu billigen; ebensowenig der Baumanns, der nur והנה בידו אנך beibehält; noch der Duhms, dem Greßmann[2] folgt, כה הראני יהוה נִצָּב עַל־חוֹמַת אנך, „gestellt war an Gemäuer ein Lot, ein unten mit Lot beschwerter Meßstab"[26]. Diese starken Streichungen müssen dem Metrum nachhelfen. — Bedenklich ist freilich die „Mauer von Blei", was doch nicht wohl eine lotrechte Mauer (so noch Studer und Driver) heißen kann, und so entschließen sich die meisten Ausleger, das erste אנך zu streichen und חוֹמָה zu lesen. Ich lasse lieber mit Wellhausen eine Lücke für die immerhin erwünschte Bestimmung. Ehrlichs תַּעֲנָךְ für אנך ist ganz unmöglich; Sellins אַרְמוֹן (so auch Nowack[3]) würde sachlich genügen, ohne doch zu überzeugen. — בידו „er hielt", natürlich an der Schnur. — V. 8. Daß Amos hier wie in 8 2 schweigt und erst zur Äußerung aufgefordert werden muß, ist oben erklärt. Amos sieht nicht „überall nur Anāk", auch in der Mauer (Praetorius), sondern „ein Blei", ein Lot, und nur dieses, weil Jahwe, der ihn fragt, hier nur dessen Träger ist. — יהוה אלי mit Berufung auf 8 2a zu streichen (Nowack) ist keine Verbesserung; umgekehrt wird dort nach dem Subjekt zu fragen sein. — b. Meint man die Einleitung der neuen Jahwerede ויאמר אדני nach LXX durch אֵלַי ergänzen zu müssen (Oort), so wird man besser auch יהוה statt אדני einsetzen. Aber gerade das אדני und das Fehlen des אלי spricht für einen verdeutlichenden Einschub, und so halte ich es für richtiger, mit Duhm אדני zu streichen und nur ויאמר zu behalten. — Jahwes Deutung übersetzt Marti „Siehe, ich lege

[26] Was das Lot an einem Stabe soll, ist doch nicht abzusehen.

Blei (eventuell Stahl oder ein anderes Metall) mitten in mein Volk Israel"; er will damit nach Condamin die Deutung als Senkblei ablehnen und unter Hinweis auf Jer. 1 18; 15 20; Hes. 4 3 in אנך das Symbol der umwiderstehlichen Macht eines auswärtigen Feindes, natürlich Assurs, sehen. Das könnte gewiß nicht mißverständlicher ausgedrückt sein. Vielmehr ist das Senkblei nach wie vor gut genug; Anstoß bietet nur das בקרב „inmitten" statt des „an" für den Gegenstand des Lotens. Auch durch Sellin's ארמון in V. 7 wird dieser Anstoß nicht beseitigt. Ich vermute dafür בְּקִרֹת „an die Mauern meines Volkes Israel"; ein Wechselwort für חומה in V. 7 ist durchaus am Platze. In dieser Handlung möchte ich mit Riedel und Ehrlich nicht die Prüfung der Gerechtigkeit Israels sehen, sondern mit dem Targum einfach das Gericht, wie in dem Anlegen der Meßschnur in II. Kön. 21 13; Klgl. 2 8; Jes. 34 11; 28 17, wo משקלת ein noch genaueres Seitenstück bietet. Nur das Gericht selbst genügt vor dem Schlußsatz des Verses, vgl. auch 8 2. — עבור לו „ihm zu Gunsten vorübergehn" = Nachsicht üben, nur hier und 8 2 (7 2 das häufige סלח); aber es bedarf nicht der Änderung in כַּפֶּר, die Halévy vorschlägt. Rießler kann natürlich beides nicht brauchen, weil er des Amos Fürsprache hat ablehnen lassen; aber unmöglich ist sein „ich werde ihm keine Beachtung mehr schenken", wovon es an sich das gerade Gegenteil heißen könnte. — Wichtig ist, daß hier zum ersten Male das Gericht nur für Israel angekündigt wird, während im ersten und zweiten Gesicht die Rücksicht auf Israel der Welt zugute kam. Doch sind dadurch Strafmittel, die andre Völker zugleich treffen, nicht ausgeschlossen. — V. 9. Nur metrische Bedürfnisse können dazu führen, den Vers von V. 7f. abzulösen; es kann nicht bei der negativen Aussage von $8^{b\beta}$ sein Bewenden haben. Duhms Einfügung des Verses zwischen 6 11 und 8 3 zu einem besonderen Spruch ist recht willkürlich. Schlägt man ihn zu V. 10ff. (Sievers-Guthe, früher Nowack, L. Köhler), so wird dadurch die Bruchstücknatur der Erzählung vollends festgelegt; aber wahrscheinlich ist es nicht, daß Amaṣjas Anzeige aus diesem einzelnen Worte ihren Anlaß nähme.[27] Auf Grund von deren Wortlaut

[27] Greßmann[2] sieht in dem Verse nur eine Variante zu V. 11 und 17.

an V. 9 zu ändern empfiehlt sich in keinem Falle, so wenn Sievers-G. am Ende וישראל גלה יגלה ergänzen, Sellin, ohne den Vers abzutrennen, בית streicht, oder Rießler den ersten Halbvers, als Glosse zu dem בַּחֶרֶב, was er ganz wunderlich statt בַּחֶרֶב spricht. Die Höhen und Heiligtümer Israels werden nicht als illegitime Kultstätten angefochten, sondern, wie Wellhausen richtig erklärt, mit dem Königtum zusammen im Sinne des Volkes als dessen Höchstes und Heiligstes aufgeführt. — Merkwürdig ist ישחק in der Parallele zu ישראל, was sich nur hier und V. 16 findet, dort in LXX durch יעקב (vgl. 7 2, 5) ersetzt, aber durch die Übersetzung τοῦ γέλωτος hier für beide Stellen gesichert.[28] Es wird wie ישראל zunächst auch für Amos Juda einschließen; erst der zweite Halbvers vollzieht die Beschränkung auf das Nordreich, und es ist nicht wohlgetan, daß Duhm die Nennung des Hauses David daneben fordert. Noch zur Zeit des regierenden Königshauses erwartet Amos das Gericht. — Löhr läßt nach 8 3, vgl. 7 3, 6, am Schluß נְאֻם יהוה folgen; die Möglichkeit muß zugegeben werden.

X. AMOS IN BETHEL, 7 10–17.

Von diesem Abschnitt habe ich in der Wellhausen-Festschrift 1914 (Beiheft 27 zur *ZATW*) ausführlich gehandelt und brauche deshalb hier die Ergebnisse nur kurz zusammenzufassen. Darnach handelt es sich um das Bruchstück eines vollständigen Berichts über Amos, d. h. vermutlich nur seine Wirksamkeit als Prophet im Nordreich. Dieser Bericht hat wahrscheinlich zunächst am Anfang des Buchs seine Stelle gehabt; er ist dort herausgehoben und, unter Kürzung zu Eingang sowohl wie am Ende, nur unser Stück beibehalten worden. Es wurde hinter dem Verse 7 9 eingeschoben, weil man diesen Ausspruch als den Anlaß zu Amaṣjas Einschreiten ansah. Dies Bruchstück wurde geschont, um die Gottessprüche in V. 14f. und V. 17 nicht umkommen zu lassen, während man die Nachrichten über des Propheten Ergehen für überflüssig, in dem prophetischen Buche wohl gar für unangebracht, hielt. Die Gründe und das Zeitalter

[28] Umgekehrt stellt Rießler nach V. 16 LXX auch hier יעקב her.

dieses Verfahrens habe ich in meinem Vortrag „Eine folgenschwere Redaktion des Zwölfprophetenbuchs“ (*ZATW* 1922, V. 218ff.) festzustellen gesucht. — An rhythmische Fassung ist hier noch weniger zu denken als bei den Gesichten, wenn auch die direkte Rede dichterischen Schwung gewinnt.

V. 10f. Natürlich ist der Wortlaut der — sei es mündlichen, sei es schriftlichen — Anzeige des [obersten] Priesters von Bethel an den König dem Erzähler nicht bekannt gewesen; er gibt in direkter Rede die leicht zu erratenden Beweggründe für die Anzeige wieder. — בקרב בית ישראל steht in ergänzendem Gegensatz zu קשר. Dies hat den Begriff des Heimlichen, „sich verschwören, eine Verschwörung anstiften“; aber das tut Amos am hellen Tageslicht, inmitten der zum Feste versammelten Volksmassen. — כל־דבריו „was er alles sagt“; richtig versteht Ehrlich das כל nicht vom Umfang, sondern von dem Empörenden seiner Reden. Aber deshalb ist הארץ trotz Spr. 30 21–23 nicht „die Erde“, sondern „das Land“, wir würden sagen „der Staat“. Es gibt für ihn ebensogut wie für die Erde Dinge, die er nicht erträgt, nicht aushalten kann. — V. 11. Aus der ganzen Summe seiner Reden werden zwei Aussagen, die den offenbaren Hochverrat bezeugen, in rechtskräftiger Fassung herausgehoben. Für die Fortführung des Volks vgl. 5 27; 6 7; 9 4 (5 5); für den gewaltsamen Tod des Königs steht nur 7 9 zu Gebote, weshalb eben das Stück hier eingeschoben ist. Aber danach hinter ימות ein בֵּית zu ergänzen (Graetz) ist ganz verkehrt; auch wenn Amaṣja von keiner Drohung unmittelbar gegen des Königs Person wußte, was doch, zutreffend oder nicht, wohl der Fall sein konnte, war diese kleine Übertreibung das Selbstverständlichste von der Welt. — V. 12f. Neben einer gewissen Gutmütigkeit mag bei der rechtzeitigen Warnung auch die Überlegung mitwirken, daß Gewalt gegen Amos unter dem Volke unliebsame, dem Priester nicht günstige Auftritte hervorrufen könnte, während dessen freiwilliges Weichen den Eindruck seiner Predigt zu beeinträchtigen geeignet schien. Amaṣja ist also ein guter Diplomat. Eine Mitteilung an Amos über die erfolgte Anzeige dürfte sich angeschlossen haben und ist nur als laut V. 10f. selbstverständlich ausgelassen. — V. 12. Die Anrede חֹזֶה, auffallend gegenüber dem תִּנָּבֵא am Schluß, mag wohl, wie M. Jast-

row unter Hinweis auf Jes. 30 10; Hes. 13 16, 23; 22 28; II. Chr. 33 18 annimmt[29], etwas Herabsetzendes, Verächtliches haben, etwa wie ein „Du Visionär", fast „Du Träumer" (Dt. 13 2, 6). — a β bezeichnet doch zweifellos rettende Flucht nach dem engeren Vaterlande. — ואכל־שם לחם „und ernähre dich dort" = verdiene dort dein Brot, treibe dort dein Handwerk: deutlich die hochmütige und wegwerfende Verdächtigung, daß nicht Jahwe, sondern der Hunger ihn begeistere, was dann Amos in V. 14 so scharf zurückweist. — V. 13 וּבְבֵיתאֵל wird auch Jos. 8 17 vermieden, während בבית־אל häufig vorkommt. — בית ממלכה ist doch wohl „Sitz des Königtums" = königliche Residenz, nicht eine andre Wendung für מקדש מלך. — הוא am Ende zu streichen (Löhr, Baumann, Sievers-G., Nowack) ist gegen den Sprachgebrauch; auch wird es durch das wiederholte ἐστίν der LXX geschützt. — 14a. Wie Amos nur das Berufs-, Handwerks-, Herkunftmäßige des Prophetentums von sich ablehnt, nicht das Prophetentum an sich, beweist, wenn das gegenüber 2 11f. noch erst nötig wäre, der ihm gewordene Auftrag הִנָּבֵא V. 15. LXX verhütet ein Mißverständnis durch *οὐκ ἤμην*. — Das zweite אנכי ist wie das הוא in V. 13 festzuhalten, obgleich LXX es nicht wiedergibt. — b. בוקר wird seit Hitzig nach LXX *αἰπόλος*, nach V. 15 a und 1 1 faßt allgemein in נוֹקֵד verbessert. Der allgemeinen Deutung als „Schafzüchter" nach 2 Kön. 3 4, wo auch er sie anerkennt, widerspricht P. Haupt (*JBL* 1916, p. 280 ff.) hier, indem er es als „Punktierer" faßt und ihm das gleiche Objekt שִׁקְמִים gibt wie dem בּוֹלֵס[30]. Das wäre dann von dem Interpolator in 1 1 nach 2 Kön. 3 4 mißverstanden[31] und so Amos irrtümlich zum Schafzüchter gemacht worden. Der einzige Anlaß für diese neue Auslegung ist nach S. 283, daß Amos Sykomoren nicht in Tekoa könne behandelt haben, aber auch nicht könne

[29] *Journal of Bibl. Literature* 1909. p. 54 f.

[30] Ob man dieses בלס mit Haupt (ebenda und früher) = Assyr. *palâšu*, Syr. *pĕlăš*, alttest. Hebr. פלס und פלש in פְּלִשְׁתִּים setzt, d. i. „graben, bohren", ist sachlich gleichgültig. Da es ein Kunstausdruck für das Verbessern der Maulbeerfeigen sein wird, liegt indessen das Denominativum von *balas*, arab. und äth. „Feige", also „aus Sykomorenfrüchten Feigen machen", meines Erachtens näher.

[31] Ebenso natürlich in 7 14 von dem, der בוקר daraus machte.

Schafbesitzer in Tekoa gewesen sein, während er sich daneben mit den Sykomoren in tieferen Lagen befaßt hätte. Das ist ein altes Bedenken, das meines Erachtens überschätzt wird. Die Lage von Tekoa ist, ob auch hoch, doch durchaus nicht so ungünstig und rauh, wie man vielfach meint; nach Socin[32] sind „um Thekoa herum, auf dem Hochlande, Sykomoren selten", also immerhin doch heute noch zu finden. Das kann im Altertum, bei reichlicherem Baumwuchs und höherer Kultur, in weit größerem Umfang der Fall gewesen sein.[33] Aber Haupts Auffassung richtet sich vor allem dadurch, daß er in V. 15 ändern muß, מֵחַיֵּי הַשָּׁאן oder הַשָּׁאן, „aus dem Leben der Ruhe, aus friedlichem Leben", für מאחרי הצאן, unter Forderung eines unbezeugten Wortes. Auch sonst hat sie alles gegen sich. Man müßte, wenn man נוקד und בולס als zwei Ausdrücke für das gleiche Verfahren fassen will, erwarten נוקד שקמים ובולס; vor allem aber kann „Sykomorenritzer"[34] nicht als einziger Beruf genannt sein, weil es nur einige Male im Jahre eine Anzahl Tage in Anspruch nehmen konnte, selbst beim Versehen eines ziemlich weiten Umkreises. Nur als Nebenbeschäftigung vielmehr kann es in Betracht kommen. ובולס שקמים mit „und lebe von Sykomoren" zu übersetzen (Gressmann), ohne irgendwelche Rechtfertigung, ist helle Willkür.[35] — Aber gegen den Schafzüchter Amos d. h. gegen נוקד für בוקר, und gegen das judäische Tekoa als seine Heimat, hat neuerdings Hans Schmidt wieder entschiedenen Einspruch erhoben, zunächst

[32] Guthe, kurzes Bibelwörterbuch 1903, S. 422.

[33] Mit Socins Angabe steht freilich in grellem Widerspruch die mündliche Äußerung G. Dalmans, von der Hans Schmidt (Budde-Festschrift, Beihefte zur *ZATW* 34, 1920, S. 167) berichtet: „Wenn Sykomoren in Thekoa gewachsen sind, muß es wo anders gelegen haben, hier haben nie Sykomoren gestanden." Ich kann für heutige Verhältnisse nur diesen Widerspruch feststellen, muß aber in jedem Falle den Schluß auf die Vegetationsverhältnisse des Altertums als bedenklich ablehnen.

[34] Haupt versteht das nach S. 287 als „Gärtner"; das ist eine starke Erweiterung des Begriffs, an die sich die Frage knüpft, ob dieser Beruf dort und zu jener Zeit geübt wurde. Oder soll es Besitzer eines Sykomoren-Baumgartens heißen? Dann kommt Haupt mit den Sykomoren in Tekoa noch viel mehr ins Gedränge als die gewöhnliche Auffassung.

Vgl. dafür auch noch Hans Schmidt a. a. O. S. 163 unten.

[35] LXX und Theodotion haben mit κνίζων und χαράσσων gut verstanden. Auch Gressmann kehrt in der neuen Auflage zu „Sykomorenritzer" zurück.

in seinen Feldvorlesungen von 1917 zugleich mit der Vermutung, daß שקמים hier nicht Sykomoren, sondern Edelfeigen meine (vgl. S. 2f. und S. 6), und dann, nachdem er eingesehen, daß das ein Irrtum war, in seinem Aufsatz „Die Herkunft des Propheten Amos“ am oben (Seite 18 Fußnote 33) angegebenen Orte. Er hält בוקר fest und versteht darunter einen Bauern, der ein Joch Rinder (als Zugtiere für den Pflug) besitzt, also einen wohlhabenderen Bauern, was man in Schwaben einen „Ochsenbauern“ nenne. Das αἰπόλος der LXX sei aus dem בנקדים der Glosse in 1 1 entlehnt. Das מאחרי הצאן von V. 15 wolle nur feststellen, daß Amos sich bei der ihm unvergeßlichen Gelegenheit seiner Berufung „gerade auf einer Schafweide bei den Schafen befunden habe“, und das nur habe auch der Glossator in 1 1 wiedergeben wollen. Amos erwidere also dem Priester, daß er ein recht wohlhabender Mann sei, erstens Rinder besitze, zweitens „eine Sykomorenzucht“ und drittens eine Schafherde. Damit kommt für Schmidt das judäische Tekoa außer Betracht, und er fordert wieder wie einst Oort ein zweites, nordisraelitisches, in gutem Fruchtlande gelegenes Tekoa als seine Heimat, wofür denn auch noch weitere Gründe beigebracht werden. Die feinen und anziehenden Ausführungen Schmidt's können hier nicht eingehend behandelt werden; ich muß mich darauf beschränken, einige Punkte hervorzuheben, die mir gegen seine Anschauung zu entscheiden scheinen: 1.) das „hinter den Schafen her“ kann nicht eine zufällige, vorübergehende Anwesenheit bezeichnen, sondern muß auf Beruf und tägliche Beschäftigung gehn, für die jetzt etwas ganz Neues eintritt; 2.) das muß an das בוקר oder נוקד in V. 14 als an die Berufsbezeichnung anknüpfen, wodurch בוקר ausgeschlossen wird; 3.) dies geschieht ebenso dadurch, daß der Grundbesitzer, der mit einem Joch Rinder pflügt, nicht hinter der Kleinviehherde hergehn kann; 4.) der Glossator mußte nicht an מאחרי הצאן, sondern an die Berufsbezeichnung anknüpfen und hätte aus בוקר höchstens ein בַּבּוֹקְרִים schöpfen können, aus jenem etwa ein בְּרֹעֵי הצאן, nicht aber בנוקדים; 6.) daß LXX ihr αἰπόλος in 7 14 aus 1 1 geholt hätte, ist an sich sehr unwahrscheinlich, fällt aber ganz außer Betracht, weil בנוקדים in 1 1 von LXX gar nicht übersetzt, sondern mit ἐν Ακκαρείμ umschrieben wird; 7.) בולס שקמים heißt

schwerlich „Sykomorenzüchter", das Handwerk des Veredlers aber paßt nicht zu dem reichen Bauern; 8.) für ein zweites Tekoa neben dem allbekannten müßten wir eine unterscheidende nähere Bestimmung erwarten; 9.) Amasjas Worte in 12 b verstehn sich durchaus am leichtesten, wenn er dem Amos anheimgibt, im Heimatlande sein gewohntes prophetisches Handwerk auszuüben. — V. 15. Das ויאמר אלי יהוה m. c. als Zusatz zu streichen (Löhr, Baumann) geht nicht an, weil es den Gegensatz zu dem אתה אמר von V. 16 bildet, „Jahwe hat gesagt — du sagst", also notwendig zum Text gehört. Mit vollem Recht sagt Wellhausen: „Das doppelte יהוה ist zu beachten." — אל als על zu verstehn oder dies wie in V. 16 dafür zu lesen (so die meisten) wird auch durch das gleiche ἐπί der LXX an beiden Stellen gerechtfertigt. — V. 16 עתה שמע דבר יהוה wird nicht nur durch das von Baumann und Sievers-Guthe vertretene Metrum ausgeschieden, sondern durch den Sinn, als vorzeitige Einführung des Gottesworts, die das „Jahwe sprach zu mir — du sagst" sehr übel von einander entfernt. So richtig schon Baumann und Guthe. Es wird aber nicht nur das ו von ועתה vor אתה mit Sievers-G. zu ergänzen sein, „und du sagst", sondern man wird ועתה als ursprünglich festhalten dürfen, „und jetzt sagst du". Gerade dies ועתה mag dann einen Anlaß zu der Einfügung geboten haben.[36] — Sievers-G. (jetzt auch Nowack) streichen m. c. alles, was auf הנבא folgt, berufen sich aber irrig dafür auf Baumann S. 56. Die Streichung ist schon deshalb unmöglich, weil Amasja dem Amos die prophetische Tätigkeit in Juda ausdrücklich freigibt. — Für המיף vertritt P. Haupt (a. a. O. p. 286) wieder eine schlimme Bedeutung, „bespritzen, anwerfen". Aber das wird doch durch arab. *nâṭṭafa* „anschuldigen, verdächtigen" nicht bewiesen, und Mi. 2 6, 11 Hes. 21 2, 7 sprechen eher für unverfänglichen Gebrauch. — V. 17 תִּזָּנֶה „sie wird huren" oder „als Hure ihr Leben fristen" hat nicht nur das gegen sich, daß der Rest des Verses von offener Gewalt redet, sondern auch, daß dies Gewerbe für die Mutter waffenfähiger Söhne kaum

[36] P. Haupt (a. a. O. p. 285) versetzt 16 a an die Stelle von לכן כה־אמר יהוה in V. 17, ohne Zweifel, weil er dort 2×2 Hebungen braucht. Schon Baumann dachte an diesen Tausch, weil die Formel in V. 17 farbloser sei. Aber für Versetzung und Ersatz fehlt doch die Erklärung.

mehr in Betracht kommt. תְּזֻנָה (Hoffmann) war schwerlich im Gebrauch; תְּעֻנָּה (so nach älterem Vorgang Rießler) könnte leicht verlesen sein, wenn nicht gar ein תְּשֻׁגָּל einmal, statt am Rande, im Texte selbst ersetzt wäre, und dann recht mißverständlich. Wellhausen meint freilich זנה als beleidigenden Ausdruck für geschändet werden fassen zu können. — ובנתיך wird mit Recht von Gressmann und Haupt gestrichen, wie ichs von jeher getan habe: die Töchter fallen nicht mit den Söhnen durch das Schwert. Leicht aber mag das Wort hinter אשתך fortgenommen sein, etwa, nachdem vorher תזנינה in תזנה durch Übersehen verdorben war.[37] Ich vermute, daß es an seiner jetzigen Stelle ein בַּחֵץ ersetzt (vgl. Hes. 7 15 Hos. 7 1), das durch seinen Gegensatz dem בעיר vorher erst den rechten Sinn gibt. Vor בחרב kann es übersehen sein. — אדמה ist gegen Haupt entschieden festzuhalten, schon als Aufnahme und Gegensatz von ואדמתך. — Den Schlußsatz schützt Duhm mit Recht gegen die vielfach vertretene, naheliegende Annahme der Wiederholung aus V. 11. Es ist natürlich und wichtig, daß Amos am Schluß das *Ceterum censeo* seiner Weissagung gegen Land und Volk gegen den Einspruch des Priesters erst recht wiederholt. Der Erzähler mag von hier den Wortlaut für Amaṣjas Botschaft in 11 b entnommen haben. Erwünscht wäre freilich כִּי ישראל. — מעל אדמתו, von Vielen m. c. hier wie in V. 11 gestrichen, könnte hier eher als dort entbehrt werden, wird aber an beiden Stellen ursprünglich sein.

XI. DAS VIERTE GESICHT, NEBST ANHÄNGEN, KAP. 8

Von allen größeren Abschnitten des Buches Amos ist kein anderer so zusammenhanglos und zersplittert wie dieses achte Kapitel. Wir waren in Kap. 1—6 gewohnt, einen bestimmten Gegenstand eine größere Strecke weit zu verfolgen, und selbst in Kap. 5, wo das Klagelied V. 1–3 den Zusammenhang zu unterbrechen und in V. 4 ff. zwei Gedankenreihen sich gegen-

37 Haupt (a. a. O. p. 286) scheint dem Worte da seine frühere Stelle zu geben, um es dann auch da, gewiß m. c., als Glosse zu streichen.

seitig abzulösen schienen, ließen sich doch große, in sich befriedigende Zusammenhänge festlegen. Hier dagegen folgen auf den kurzen Wortlaut des vierten Gesichts, das, wie wir sahen, den unmittelbaren Anschluß an 7 9 fordert, in V. 4–14 mindestens vier, wenn nicht noch mehr, kurze Absätze, die nichts miteinander zu tun haben, und von denen nur etwa der erste (V. 4–7) als abgeschlossenes selbständiges Stück in Anspruch genommen werden kann. Es ist schwer sich des Eindrucks zu erwehren, daß hier eine Anzahl von Bruchstücken, die sich so oder so zusammengefunden hatten, notdürftig aneinandergereiht und untergebracht sind, ein Einschub also zwischen dem vierten und fünften Gesicht, wie wir ihn in 7 10–17 zwischen dem dritten und vierten fanden. Anklänge und Doppelgänger wie V. 6 (vgl. V. 4) neben 2 6 f., V. 8 neben 9 5 verstärken den Eindruck, daß hier aus zweiter Hand geschöpft ist, daß man unsichere Reste nicht hat wollen umkommen lassen. Allen Bruchstücken gemeinsam ist die dunkle Farbe, auf den allgemeinen Untergang abgestimmt, und das macht es begreiflich, daß man für die Unterbringung gerade diese Stelle wählte. Daß die Textgestalt vielfach eine bedenkliche ist, kann unter solchen Umständen nicht wundernehmen.

V. 1–3. Das vierte Gesicht. Die Einführung ist genau die gleiche wie 7 1, 4, und wie sie 7 7 herzustellen ist. Nur einen Korb voll Obst sieht Amos. Wie oben (S. 2, Fußn.) schon gesagt, ist es nicht richtig, wenn Sievers-Guthe auch hier Jahwe im Gesichte selbst auftreten lassen wollen, indem sie hinter והנה ergänzen יהוה נִצָּב, vor כלוב ein וּבְיָדוֹ und dazwischen zwei Worte fordern, vielleicht „in einem Obstgarten“.[38] Es ist nicht einzusehen, wozu es gut wäre, daß Jahwe den Obstkorb in der Hand hielte; ganz anders steht es mit dem Lot von 7 7. Auch das Seitenstück Jer. 24, schwerlich ganz unabhängig von unsrer Stelle, bürgt für den Korb allein. — V. 2 a. Sehr vermißt man hinter dem ויאמר das יהוה אלי von 7 8, wo der Fall genau der gleiche ist. Es wird nach dem

[38] Wenn Sellin nur sagt, vielleicht sei mit Sievers-Guthe בְּיָדוֹ einzusetzen, so klingt das rätselhaft; er muß doch dann Jahwe mit einführen, schließt sich also ganz an Sievers-Guthe an.

Syrus zu ergänzen sein, und wahrscheinlich urteilt Duhm richtig, daß es nach 2 b verschlagen und dort zu streichen ist, so daß für die Einführung des zweiten Jahweworts nur ויאמר bleibt, ebenso wie in 7 8 b, vgl. oben. — b. בא הקץ. Jahwes Deutung des Gesichts ergibt nichts als ein Wortspiel zwischen קיץ und קץ. Als sicher ist daraus zu entnehmen, daß die beiden Worte, von verschiedenen Stämmen gebildet, den gleichen Klang hatten, daß das erste also von Amos nicht קַיִץ gesprochen wurde, sondern קֵיץ. Das kann ja in keiner Weise überraschen, wie denn, abgesehen vom *stat. constr.*, גֵּיא, חֵיל, לֵיל gelegentlich auch im *stat. abs.* von den Punktatoren neben גַּיְא, חַיִל, לַיִל anerkannt werden. Rießler verzichtet auf das Wortspiel, indem er nach LXX ἐξεντοῦ in V. 1 יָקוּשׁ für קיץ einsetzt und כלוב nach Jer. 5 27 als „Falle" deutet: die Falle eines Vogelstellers. Es kommt wenig darauf an; immerhin wird damit dieses Gesicht noch schwächer und ärmer, während sich anderseits wohl begreifen läßt, daß LXX mit dem Obst nichts anzufangen wußte und daher etwas Gefahrdrohendes herauslas. — אל wird man richtig mit Wellhausen als על verstehn. — Der Schluß des Verses wieder ganz wie in 7 8. — V. 3. Wie Jahwe in 7 9 auf die Deutung und das Endurteil noch eine Schilderung des Gerichts folgen läßt, so auch hier. Das spricht gegen die Streichung (z. B. Greßmann[2]) oder Versetzung von V. 3 (Harper hinter V. 9, Sievers-Guthe hinter V. 14), es sei denn, daß man mit Duhm (6 11; 7 9; 8 3) auch 7 9 von dem dritten Gesicht löste. — Große Nöte macht der Wortlaut. Daß die Lieder des Tempels oder Palastes heulen sollen, könnte man höchstens auf das Anstimmen von Klageliedern statt Freudenliedern deuten. Da aber zur Zeit des Gerichts wohl alle Lieder verstummen werden, hat man seit Hoffmann ziemlich allgemein שָׁרוֹת für שירות eingesetzt: die Sängerinnen werden heulen statt zu singen.[39] Die des Tempels? Das macht nicht nur deshalb Not, weil uns Sängerinnen am Tempel nicht bezeugt sind, sondern vor allem, weil das einen einzigen Tempel wie den zu Jerusalem voraussetzt, was doch

[39] Leicht könnte die falsche Einfügung des Vokalbuchstabens durch V. 10 a β veranlaßt sein.

für Amos' Zeit und vor allem für Nordisrael nicht zutrifft. Man wird daher für היכל (nur hier bei Amos) besser an den Königspalast denken (so schon Marti), für den das Wort zur Unterscheidung von den ארמנות der Großen gewählt sein möchte. Dann aber dürfte Praetorius mit שְׁרוֹת im Rechte sein (so auch Schmidt, Sellin, Greßmann[2]), so daß wir unmittelbar an Jer. 38 22 f. erinnert werden, wo auch der Sturz des Königshauses in der Leichenklage seiner Weiber angeschaut wird. Aus dem φατνώματα der LXX קורות „Gebälk" zu gewinnen (Riedel), oder קִירוֹת „Wände" (Ehrlich), oder שְׁדֵרוֹת (Rießler), und nach Hab. 2 11 zu erklären liegt fern, zumal LXX vielmehr שורות gelesen haben werden. Sellin hängt den Halbvers mit שְׁרוֹת an 7 9 an (vgl. Duhm), weil er dort für sein Metrum eine Zeile vermißt. Er würde sich dort dem Sinne nach gut anschließen, ist aber an seiner jetzigen Stelle vor b schwer zu entbehren. — נאם אדני ביום ההוא und יהוה hat wohl Löhr zuerst dem Zusammenhang abgesprochen und mit Recht viel Nachfolge gefunden. „An jenem Tage" knüpft schlecht an die negative Fassung des Schlusses von V. 2 an, und „ist der Spruch usw." gehört nicht hierher, weil nicht Amos berichtet, sondern Jahwe selbst zu ihm spricht. So ist es auch nicht hinter b einzuschieben, als Ersatz für das נחם יהוה על־זאת von 7 3, 6, das dort hinter dem יהוה [אדני] אמר die notwendige nachgetragene Anführungsformel bildet. Man wird die Formeln daher mit Marti einer eschatologischen Überarbeitung zuschreiben dürfen, die zugleich eine Verbindung mit V. 9 f. herstellen wollte. Versetzt man den Vers — vgl. oben — so möchten die Formeln eher am Platze sein. — b. Fein sucht Duhm durch נאם יהוה וְהָיָה eine bessere Einführung für b zu gewinnen. Eine solche fehlt in jedem Falle; als Mindestes ist vor רב ein ו zu verlangen (so Sievers-Guthe). — Die Worte השליך הם sind in der überlieferten Fassung um so weniger zu brauchen, weil, wenn der Vers hierher gehört, Jahwe der Redende ist, wozu weder die dritte Person des Tatworts noch der Warnungsruf הם paßt. Dem Bedürfnis sucht Duhm durch אַשְׁלִיכֵם (vgl. LXX ἐπιρρίψω) gerecht zu werden. Das הָשְׁלַךְ Oorts, von den meisten Neueren angenommen — הם mit Harper als dittographische Abkürzung von השלך zu

streichen oder zum Folgenden zu ziehen (Siegfried im Wörterbuch, Ehrlich) — hinkt ganz überflüssig nach, und vollends in Jahwes Munde. Eine nähere Bestimmung zu מָקוֹם suchen Löhr mit הַמִּזְבְּחוֹת, Ehrlich und Greßmann[2] mit הַמֶּלֶךְ, beide nicht überzeugend. Rießler liest הַסְּאָה für הם und gewinnt damit „Umstoßen des Getreidemaßes" als eine Glosse zu V. 5, freilich eine recht unverständliche. Stillschweigend streichen Sievers-Guthe die beiden Worte und stellen dann die beiden Glieder des Verses um, weil sie hinter V. 14 einen Siebener (2 + 2 | + 3) brauchen. Ich weiß den bisherigen Versuchen keinen besseren hinzuzufügen. Staerk sieht in 3 a und b Bruchstücke aus einer Schilderung des kommenden Gerichts. Es muß im Munde Jahwes jedenfalls bei einer Andeutung bleiben; daß die in 7 9, bei dem dritten Gesicht, gegebene inhaltreicher und wuchtiger ist als unsre zwei Zeilen, wird sich nicht leugnen lassen.

V. 4–7. Anklage und Bedrohung der Wucherer. Ein wohl abgerundetes, in sich abgeschlossenes Stück, ganz aus des Amos Gesichtskreis und seiner durchaus würdig. Es klingt wie eine Einzelausführung zu 2 6–8, wo der Raum dafür nicht zu Gebote stand. Am nächsten verwandt aber ist es der Anklage der Hauptstadt in 3 9—4 3; auch der Anruf שמעו zum Eingang verweist es in jenen Bereich, vgl. 4 1; 3 9, 13. Vielleicht daß die hier Angeklagten nach Rang und Stand in jenen Zusammenhang nicht zu passen schienen, und das Stück deshalb vereinzelt übrig blieb und etwas verwahrlost wurde. Löhr (S. 7 ff.) will es samt V. 9 f., 13, 14 b; 9 1 (teilweise), 3, 4 a hinter 4 3 als Fortsetzung anschließen; aber daß dort auf die Frauen noch einmal die Männer folgen sollten, ist doch nicht wahrscheinlich. An der Echtheit des Grundbestandes zu zweifeln kann niemand in den Sinn kommen. — V. 4. Zu שאף vgl. vol. XLIII, p. 70; es heißt auch hier „schnappen, lechzen, gieren", nicht „zertreten", wofür Wellhausen הַשָּׁאפִים sprechen will. Aber der Ausdruck in a ist mager, und daß b mit וְלַשְּׁבִית den überlieferten Wortlaut nicht fortsetzen kann, wird allgemein anerkannt. Das καταδυναστεύοντες, das LXX für לשבית geben, einfach in הָעֹשְׁקִים zurückzuübersetzen (so viele nach Oort), heißt doch sich zu leicht damit abfinden. Eher

mag Ehrlichs וְיַשְׁבִּיתוּ in Betracht kommen, nur daß a damit nicht geholfen wird. Zu Hoffmanns וְלַשָּׁבָת — Riedel (S. 36) behauptet, so lese LXX! — fehlt in a das Seitenstück. Man möchte versuchen, es aus dem εἰς τὸ πρωί der LXX vor אביון, das unbegreiflicherweise erst von Rießler und von Klostermann bei Sellin beachtet wird, zu gewinnen, indem man dafür לַשַּׁחַר (Gen. 32 24 [25]) einsetzt und das als aus לַחֹדֶשׁ verlesen ansieht; aber damit würde die schöne Steigerung in V. 5 nur durch Vorwegnahme verdorben. P. Lohmann[40] versetzt, auch mit völliger Vernachlässigung der LXX, an dieselbe Stelle das שֶׁבֶר von V. 5, das dort von LXX übergangen wird, und gibt ihm dann ein Seitenstück in b durch וְשִׁבְלֶת statt ולשבית. Gewiß sehr fein; aber die hier Angegriffenen wollen dem Armen und Elenden nicht sein Getreide — hat er solches? — abnehmen, sondern das ihre schwindelhaft verkaufen. Ähnliches gilt von Klostermanns Vorschlag, zu dem sich Sellin bekennt, nach LXX εἰς τὸ πρωί לבקר zu ergänzen und das nicht לַבֹּקֶר zu sprechen, sondern לְבָקָר — so ohne Zweifel statt לַבָּקָר bei Sellin — und dann aus καὶ καταδυναστεύοντες zunächst וְלִכְבֹּשׁ, dann וּלְכִבְשֵׁי zu gewinnen, so daß die Bedrohten nach Rindern und Lämmern des Armen und Elenden gieren. Man sollte es dann doch lieber nach 2 Sam. 12 bei לְכֶבֶשׂ, dem einzigen Lämmchen, lassen, woneben freilich die Rinder von a sich noch viel unwahrscheinlicher ausnehmen würden. Überdies wird dadurch ein ganz neuer Gegenstand des Begehrens zur Stelle gebracht, während V. 5 kraft des לאמר das Vorhergegangene nur ausdeuten sollte. Und beide Versuche, der von Lohmann wie der von Klostermann, leiden an dem Fehler, daß sie den אביון und die עניי ארץ wirtschaftlich zu hoch einschätzen. Ich glaube, man kann viel einfacher helfen. Das εἰς τὸ πρωί ist in der Tat לשחר, verlesen aus לשחת = לְשַׁחֵת[41], „die danach lechzen den Armen zu verderben". Dann kann ולהשבית unverändert beibehalten werden, da השבית trotz

[40] *ZATW* XXXII, 1912, S. 274.

[41] Elhorst wollte, ohne an LXX zu denken, an dieser Stelle aus dem לשבית von b ein לַשְׁחִית oder לְהַשְׁחִית gewinnen. — Rießler will εἰς τὸ πρωί = נָשָׁף als Dublette zu השאפים, womit es doch wenig gemein hat, streichen.

Hoffmanns und Wellhausens Widerspruch, doch „aus der Welt schaffen, ausrotten", auch von Menschen, bedeutet, vgl. 2 Kön. 23 5; Jer. 36 29; Ps. 8 3. V. 4 schickt also der Einzelschilderung des Verfahrens der Angeklagten eine allgemeine Kennzeichnung voraus. — V. 5. Mit Unrecht nimmt Wellhausen daran Anstoß, daß den Kornschacherern Neumond und Sabbat zu lang wird. Wie wir 2 Kön. 4 23 sehen, daß die Arbeit des Bauern an diesen Tagen ruhte, so daß der Esel für eine Reise zur Verfügung stand, so hier dasselbe vom Handel, wozu aus viel späterer Zeit die Übertretung Neh. 13 15 ff. zu vergleichen ist. Das Märchen von dem Sabbat als Vollmondstag zu bestreiten, ist hier nicht der Ort. — שבר zu streichen (Marti usw.) gibt das Fehlen einer Wiedergabe in LXX keinen ausreichenden Grund, zumal bei ihr ein Objekt zu ἐμπολήσομεν dringend erwünscht ist; die Ergänzung durch das Nomen gleichen Stammes ist gut hebräisch, wenn auch sonst bei השביר unbezeugt; auch als Seitenstück zu בר ist es zu erwarten; nur metrische Gründe geben wohl den Anlaß es zu entfernen. — פתח בר müssen wir als geläufigen Kunstausdruck hinnehmen; für בר nach LXX אוֹצָר zu lesen (Oort) ist kein Grund abzusehen; es zu streichen (Duhm, wohl m. c.) verschlechtert den Wortlaut. — b soll nach Wellhausen und Marti wieder der Prophet sprechen, weil das ehrliche Geständnis des Betrugs nicht in den Mund der Wucherer passe. Aber es handelt sich um ein Selbstgespräch, das niemand belauscht, und so kann der Prophet sie wohl die volle Wahrheit sagen lassen. Für das Getreide das Maß, Gewicht und Wage für das Geld. — Wellhausens Aussprache עַוֹּת von dem ursprünglichen Stamme עוה hat allgemeine Billigung gefunden. — Nur מאזְנֵי zu lesen und רמה zu streichen (H. Schmidt, wohl vorwiegend m. c., vielleicht auch, um die Worte leichter den Wucherern zuteilen zu können), ist doch willkürliches Verfahren. Rießler erklärt vollends die ganze Zeile für eine Glosse. — V. 6a wird seit Wellhausen ziemlich allgemein als Glosse aus 2 6 gestrichen, auch von Oettli, und von Marti gut erklärt als durch das השאפים von V. 4 (vgl. 2 7) zunächst als Randvermerk herbeigezogen. Nur Duhm behält die Zeilen, um aus V. 4–6 und V. 7, 9, 10 zwei zehnzeilige Strophen zu gewinnen, was schwerlich am Platze

ist. — b schließt sich, wenn a gestrichen ist, von selbst an V. 5 an. Duhm (in der Übersetzung) und Sellin wollen 6 b hinter 5 a (vor להקטין) einfügen, scheinbar etwas leichter, der gleichen Verbalform wegen. Aber man darf doch nicht übersehen, daß dann die Worte השביר und בר sich gar zu bald wiederholen, wenn man nicht mit Oort für das בר in 5 a אוצר liest und für נשביר in 6 b mit Duhm und Greßmann נִמְכָּר. Vor allem aber schließt sich der Satz dem Sinne nach besser an die bösen Praktiken von 5 b an als an die bloße Eröffnung des Geschäfts in 5 a. Man wird es also besser bei der Folge 5 a b, 6 b belassen[42]. Praetorius hält V. 5 samt 6 b im ganzen Umfang für spätere Zusätze. Dafür ist doch kein Grund abzusehen; vielmehr haben diese Zeilen einen sehr ursprünglichen Klang und dürfen wohl als unerfindbar bezeichnet werden. Auch würden V. 4 und 7 ohne sie inhaltlos zusammenbrechen. — V. 7. Jahwe schwört 4 2 „bei seiner Heiligkeit", 6 8 „bei sich selber". Ein Entsprechendes sollte man hier erwarten, und danach verstehn die meisten hier unter dem „Stolz Jakobs" Jahwe selber als den Gegenstand des Stolzes seines Volkes.[43] Es fragt sich aber doch, ob das neben 6 8, wo גאון יעקב ganz offenbar von der äußeren Herrlichkeit Israels — die Parallele bilden seine Paläste — oder seinem unberechtigten Stolze darauf gebraucht wird, bei demselben Amos möglich ist. Auch läge im Grunde in der selbstverständlichen Voraussetzung, daß Jahwe der Stolz Israels sei, eine Anerkennung, eine Art Lob, wie man es hier am wenigsten erwarten sollte. Vielleicht wird man daher doch mit Wellhausen hier bei demselben Sinne wie in 6 8 bleiben müssen, so daß Jahwe höhnisch bei Jakobs Hochmut als „unabänderlicher Tatsache" schwört. — Der Schwur selbst erinnert lebhaft an Jes. 22 14, wo die Strafandrohung ebenfalls nur in der Verneinung der Möglichkeit des Vergebens besteht,

[42] Löhr (S. 13) will 6 b „in irgendeiner veränderten Gestalt" an V. 4 anschließen, wo er für seine Strophen eine Zeile vermißt.

[43] Baumann (S. 35, 39) will vollends, wohl nur m. c., יהוה ב streichen, so daß גאון יעקב einfach für יהוה steht. Dasselbe erreicht Greßmann[2] durch בְּגַאֲוָתוֹ „bei ‚seinem' Stolze", was ja dem בקדשו von 4 2 gut entsprechen würde, aber doch nicht so wahrscheinlich klingt. Man müßte dann das יעקב aus 6 8 eingetragen sein lassen.

die Strafe selbst völlig *in petto* behalten wird. Der volle Abschluß ist damit unzweifelhaft erreicht. — Die Lesart der LXX מעשׂיכם, die Anrede der Bedrohten, ist mit Meinhold, Marti, Rießler der des MT unbedingt vorzuziehen.

V, 8–10. V. 8 knüpft nicht an V. 7 an, wenn man das זאת nicht sinnlos auf den Beschluß Jahwes beziehen will. Zudem wiederholt der Vers wörtlich mit anderer Einführung den Vers 9 5, der ebenfalls nicht von Amos herrührt, aber dort durch V. 6 organisch fortgesetzt wird. Mit Recht wird der Vers daher von fast allen Neueren Amos abgesprochen. Aber auch V. 9 läßt sich nicht an V. 7 anknüpfen, schon weil dort ein Tag nicht angesagt ist. Man hilft sich damit (seit Löhr die meisten), in V. 9 die Einführung והיה ביום ההוא נאם אדני יהוה als Zusatz des Interpolators von V. 8 zu streichen; aber da V. 8 gar nicht von einem wirklichen Erdbeben redet, sondern nur von einem verdienten, ist dort erst recht der Tag nicht zu gewinnen, so daß dieser Versuch der Anknüpfung an V. 8 besonders ungeschickt ist. Eine Sonnenfinsternis dagegen hat stets einen bestimmten Tag, wird daher sehr begreiflicher Weise so eingeführt. Aber selbst ohne die Einführung knüpft V. 9 schlecht an V. 7 an, weil dort das Gericht bloß negativ angesagt wird, als Nichtvergessen Jahwes, und damit alles gesagt ist, so daß eine Fortsetzung sich von selbst ausschließt. Es muß deshalb festgestellt werden, daß V. 9, 10 ein Bruchstück bilden, dessen Eingang verloren ist. Die Fuge davor wird durch den Lückenbüßer V. 8 bezeugt und damit zugleich das höhere Alter von V. 9 f., mit Wahrscheinlichkeit ihre Herkunft von Amos, an der zu zweifeln auch sonst kein Grund vorliegt. — V. 8. Schwerlich soll die Begreiflichkeit eines wirklich erlebten Erdbebens festgestellt werden, sondern, daß man sich nicht würde wundern dürfen, wenn sogar die Erde ihrer Entrüstung über solche Frevel den ihr gewohnten Ausdruck gäbe; vgl. Marti zur Stelle. Also: „Sollte darob nicht die Erde erbeben? usw.“ In 9 5 wird das Erdbeben als einer der Machterweise Jahwes angeführt: er bewirkt es, indem er an die Erde rührt. Marti zu 9 5 will die beiden Zeilen von 8 8a, die es so ganz anders einleiten, ob auch selbst sekundär, doch unsrer Stelle als selbständigen Zusatz vorbehalten. Erst später ist dann 8b des gleichen Gegenstands wegen aus 9 5 hinzugefügt,

und dann zuletzt umgekehrt 8 a β von hier aus in 9 5 eingeschoben worden. Dieser feinen Erklärung des Hergangs steht immerhin im Wege, daß die beiden Zeilen von 8 a für eine solche Interpolation recht kurz sind; man wird deshalb doch neben ihr die andre Möglichkeit offen lassen müssen, daß der Vers im ganzen Umfang aus 9 5 herübergenommen und dabei für die neue Stelle die Einleitung umgestaltet ist. Dann mag 8 a β immerhin von hier aus erst den Weg nach 9 5 gefunden haben. Greßmann[2] will 9 5 einfach durch 8 a α ergänzen, indem er diese Zeile hinter 9 5 a α einfügt. Das עלי־זאת ginge dann auf Jahwes Tun, sein Rühren an die Erde, was doch eine Tautologie wäre. — Für a β klingt die pluralische Fassung von 9 5 (ואבלו und יושבי) besser als die hier gebotene singularische. — Für כאר muß nach 9 5 und LXX ὡς ποταμός כיאר hergestellt werden. Mit בְּאֵר (Riedel S. 33) ist durchaus nichts anzufangen. Über die Wiederholung des Wortes im letzten Versgliede wird bei 9 5 zu entscheiden sein.[44] — Über die Streichung des von LXX ausgelassenen ונגרשה — nach Hoffmann aus ונגדשה verdorben — ist man einverstanden; ebenso darüber, daß das Ḳerê ונשקעה dem Ketîb ונשקה gegenüber im Rechte ist. Aber besser wird man nach 9 5 ושקעה herstellen; das נ dürfte auf Versehen nach dem vorhergehenden Worte beruhen. — V. 9 f. Die Sonnenfinsternis — Amos hat deren wohl zwei erlebt, eine totale am 9. Februar 784 und eine starke partielle am 15. Juni 763, von denen natürlich keine die hier angesagte ist — wird als Trauer und damit Zeichen und Vorbote der großen Trauer der Menschen gedeutet. — An ביום אור „am lichten Tag" ist nicht zu mäkeln, vgl. פָּנִים אוֹרִים Jes. Sir 13 26; man braucht also weder mit Cheyne nach Jer. 15 9 בְּעוֹד יוֹם herzustellen, noch mit Praetorius und H. Schmidt לארץ zu streichen, was doch nur anginge, wenn man הָאוֹר בַּיּוֹם herstellte, und auch damit nur eine schwache Parallele zu a gewänne. — אבל יחיד sprichwörtlich, vgl. Jer. 6 26. Sach. 12 10. Die zweite Stelle beweist durch die Parallele

[44] Praetorius stellt וְכָלְתָה כְאֵין כֻּלָּהּ als ursprünglichen Abschluß der Glosse her. Dann sei כיאר aus כאין verderbt, dadurch b β aus 9 5 als Randbemerkung herbeigezogen und endlich die Änderung ועלתה vollzogen worden. Aber schon der hergestellte ursprüngliche Wortlaut klingt nicht einleuchtend, würde auch eine Parallele verlangen.

הַבְּכוֹר, daß Movers' Deutung auf die Adonisklage unzutreffend ist; vgl. dagegen auch Baudissin, Adonis und Esmun, S. 89.

V. 11 f. Mit Recht warnt Wellhausen davor die beiden Verse mit V. 13 f. verträglich zu finden und zu einem Stücke zusammenzuschließen, und da ihm diese ursprünglicher erscheinen, spricht er V. 11 f. dem Amos ab. Sieht man, wie in K. 8 ein Bruchstück dem andern folgt, so mag man die Echtheit auch dieser Verse immer noch in Betracht ziehen. Aber falsch ist es an ihnen zu modeln, den geistigen Hunger und Durst (mit 11 b und den Worten von לבקש an in V. 12 b) als Einschub zu entfernen, wie Marti und Sellin tun,[45] etwa gar dem wirklichen Durst am Ende von V. 13 zuliebe, den Duhm wiederum als Zusatz streicht. Aber dann bleibt nur ein hohles Gerippe übrig.[46] Daß er Hunger und Durst nach dem Worte Jahwes weissage, kann man Amos an sich wohl zutrauen, wenn man die Anklage 2 12, seine Erfahrung nach 7 10–17 und seine Selbstrechtfertigung in 3 3–8 in betracht zieht. — V. 11. Zu der Einleitungsformel vgl. 4 2. — In a vermißt Marti eine Zeile, die auch den Durst einführte; Greßmann[2] ergänzt nach Gunkel hinter רעב ein וְצָמְא, was mir richtig scheint. Duhm hilft nach der anderen Seite hin, indem er לא רעב bis כי אם streicht und so nur den „Hunger zu hören usw." übrig läßt. Aber kein Redner hätte sich wohl die Gegenüberstellung mit wirklichem Hunger und Durst entgehn lassen. — In b ist mit den Vss. und V. 12 דְּבַר statt דברי zu lesen. — V. 12. Der Vers erinnert stark an 4 8; ihn als Wiederholung und Ausmalung von V. 11 zu streichen (Hans Schmidt) liegt doch kein Grund vor, zumal das Ausbleiben des Wortes Jahwes durchaus etwas Neues ist, die Strafe für dessen Ablehnung, auf die Amos hinaus will. — וישוטטו ist gegen die Accente mit LXX zum ersten Halbvers zu ziehen. — Von den Paaren der Himmelsrichtungen rechtfertigt sich das erste durch Jo. 2 20 und Sach. 14 18; schwerer ist das zweite, „vom Norden bis zum Aufgang", scil. der Sonne, also Osten, zu begreifen, man vergleiche Martis Erklärungsversuch. Sollte in dem מזרח eine ungewöhn-

[45] Guthe und Nowack ebenso, nur daß sie ולא ימצאו in V. 12 festhalten.

[46] Das fühlt Marti und vermutet deshalb, daß die Zusätze einige Stichen vom Verhungern der Bewohner verdrängt haben möchten.

liche Bezeichnung des Südens stecken, etwa מִדְבָּר, wie sonst נֶגֶב?

V. 13 f. Besonders stark tritt hier die Bruchstücknatur des ganzen Abschnitts zutage. Denn sicherlich sind es nicht, wie man doch den überlieferten Zusammenhang deuten muß, die schönen Mädchen und die Jünglinge, oder auch nur die letzteren, denen die ebenso eifrigen wie wunderlichen Schwurformeln von 14 a nachgesagt werden. Und da nun 14 b auch nicht wohl das Prädikat zu den Subjekten der Schwörenden sein kann, es sei denn, man ergänzte vor 14 a schon eine erste Aussage über sie, so rechtfertigt sich der Vorschlag, den zuerst Löhr, dann Marti, gemacht hat, 14 a als Einschub herauszulösen und 14 b an V. 13 als den Abschluß des Schicksals der Mädchen und Jünglinge unmittelbar anzuschließen.[47] Aber, ob mit oder ohne den Nachsatz 14 b, bleibt doch in dem ganzen Absatz das Bruchstück der Schwurformeln ohne jeden Zweifel das Ursprünglichste, das allein Unerfindbare, was man deshalb Amos zuzuschreiben alle Ursache hat. Am leichtesten würde es sich durch ein vorgeschobenes הוֹי, „Weh denen, die da schwören usw." ergänzen und einer Reihe einfügen lassen, wie wir sie in Kap. 5 fanden, und wie sie dann Jesaja in Kap. 5 8 ff. breiter ausgeführt hat. Aber es könnte auch die Fortsetzung einer Ansage der Zerstörung aller Heiligtümer des Landes bilden (vgl. etwa 7 9 a) und daran mit einem וְנָשׁוּ oder dgl. angeknüpft gewesen sein. — 13. Entfernt man ביום ההוא als Lückenbüßer (Marti), so muß man eine andre Einführung an seine Stelle setzen. Ohne Anlehnung nach rückwärts ist auch V. 13, mit oder ohne 14 b, nicht möglich. Anschluß an V. 10 (so Albrecht *ZATW* 1913, 270 f.), natürlich ohne בצמא, empfiehlt sich nicht, da die Aussagen dort schon stärker klingen als unser Vers und den Gegenstand abzuschließen scheinen. — V. 14. Den ganzen Vers will Albrecht a. a. O., nachdem V. 13 herausgehoben ist, sich ungezwungen an V. 12 anschließen lassen, Amos verkünde „seinen Zeitgenossen, die jetzt Jahwes

[47] Löhr streicht dann בצמא, wesentlich m. c., worin ihm Staerk und Duhm folgen. Umgekehrt ergänzt Sellin, ebenfalls m. c., vor בצמא ein הָאֲמָצִים, was nicht sehr ursprünglich klingt.

Wort verachten und sich an die Götzen wenden (V. 14 a), daß Tage kommen sollen, wo sie nach Jahwe rufen werden, ohne Erhörung zu finden" usw. Er übersieht, daß bei solchem Anschluß הנשבעים Subjekt zu ישוטטו לבקש und ולא ימצאו wird und sehr *post festum* kommt. Es bleibt bei der Bruchstücknatur von 14 a, für den V. 13, 14 b nur als Mantel benutzt ist. — Zweifellos handelt es sich um drei zu jener Zeit beliebte Schwurformeln[48], von denen der eine diese, der andre jene bei jeder Gelegenheit im Munde zu führen pflegte. Damit wird die Weiterführung des הנשבעים durch ואמרו bedenklich, weil dann streng genommen die gleichen Leute alle drei Formeln gebrauchen. Man darf fragen, ob ursprünglich וְ[הָ]אֹמְרִים dastand.[49] Natürlich bedeutet das Schwören bei diesem oder jenem nichts Höheres als das kennen und sich völlig darauf und seine rettende Macht verlassen. Daß abergläubische und möglichst wunderliche Gegenstände dieses Vertrauens aufgeführt werden, versteht sich von selbst; aber gerade diese Einsicht macht es schwer an der Überlieferung zu rütteln, und bedenklich, etwa in einer bestimmten Richtung möglichst verständige Herstellung zu versuchen. — Freilich erweckt gleich der erste Schwur באשמת שמרון wenig Vertrauen. LXX *κατὰ τοῦ ἰλασμοῦ* faßt es als אָשָׁם „Schuldopfer", wofür die weibliche Form niemals vorkommt; LXX zuliebe בַּאֲשַׁם zu lesen ist kaum ratsam, weil ein besonderer Schuldopferritus Samariens zu Amos' Zeit gar nichts für sich hat. „Schuld" bedeutet אַשְׁמָה an vielen Stellen des Chronisten und Ps. 69 6; bleibt man dabei, so wird Wellhausen recht behalten, wenn er in den Worten, zumal mit שמרון nicht für die Königsstadt Samaria, sondern für die Landschaft Samarien, einen späten Euphemis-

[48] Zu dem חַי der zweiten und dritten vgl. Gesenius-Kautzsch 99[aa] Fußnote.

[49] Die Schwierigkeit fühlt Ehrlich; aber wenn er nun das erste Glied von V. 14 mit הנשבעים zu V. 13 ziehen will, als Apposition zu dessen Subjekt, den Jungfrauen und Jünglingen, in ואמרו dagegen die Fortführung des Prädikats תתעלפנה sieht und durch zweimaliges אֵי statt חי aus dem zweiten und dritten Schwur verzweifelte Fragen macht, so ist das doch ein recht unglücklicher Versuch der Not abzuhelfen und die enge Verbindung zwischen V. 13 und 14 zu retten.

mus sieht.[50] Sein Schluß für Amos: „Er wird einen unverfänglichen Namen für den Jahwe von Bethel [Übersetzung ‚beim Heiligtum von Bethel'] gebraucht haben" ist ein kühner Griff ins Blaue; einfaches בָּאֵל בֵּיתְאֵל (Marti, Guthe, Nowack[3], Sellin) trifft schwerlich, was er meint, geschweige, daß er es, wie Sellin sagt, „nach Gen. 31 13 vermutet" hätte. — Die Möglichkeit anderer Aussprache ohne Textänderung wird durch 2 Kön. 17 30 geboten, wo es in der Aufführung der fremden Götter, deren Dienst die von den Assyrerkönigen nach Nordisrael verpflanzten Kolonisten mitbrachten, heißt וְאַנְשֵׁי חֲמָת עָשׂוּ אֶת־אֲשִׁימָא. Diese Gottheit hier zu finden und daher בַּאֲשֵׁמַת zu sprechen haben sich neuerdings viele entschieden[51], und darauf ist nicht ohne Einfluß gewesen, daß auch in den Elephantine-Papyri eine von dortigen Israeliten verehrte Gottheit אשמבית‌אל bezeugt erschien. Für die Gottheit von Ḥamāt darf ich auf Ed. Königs eingehenden Aufsatz a. a. O. „Die Gottheit Aschima" verweisen; die dort gebotene reiche Literatur bietet auch zu dem Elephantine-Vorkommen das Nötige, und ich trage dazu nur noch Epsteins Aufsatz in *ZATW* 1912, S. 139 ff. und Dr. Hedwig Anneler „Zur Geschichte der Juden in Elephantine", Bern 1912, nach. Ohne weitere religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen wird für unsere Stelle folgendes genügen. Liest man hier nach 2 Kön. 17 30 אֲשֵׁמַת[52], — daß der *stat. constr.* eines Eigennamens immerhin ungewöhnlich wäre, hebt König S. 17 richtig hervor — so schafft man jener Stelle gegenüber zunächst das *novum* der Ašima von Samaria statt der von Ḥamāt; man muß ferner, wenn sie sich schon bei Amos findet, mit Ed. Meyer (vgl. auch Greßmann[2] S. 349)

[50] Als ursprünglich halten die Worte in diesem Sinne van Hoonacker und Ed. König (*ZATW* 1914, S. 18); aber wie sollte der Schwörende, den Amos anführt, die Schuld Samariens im Sinne von Hos. 10 8 anerkennen und vollends anrufen? Siehe unten auch W. R. Smiths Auffassung.

[51] Zu den von Ed. König a. a. O. S. 17 Fußn. 2 aufgeführten Namen füge ich noch Greßmann und L. Köhler, während Sellin neuerdings fortfällt.

[52] Ob אשימא an jener Stelle eine weibliche oder eine männliche Gottheit bezeichnet, ist ja nicht ohne weiteres sicher, vgl. König a. a. O. S. 21 f.

feststellen, daß die Nachricht von der späten Einwanderung dieses Dienstes irrig, nach Meyer „tendenziös erfunden", sei. Es fragt sich doch sehr, ob der Tatbestand solche Wagnisse fordert und ein entsprechender Gewinn für die Auslegung der Stelle sie lohnt. Ich muß es für sehr unwahrscheinlich halten, daß hier der Eid bei einer fremden Gottheit angeführt, nach des Propheten Urteil (vgl. 5 26) also schlechtweg Götzendienst ganz nebenbei, in einer Reihe mit Kultgegenständen aus Jahwes Kreise, festgestellt würde. Was Amos hier kennzeichnen will, ist, wie in Kap. 4 4 f.; 5 21–23, vielmehr bigotter, auf besondere Gegenstände oder *opera operata* sich versteifender Jahwedienst, kraft dessen man sich seines Beistandes auf jeden Fall versichert hält. Spricht man daher MT richtig בְּאֶשְׁמַת, so kann ich darin nur vermeintliche Berichtigung nach 2 Kön. 17 30 sehen, die sich um den anachronistischen Widerspruch nicht grämte. Die Vorlage kann dann recht wohl בַּאֲשֵׁרַת gewesen sein, was W. R. Smith unter der „Schuld Samarias" verstand (*The prophets of Israel* 1895, p. 140), und Stade, Graetz, Oort, Elhorst usw. für באשמת einsetzten. In der Tat ist der heilige Pfahl von Samaria die Kultbesonderheit, die Kultsünde, die uns für diese Stadt ausdrücklich bezeugt wird (1 Kön. 16 33; 2 Kön. 13 6); sie muß daher großen Ruf genossen haben, so daß wir uns gar nicht wundern könnten, daß man sie im Eide anriefe. Und anderseits wird אשרה in späteren Stellen des AT so oft als Eigenname einer, bzw. der sonst unter diesem Namen bekannten, Göttin mißverstanden, daß man es wohl begreifen kann, wenn man später daraus den Namen einer anderen, für das Land Samarien bezeugten Göttin gemacht hätte. Ich muß also בַּאֲשֵׁרַת für die wahrscheinlichste Lesung und Lösung halten, bin aber natürlich weit entfernt, Sicherheit dafür in Anspruch zu nehmen. — An dem Wortlaut des zweiten Schwures hat niemand Anstoß genommen außer Baumann, der אֱלֹהַי statt אלהיך lesen will und damit dem Wortlaut etwas von seiner Lebendigkeit nimmt. Der Gott des Wallfahrtsheiligtums von Dan — als Ortsname muß דן doch neben שמרון und באר שבע gefaßt werden, obgleich die Punktatoren nach dem Maskulinsuffix אלהיך wohl an den Stamm dachten — ist natürlich kein

anderer als Jahwe; aber seine Offenbarung in Dan wird von der an andern Orten unterschieden und größere Macht und Wirkung ihr zugeschrieben, wie 2 Sam. 15 7 die in Hebron, und im Grunde ist „der Gott Dans“ nur das berühmte alte Kultbild, das nach Richt. 18 30 der Stamm Dan dorthin mitgenommen hat. — Der dritte Schwur חי דרך באר שבע ist wieder stark angefochten. Dafür darf man sich nicht auf LXX ὁ θεός σου berufen; vielmehr wiederholt sie, weil ihr das דרך unverständlich oder nicht geheuer ist, einfach die Wendung aus dem vorhergehenden Schwure.[53] Immerhin bleibt der Verdacht (vgl. Wellhausen), daß in dem Schlußbuchstaben von דרך ebenfalls wie in אלהיך das „dein“ der Anrede stecke: ohne Grund, weil die Musterlese je bunter, desto besser ist. אַדַּרְךָ, פַּחֲדְךָ, אֱלֹהֶיךָ, אֲדֹנֶיךָ, endlich, graphisch am feinsten, אַדְּרֶךָ (Halévy) führt Harper als Versuche aus älterer Zeit auf; heute streiten בֶּרֶךְ = בְּאֵרֶךְ (Wellhausen, Elhorst usw.) oder בְּאֵרֶךְ = בֶּרֶךְ Jer. 2 13 (Ehrlich) und דֶּרֶךְ, graphisch auch besonders leicht (Hoffmann, Cheyne, Winckler, v. Gall, Oettli, Marti usw.) um den Vorrang. Das erste davon ist schon darum unwahrscheinlich, weil der Ort doch wohl „Siebenbrunnen“ heißt und in der Tat bis heute eine Anzahl Brunnen aufweist. Den religiösen Gebrauch von דוד „Geliebter, Vatersbruder“, etwa in dem Sinne „Patron“ (Hoffmann geradezu „Geliebter“), muß man, wenn man so liest, erst für Israel postulieren; daß er gerade für Beēršèbaʿ im Schwange war, noch dazu. Ich weiß nicht, ob ein so schöpferisches Vorgehen durch den Tatbestand gerechtfertigt wird. Daß die Schwurformel חי nur bei Personen möglich sei (Oettli, wohl auch von Ehrlich gemeint), läßt sich doch durch den regelrechten, feierlichen Gebrauch nicht erhärten. Kamen auch in Israel Schwüre vor, wie sie Doughty (*Arabia Deserta* I, 269) mit „bei dem Leben dieses Feuers“ oder „dieses Kaffees“ bezeugt — und daran zu zweifeln haben wir keinen Anlaß — so wird sich Amos ein Pröbchen davon hier erst recht nicht haben entgehn lassen. Natür-

[53] Beides zu addieren, אֱלֹהֶיךָ דרך „so wahr dein Gott lebt“ gegen Beerseba, so daß nur hier vor dem Orte gesagt würde, daß man in der Richtung nach ihm hin spreche (Rießler), schafft doch nur den übelsten Ballast.

lich heißt dabei דרך weder „die Straße nach“ noch „der Brauch von“, sondern „die Reise, die Wallfahrt nach“ Beēršèbaʿ, und wie für die heutigen Araber der Schwur bei der Wallfahrt nach Mekka bezeugt ist (vgl. G. Baur und G. A. Smith bei Driver z. St.); wie wir uns nicht wundern würden, wenn unsre Väter im Mittelalter, wie beim heiligen Blut von Wilsnack, so auch bei der Wallfahrt nach Compostella oder beim Kreuzzug ins Gelobte Land geschworen hätten: so kann der Schwur bei der weitesten und sicher auch gefährlichsten Wallfahrt Altisraels, einer hochheiligen, höchst verdienstlichen Handlung, in keiner Weise überraschen. Ich bleibe also gern, u. a. mit Driver, Harper und Duhm, beim überlieferten Wortlaut und halte ihn für reichlich so gut wie alles, was man zu seinem Ersatze vorgeschlagen hat. Freizugeben ist daneben דַּרְכֵּךְ. — Daß 14 b nicht die ursprüngliche Fortsetzung von a sein kann, ist oben schon festgestellt. Duhm fügt hinter ונפלו m. c. ein בדרך ein, was doch, wenn man den Zusammenhang mit a, ob ursprünglich oder nicht, festhält, recht ungeeignet wäre, weil es auf das דרך des dritten Schwurs zurückschlagen und so die Aussage darauf beschränken würde.

XII. DAS FÜNFTE GESICHT UND DER SCHLUSS DES BUCHES, KAP. 9

Das Schlußkapitel bietet in seinem Aufbau wesentlich dasselbe Bild wie das vorhergehende: voran ein Gesicht, von Jahwe ausgelegt (V. 1–4); dann wie in 8 8 so auch hier ein handgreiflicher beschaulicher Einschub (V. 5 f.), noch fremder in seiner Umgebung; weiter bis zum Ende hin mehrere neue Ansätze, bei deren jedem die Frage, ob vollständige Rede oder Bruchstück, ob Amos oder fremde Hand, von neuem entschieden werden muß. Haben wir dort von V. 4 an lauter Anhänge festgestellt, so ergibt sich mit Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß, wie das vierte Gesicht 8 1–3 ursprünglich unmittelbar an das dritte (7 7–9) anschloß, so auch das fünfte und letzte in 9 1–4 ursprünglich an das vierte. Und der weitere Bestand des Schlußkapitels dürfte sich dann wieder ähnlich erklären wie der von Kap. 7 und 8 hinter den Gesichten: als Unterbringung

des Stoffs, der noch zur Verfügung stand, in loser Aneinanderreihung, der hie und da durch Eingriffe nachgeholfen ist.

V. 1–4. Das fünfte Gesicht. Nirgends finde ich die starke Abweichung der Einführung dieses Gesichts von der ganz stehenden Gestalt der Einführung aller anderen hervorgehoben. Warum heißt es nicht auch hier כֹּה הֶרְאַנִי אֲדֹנָי יהוה וְהִנֵּה אדני נצב וג׳ (vgl. 7 1, 4; 8 1, besonders aber 7 7)? Da die folgenden Worte sicher stark beschädigt sind, liegt es doch nahe anzunehmen, daß dabei auch der Eingang des Stücks Schaden genommen hätte. Um ein Gesicht handelt es sich ja auch hier zweifellos, und was Amos sollte veranlaßt haben, nur hier von der stehenden Einführung abzuweichen, ist doch nicht einzusehen. Soweit oben gegeben, würde diese herkömmliche Gestalt sachlich von der überlieferten in keiner Weise abweichen. Aber nimmt man solche Schädigung einmal an, so könnte ihr auch mehr zum Opfer gefallen sein. Ob man mit MT den Propheten (einen Engel?) zuschlagen läßt, oder, wie fast alle Neueren annehmen und ändern, Jahwe selbst: in jedem Falle läßt sich das geeignete Werkzeug vermissen; denn so schlägt man doch nicht mit der Hand oder Faust. Ich halte deshalb für sehr wahrscheinlich, daß hinter המזבח wie in 7 7 mit einem וּבְיָדוֹ das Werkzeug folgte, wohl ein Hammer, פַּטִּישׁ eher als מַקֶּבֶת. Nach den letzten Seitenstücken, 7 8 und 8 2, würde darauf, mit ויאמר eingeleitet, die Frage Jahwes folgen „Was siehest du, Amos?“, und die Antwort „Einen Hammer“, und dann erst mit neuem ויאמר die Ansage des Gebrauchs, den Jahwe von dem Werkzeuge machen will, das Schlagen und Zerstören. Sachlich würde diese Ergänzung wieder keinerlei Änderung herbeiführen. Der Ausfall dieser Frage und Antwort würde sich durch die gleiche Einführung mit ויאמר verhältnismäßig leicht erklären. Sie muß außer Betracht bleiben, wenn man mit Volz, Marti, Sellin das ויאמר hinter הספים versetzt und mit einem וַיַּךְ (weiter וירעשו) Jahwe in dem Gesichte sofort zum Handeln übergehn läßt. Aber das ist auch, so leicht und verlockend es erscheinen mag, sicher falsch, weil es dann bei dem bloßen Schüttern der Schwellen sein Bewenden hat, eine Zerstörung aber, wie das Folgende sie deutlich ansagt, nicht erfolgt. Es wird also bei dem An-

sagen des Schlagens und der unmittelbaren Fortsetzung des Handelns hinter הספים bleiben müssen, und da ernsthaft dafür nur Jahwe in Betracht kommen kann, wird eine Textänderung in dieser Richtung unvermeidlich. Das Seitenstück 7 8 würde dafür הִנְנִי מַכֶּה an die Hand geben, was in der Tat das Beste wäre, aber graphisch doch recht weit ab liegt. Schon Graetz hatte an אַכֶּה gedacht; neuerdings hat Duhms הַכֵּה viel Anklang gefunden (Greßmann, Praetorius), als *inf. abs.* im Sinne der 1. p. sing., graphisch sehr leicht, syntaktisch wenig wahrscheinlich. Aber ganz leicht vereinigt sich beides, הַכֵּה אַכֶּה הכפתור, was ich in der Tat vertreten möchte. Durch ein Gleiten vom ersten auf das dritte ה entstand MT. — Über die Örtlichkeit des Gesichts ist man notgedrungen einverstanden: der Altar, bei dem Jahwe steht, kann, weil der Ort nicht genannt, sondern als selbstverständlich vorausgesetzt wird, wohl nur der bei dem Gotteshause in Bethel sein. Der Gegenstand, den Jahwe von diesem Standort aus (mit oder ohne Werkzeug) schlagen oder treffen will, ist הכפתור, was man nach Zeph. 2 14 mit Recht als „Säulenknauf, Kapitell" deutet. Daneben kann dann ספים auch nur einen Bauteil bedeuten, also „Schwellen", und zwar, wie überall, die Unterschwellen, so daß ausgesagt wird, daß die Erschütterung durch den Schlag, der die obersten Bauglieder trifft, bis in die untersten Schichten des Baus fortwirken wird, der Schlag also mit höchster Kraft geführt werden wird. Der Artikel von הכפתור ist der sogenannte generelle, „das in Betracht kommende, d. i. ein Kapitell", vgl. Ges.-Kautzsch 126 q—s. Daß LXX dies seltene Wort nicht verstanden, sondern mit ihrem ἱλαστήριον unter Stellentausch der beiden letzten Konsonanten für das ihnen geläufige כַּפֹּרֶת genommen haben, entspricht nur ihrem Verfahren in ungezählten anderen Fällen, ist daher mit Recht bis in die neueste Zeit nicht verwertet worden. Erst Rießler gewinnt daraus כְּפוֹר „Schale" und stellt dann unter Streichung von וירעשו הספים als Glosse her הַכֵּה כְּפוֹר וּבְצֻעֵהוּ „zerschlage die Schale und wirf sie ihnen allen an die Köpfe!" So soll der Prophet mit einer vermutlich zu Kultzwecken dienenden Schale tun als Sinnbild für die Vernichtung von Reich und Volk Israel. Man fragt sich vergeblich, wie der Prophet das

im Gesichte ausführen soll, und was so überhaupt von dem Gesichte übrig bleibt. Eine sinnbildliche Handlung wäre es und weiter nichts; wie Amos imstande sein sollte sie zu vollziehen wäre die weitere Frage. Die Fortsetzung durch לא־ינום וגו׳ — der Satz davor wird wieder als Glosse gestrichen — ist unbefriedigend. Mehr im Rahmen des Gesichts bleibt Sellin. Er gewinnt nach וְנֵךְ im Anschluß an Rießler הַכְּפֹרֶת „die Becher", wonach dann הַסִּפִּים „die Schalen" bedeutet. Jahwe stehe vor dem Altare, drum müsse, worauf er schlägt, an oder auf dem Altare gesucht werden. Nicht vor, sondern bei oder neben dem Altare steht Jahwe, das heißt mit Wahrscheinlichkeit vor dem Gotteshause, wo eben die Stelle dieses Hauptstücks des Gottesdienstes ist. Daß Jahwes Riesengestalt von dort aus ein Kapitell der Tragsäulen des Gotteshauses treffen kann, läßt sich nicht bezweifeln. Ein Zerschmettern des Altars würde sich auch begreifen lassen[54]; aber כפתור läßt sich nicht als ein Teil von diesem verstehn. Wenn aber Sellin Jahwe „die Becher" (natürlich gottesdienstlich verwendete) schlagen oder zerschlagen läßt, während die Schalen davon nur erbeben, so heißt das doch nicht, wie er S. 217 gesperrt druckt, „Zerschlagung des Altars in Bethel". Und „an oder auf dem Altar sollen die Becher und Schalen gesucht werden"; da es sich zweifellos um einen Brandopferaltar handelt, so bietet er für solche Geräte die denkbar schlechteste Fläche, während doch hier nur selbstverständliche, gegebene Verhältnisse verwendet sein können.[55] Die bei den gottesdienstlichen Handlungen gebrauchten Becher und Schalen sind ferner ein viel zu geringfügiger Gegenstand des geschauten Handelns Jahwes, und daß eine Anzahl der ersteren getroffen, vielleicht zerschlagen, die anderen nur unschädlich erschüttert werden, eine so kleine, zahme Wirkung, daß gar nicht abzusehen ist, wie das zur Ansage der Vernichtung sollte verwendet sein. Es ist also durchaus bei der alten Deutung, Kapitell und Schwellen, zu bleiben. Auch Ehrlichs rein hypothetisch-sprichwört-

[54] So Ewald, und noch Harper.

[55] So Sellin S. 219: „Der Altar . . . ist hergerichtet zu der heiligen Handlung, er ist bedeckt mit Bechern, Pfannen und Schalen usw." Es ist schwer begreiflich, wie Sellin solchen Tatbestand begründen will.

liche Deutung „Schlag (= schlägt man) an den Knauf, so erbeben die Schwellen“ ist sicher falsch, weil Amos dann gar nichts gesehen hätte als Jahwe, der doch zu ihm reden konnte, ohne ihm im Gesicht zu erscheinen. — Die, wie immer punktiert, hier unverwendbare Form וּבְצַעַם beweist noch fernerhin die arge Verderbnis des Wortlauts.[56] Durchaus verständigerweise sucht man hier die Ansage, daß Jahwe das Gotteshaus von Bethel, als massives Steingebäude gedacht, über den Häuptern der Festteilnehmer werde zusammenstürzen machen, ähnlich wie Simson das Festhaus — unsre Alten sagten Hochzeitshaus — der Philister Richt. 16 28 ff. Die unbrauchbare Verbalform kann durch den falschen Imperativ הַךְ herbeigeführt sein und verbessert sich leicht in die 1. sing. Impf. (Oort, Graetz usw.). Das Tatwort בצע ist vielfach zu schwach und ungeeignet erschienen, besonders wenn die Bautrümmer das Objekt bilden, und man hat dafür an פצע, נפץ, רעץ gedacht, von denen das letzte am ersten sich empfehlen mag. Sind die bedrohten Menschen das Objekt, so mag בצע als „abschneiden, ein Ende machen mit“ (Hi. 6 9; 27 8) sich halten lassen. Die damit berührte Frage, worauf das Suffix der Form אֶבְצָעֵם oder אֶרְעָצֵם geht, ist die allerschwierigste. Sinds die mörderischen Bautrümmer, so müßte es sich jetzt auf הַסִּפִּים beziehen; die Unterschwellen des Baus aber können auch bei seinem Einsturz niemandem Gefahr drohen. Man müßte daher den Ausfall einer Zeile annehmen, die das geeignete Beziehungswort enthalten hätte. Die Bedrohten dagegen mag

[56] Nur als Zeugnis für das Elend unpunktierter und schadhaft überlieferter Konsonantentexte führe ich die scharfsinnige Lesung von Elhorst an: וּבֹצְעֵי בָצַע מִבַּר אֲשַׁכְּלֵם „und die Kornwucherer, ich will sie kinderlos machen“, die außer der Annahme eines Übersehens genau die überlieferten Buchstaben benutzt und damit in Anlehnung an 8 5 f. einen Sinn gewinnt, der nicht hierher gehört. Vortrefflich aber paßt, was Elhorst so gewinnt, zu der Forderung Löhrs, der 9 1 aβ b (von ואחריתם an) an 8 3, 4 a und Teile der Verse 13, 14 anschließt, vorher aber noch eine Stiche fordert. „Vielleicht steckt dieselbe in ובצעם בראש כלם. Sicherlich ist noch etwas über die Kornwucherer bezw. deren Familienanhang gesagt, im Anschluß woran es dann heißt:“ folgt 9 1 b. Elhorsts Buch stand mir nicht zu Gebote; doch scheint es, daß er sich an Löhr anschließt.

man ohne vorausgehendes Beziehungswort darin finden, wie man es auch in כלם und der Fortsetzung muß; aber eben das „auf ihrer aller Haupt“ macht das zunächst unmöglich. Von den Versuchen das aus dem Wege zu räumen ist keiner recht überzeugend. Volz (Marti, Sellin) liest בְּרַעַשׁ für בראש; aber abgesehen davon, daß dann das unmittelbare Werkzeug, die Trümmer des Baus, ausgeschaltet wäre, wird damit in das Gesicht die platte Wirklichkeit eingeführt, was keine Verbesserung ist. Daß sonst nirgends das Endgericht gerade von einem Erdbeben erwartet wird, und zwar begreiflicherweise, will ebenfalls beachtet sein. Duhm und Greßmann beseitigen das Suffix mit einem kühnen *perfectum consec.;* aber des ersteren וּפָצַעְתִּי mit כֻּלָּם als Akkusativ, „Ich treff auf den Kopf sie alle“ ist kein gutes Hebräisch[57], und Greßmanns וּפָצַעְתִּי לָרֹאשׁ lenkt unschön in ein andres Bild hinüber. Praetorius' Vorschlag, יְצָעִים für ובצעם herzustellen, „ausgebreitet zu Häupten[?] aller“, und die drei Worte dann als Glosse zu הספים zu streichen, ist die letzte Verzweiflungstat. Ich weiß keine einleuchtende Lösung vorzuschlagen, es sei denn, was oben angedeutet wurde, den Ausfall einer Zeile hinter הספים, die dann das Beziehungswort für das Suffix der folgenden Verbalform brächte, etwa, nur um die Möglichkeit zu veranschaulichen, וְנִפַּצְתִּי הַבַּיִת רַסִּיסִים, vgl. 6 11. Dann könnte auch ein לבצעם, oder welches Verbum man einsetzen will, ein Infinitiv mit ל also, folgen. Dieser oder ein ähnlicher Wortlaut brauchte keineswegs nur auf ein Erdbeben, und nichts andres, gedeutet zu werden. Er sagt im Grunde nicht mehr, als daß Jahwe zugleich dem Gotteshause und seinen Besuchern ein Ende machen, beide miteinander werde untergehn lassen. Der Schlag, und etwa der Hammer, mit dem er getan werden soll, ist nur Sinnbild; feindliche Heeresmacht kann recht wohl als die Wirklichkeit dafür eintreten, wie denn das Schwert im nächsten Satze ausdrücklich eingeführt wird, um auch die letzten (1 8; 4 2) zu würgen. An diesem Satze und dem zweiten Halbverse ist nicht das Geringste auszusetzen. Die Bedrohten, nur mit „sie“

[57] כלם wird auch bei dieser Herstellung Genetiv zu בראש bleiben müssen.

eingeführt, weil jeder weiß, wer gemeint ist, sind die herrschenden und leitenden Stände des Nordreichs, gegen die sich des Amos Angriffe überall richten, nicht das Volk im ganzen Umfang.[58] — V. 2–4 erschöpfen alle Zufluchtsorte, an denen die Bedrohten sich könnten zu bergen suchen, bis zum Unmöglichen, der Unterwelt, dem Himmel und dem Meeresgrund, wie Ps. 139 7–12, und zeigen damit zugleich, daß Jahwe für Amos der Herrscher über die ganze Welt ist, keiner ihrer Räume seiner Macht entzogen. Ob der נחש auf dem Meeresgrunde der chaotische Drache von Jes. 51 9 f.; Hi. 9 13; 26 12; Ps. 89 11, und damit das personifizierte Meer selbst ist, erscheint doch recht zweifelhaft; vielmehr weiß man von Ungeheuern, die das Meer bevölkern (Gen. 1 21), und sie stehn ihrem Schöpfer zu Diensten, so daß Jahwe aufrufen kann, welches er braucht. — An dem Wortlaut der drei Verse ist nichts auszusetzen, wenn man von metrischen Ansprüchen und Nöten absieht, die Duhm zu einer Anzahl von Streichungen Anlaß geben. Insbesondere soll man das hartnäckige משם, das fünfmal unerbittlich wiederkehrt, auch da nicht antasten, wo LXX das מן meint fortlassen zu müssen. Auch das מנגד עיני in V. 3 ist sehr bezeichnend. Selbst in die Unterwelt dringt Jahwes Auge und Hand; aber das Wasser ist auch ihm ein fremdes Element, für das er Stellvertretung braucht. Und nicht minder ist das לפני איביהם in V. 4 wertvoll, weil es den Auftritt anschaulich macht, wie sie als willenlose Herde vorangetrieben werden. Wichtig ist auch die schöne Übereinstimmung von 9 4 mit 6 7, wo die Schuldigen den Vortrab des Zugs der Verbannten bilden. Am ersten könnte man auf 4b verzichten, den Guthe als matten Zusatz streicht (so auch Nowack und Rießler); indessen ist der Ausdruck doch gut (vgl. auch V. 8) und eine Schlußzusammenfassung des Ganzen nicht übel am Platze. — Was den ganzen Zusammenhang V. 1–4 angeht, so liegt kein Grund vor zu bezweifeln, daß Amos sich bewußt war, die darin enthaltene, in sich geschlossene Rede Jahwes mit und in dem zu Anfang geschilderten Gesicht gehört und empfangen zu haben (vgl. 7 9; 8 3). Das ist besonders zu betonen gegenüber Löhr, der 9 1

[58] Vgl. unten zu V. 9

bis הספים nebst V. 7 versuchsweise an 3 14 anschließt, den Rest von V. 1 an Teile von Kap. 8 (s. oben Fußnote zu S. 103), die Echtheit von V. 2 und 4 b bestreitet und in V. 3 und 4 a einen Abschluß für die zweite Hälfte von V. 1 sucht (S. 76), ohne sie doch in sein Strophenschema aufzunehmen.[59] Die Verse machen in ihrem überlieferten Bestand durchaus nicht den Eindruck, als wenn sie so mühselig zusammengestoppelt wären. Der volle Abschluß des Stücks ist aber auch sichtlich mit V. 4 erreicht.

V. 5, 6. Der doxologische Einschub. Der letzte dieser befremdlichen Einschübe, dessen Vorgänger wir in 4 13; 5 8 f. und 8 8 festgestellt haben. Schwerlich bezeichnen sie, wie Guthe-Kautzsch[4] zu 4 13 und 9 5 f. (Guthe-Kautzsch[3] auch zu 5 5 f.) anmerkt, ursprünglich jedesmal den Schluß einer kleinen Sammlung von Aussprüchen des Amos; wäre das so, so müßten sie doch mit diesen Einzelsammlungen von verschiedener Stelle und damit diese Sammlervermerke von verschiedenen Händen stammen. Sie sind aber so gleichartig, daß man sie unbedingt der gleichen Hand zuweisen muß, ja sich versucht fühlen möchte, sie zu einem geschlossenen Lobpreis des Schöpfergottes zusammenzufügen, aus dem der Sammler und Ordner, der sie einfügte, hier dieses, dort jenes Stück entnahm, auch dieses oder jenes doppelt verwendete.[60] Dieses letzte hat mit der ersten Doxologie 4 13 den Schlußsatz gemeinsam, mit der zweiten 9 5 b = 5 8 b, mit 8 8 fast dessen ganzen Bestand. Sicherer als einen Abschluß bezeichnen diese Einschübe eine Lücke, die der Sammler nicht mit ursprünglichem Stoff auszufüllen wußte, so daß er, vielleicht nur vorläufig, Lückenbüßer dafür einfügte. Daß vor V. 7 der Anfang der Rede fortgebrochen ist, dürfte daher aus dem Einschub der Doxologie am ersten zu entnehmen sein. — V. 5. „Amos sagt nicht יהוה

[59] Praetorius 1915 bezweifelt die Echtheit von 3 a, wesentlich *m. c.*

[60] Man könnte etwa an folgenden Zusammenhang denken: 9 6 a Erschaffung des Weltalls, 5 8 der Gestirne und des Regens, 4 13 a α γ des Donners und Winds, Eingreifen im Gewitter, 9 5 a β b ebenso im Erdbeben, 4 13 b (= 9 6 b γ) das alles auf Jahwes Namen vereinigt. Man möchte darin einen Psalm oder besser einen Teil eines Psalms sehen, wie denn H. Schmidt 9 5 f. einen Psalm, ähnlich Ps. 104, nennt.

הצבאות, sondern "יהוה אלהי הצ", so Wellhausen. Das bietet LXX, und es wird nach 3 13; 6 14 auch hier aufzunehmen sein, obgleich der Vers nicht von Amos stammt. Fragen mag man hier wie in 3 13, ob אדני יהוה und יהוה אלהי הצבאות etwa Wahllesarten sind, die dann übergewissenhaft vereinigt wurden.[61] Ursprünglich wird der Gottesname hier ganz gefehlt haben, weil erst V. 6 zum Schluß auf das „Jahwe ist sein Name" alle vorhergehenden Aussagen in höchster Steigerung vereinigt. Es geht nicht an, daß das Prädikat durch das gleichlautende Subjekt vorweggenommen wird. Allenfalls könnte schon der Sammler und Ordner, der die Doxologie einschob, diesen logischen Fehler begangen haben, um seinem Einschub mehr Halt zu geben; aber in 4 13; 5 8 hat er doch bei gleicher Not solche Mittel verschmäht. Und da vollends zwei Wahllesarten nebeneinander stehn, ist es doch wahrscheinlich, daß man erst später das Bedürfnis empfunden und in verschiedener Gestalt Abhilfe versucht hat. — Jahwe braucht die Erde nur anzurühren, so gerät sie schon ins Wogen und Schwanken. Ohne jeden Zweifel muß vor ועלתה gesprochen werden וְתָמוֹג; nicht von einem einmaligen Handeln ist die Rede, sondern von jedem Erdbeben. — Der Satz a γ ist wohl aus 8 8 hierher zurückgetragen (vgl. zu jener Stelle); er gehört nicht in die Doxologie. — b schließt unmittelbar an ותמוג an; daß der Dichter das plötzliche und schnelle Steigen und Fallen der Erdrinde mit dem regelmäßigen und langsamen Steigen und Fallen des Nils vergleicht, müssen wir uns gefallen lassen, und Wellhausen urteilt darüber wohl zu scharf; die Zeilen in 8 8 für Amos festzuhalten und hier zu streichen (Oettli) ist doch Willkür. — Zum Einzelnen vergleiche, was oben zu 8 8 gesagt ist. Das erste כיאר ist dem כאר dort gegenüber richtig, hat aber schwerlich von Anfang an neben dem determinierten כיאר מצרים der folgenden Zeile gestanden. Vielmehr wird die erste Stelle ein weniger bekannter Name des Nils eingenommen haben, der dann durch כיאר מצרים erläutert wurde, wahrscheinlich כְּשִׁיחֹר (Jes. 23 3; Jer. 2 18).[62] — V. 6. Über עֲלִיָּתוֹ

[61] Wenn Rießler יהוה אלהים הצבאות nach LXX herstellt, so ist das doch wohl nur ein Versehen.

[62] Rießlers כַּיְאֹר כִּלְאַיִם statt כיאר כלה, „wie der Doppelfluß" = Euphrat

oder עֲלִיָּתוֹ (nach Ps. 104 3, 13) für מעלתו sind seit Wellhausen wohl alle einverstanden. Das Seitenstück אגדתו „sein Gebinde, sein Gewölbe", ebenfalls für den Himmel, ist durchaus nicht anzufechten, weder durch den haltlosen Anspruch Ehrlichs, daß es dann אגדתם, auf שמים bezüglich, heißen müßte, noch durch *τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν* der LXX, das schwerlich aus einem *στραγγαλιάν* verdorben ist — so Marti und Rießler nach einer Anführung bei Schleusner — sondern auf falscher Ableitung von הגיד beruht (so schon Schleusner). Auch אַשְׁדָּתָיו (Praetorius 1914) ist keine Verbesserung. — Über b vgl. zu 5 8 b, der ganz genau gleich lautet. Wie dort ist auch hier וישפכם zu sprechen (vgl. zu ותמוג in V. 5), weil es sich nicht um ein einmaliges Tun Jahwes handelt, sondern um sein tägliches Verfahren zur Erzeugung des Regens. Zwischen יהוה und שמו wird nach LXX B צְבָאוֹת oder nach AQ אֱלֹהֵי הַצְּבָאוֹת zu ergänzen sein, nicht nur wegen der Kürze der Zeile, sondern auch, weil möglichst feierliche Gestalt des Gottesnamens hier am Platze ist.

V. 7–10. Gerichtsansage. Es ist zu V. 5, 6 hervorgehoben worden, daß dieser Einschub mit Wahrscheinlichkeit eine Lücke bezeugt und daher, da V. 4 den vollen Abschluß des vorhergehenden Stücks darstellt, auf Unvollständigkeit des Eingangs des folgenden zu schließen ist. Nun ist zwar der Sinn von V. 7 durchaus klar: daß Jahwe sich, so gut wie Israels in der Ausführung aus Ägypten, auch anderer Völker angenommen habe, Israel ihm also nicht mehr gelte als jedes beliebige von jenen.[63] Aber mit dieser Belehrung wird doch ein Irrtum berichtigt, und zwar der der Vertrauensseligkeit Israels, das „Wir haben Abraham zum Vater" (Matth. 3 9; Luk. 3 8, vgl. auch Joh. 8 33 ff.), und dieser Irrtum, dieser falsche Anspruch, sollte vorher in Worte gefaßt sein, wie Amos in 6 13 die stolzen und vertrauensseligen Israeliten redend einführt, und das ganze sechste Kapitel dieser gefährlichen Stimmung, mit deutlicher Erhebung der Anklage schon in V. 1, gewidmet ist. In der Tat schlägt auch in

und Tigris, so daß beim Steigen dieser, beim Fallen der Nil gemeint wäre, ist weder sprachlich noch sachlich ein glücklicher Fund.

[63] Unmöglich ist Ehrlichs Deutung „Betragt ihr euch nicht gegen mich wie die Kuschiten?"

unsrem Kapitel V. 10 mit einer Fassung für diese Stimmung deutlich auf solche Aussage zurück. Der einzige mir bekannte Versuch, unsren Vers (samt der Fortsetzung) einem Zusammenhang einzuverleiben, der von Sellin — vgl. mein Urteil darüber in dieser Zeitschrift vol. XLIII, 1924, p. 77 f. — sieht den Verlust eines solchen Eingangs nicht vor, sondern schickt dem Stück in 3 1 a nur eine Aufforderung zum Hören voraus, die 9 7 erst recht zum vollen Anfang stempelt; ja dieser ganze Umstellungsvorschlag dient nur dem vermeintlich verloren dastehenden Verse 3 2, nicht unsrem Stück. Daß aber V. 7 eine Fortsetzung verlangt und in unsrem Wortlaut auch findet, nicht, wie die meisten Neueren annehmen, ganz für sich dasteht und etwa gar den letzten Schluß des echten Buches darstellt, hat Sellin richtig erkannt, wie denn auch Ludwig Köhler einen Zusammenhang zu suchen scheint. — V. 7. Mit Recht stellt Duhm MT gegenüber כַּכֻּשִׁיִּים oder כְּבְנֵי כוּשׁ zur Wahl; ersteres wird richtig, die Verderbnis durch Angleichung an בני ישראל herbeigeführt sein.[64] Die Kuschiten sind wohl nur als eins der fernsten Völker, vom Rande der Erde, daher für Jahwe eines der gleichgültigsten, herausgegriffen, nicht wegen ihrer Hautfarbe (Jer. 13 23), Ein halbes Jahrhundert nach Amos wären sie schwerlich mehr so verwendet worden. — Die Echtheit des נאם יהוה ist neuerdings auf Grund metrischer Bedürfnisse mehrfach angefochten worden. Sachlich und rednerisch paßt es vortrefflich hierher. — את־ישראל: man möchte wohl אֶתְכֶם erwarten, aber das dürfte vermieden sein, weil nicht das gegenwärtige Geschlecht jene Heilstat Jahwes erlebt hat; so möchte denn auch ישראל von בני ישראל, den gegenwärtigen Nachkommen, fein unterschieden werden. — Die Herkunft der Philister aus Kaphtôr ist eine geläufige, allbekannte Tatsache, vgl. Jer. 47 4, ursprünglich auch wohl Gen. 10 14 und Deut. 2 23, wo die Aussage jetzt verdunkelt ist; daß Jahwe es gewesen, der sie von dort geholt hat, sagt er uns nur hier bei Amos. Zur Herkunft der

[64] Eine arge Verirrung ist Rießlers כבני כְּשִׁיִּים „Seid ihr nicht wie die Söhne von Verhätschelten?“ eigentlich „Gemästeten“, nach dem höchst unsicheren Vorkommen Deut. 32 15. Er muß dann gleich diesen Satz (a) als Glosse von b trennen, der ihm übrigens auch nicht von Amos herstammt.

Aramäer aus Ḳîr vgl. 1 5 und meine Ausführungen dazu (p. 56f.).[65] — Die Echtheit dieses unerfindbaren Verses ist meines Wissens noch nie bestritten worden. — V. 8 Daß V. 8 unecht sei, habe ich selbst früher angenommen, indem ich anheimgab, in V. 7, 9–11, 14, 15 eine echte Grundlage des Schlußabschnitts anzuerkennen (Altisr. Religion S. 141). Der Vers ist freilich in der überlieferten Gestalt nach Form wie Inhalt gleich schlecht zu brauchen. Indessen den Widerspruch zwischen der dritten Person Jahwes und seinem Ich hat schon Oort beseitigt (jetzt auch Guthe, Rießler, Köbler, Sellin), indem er עֵינֵי und nicht עֵינֵי spricht; die beiden folgenden Gottesnamen werden einfach Ausfüllung der durch das falsche Verständnis entstandenen Lücke sein und brauchen nicht mit Oort zu einem überflüssigen נְאֻם יהוה ausgebaut zu werden. Der zweite Halbvers von אפס an ist sicher Zusatz, da er dem ersten geradezu ins Gesicht schlägt, wenn בית יעקב dasselbe ist wie הממלכה החטאה, und nicht hierher gehört, wenn er die Schonung einer anderen Größe aussagt. Offenbar handelt es sich um eine mitleidige Randbemerkung, so wie wir sie auch in Jer. 4 27, 5 18 finden. Sicher fußt sie schon auf falscher Auffassung des הממלכה החטאה, wie ich denn die richtige bisher nirgends gefunden habe. Nicht ein bestimmtes sündiges oder sündigendes[66] Königreich, und dann eben, wie man weitüberwiegend annimmt, Nordisrael, ist damit gemeint, sondern das in dem einzelnen Falle, das eben zu der in Betracht kommenden Zeit in Sünde verfallene, möge es Kusch heißen oder Philistäa, Aram oder Israel, oder wie sonst immer[67]. Die Musterkarte läßt sich aus Kap. 1. 2 noch erheblich erweitern, und zugleich beweisen diese Kapitel, daß genau dies die Überzeugung des Propheten von Jahwes Verfahren ist. Das beste Seitenstück zu der so verstandenen Aussage ist Jes. 10 6: „Gegen ein ruchloses Volk entsende ich ihn [Assur,

[65] Rießlers מַחֲרָן statt מקיר setzt eine neue Heimat an die Stelle der alten.

[66] Ehrlich besteht darauf, חַטָּאָה zu sprechen, weil חַטָּא Substantiv sei. Sachlich kommt nichts darauf an; bezeugt ist für das *fem. part.* nur die Form חַטָּאת.

[67] Harper nennt für diese Auffassung, „every sinful Kingdom", Calvin, Mercerus, Pusey.

Jahwes Geißel] und gegen die Nation, die mein Grimm trifft, entbiete ich ihn.“ Da steht in עם עברתי genau wie hier in הממלכה die Determination, „das Volk“, „das Königreich“, für das jedesmal zur Bestrafung ausersehene. Darum hier der unbestimmte Ausdruck, der für den ständigen Gegenstand der Anklage des Propheten sehr befremdlich klingen würde[68], für beliebige Reiche aber der selbstverständliche, gewiesene Ausdruck ist. Von einem „plumpen Judaismus“ (Wellhausen) kann dann keine Rede sein. So nur bildet 8 a die ganz ungezwungene, folgerichtige Fortsetzung von V. 7: „[Statt mich durch eine alte Gnadenerweisung ein für allemal an ein bestimmtes Volk zu binden,] achte ich ständig darauf, welche Macht sich versündigt, um sie dann, sie heiße, wie sie wolle, vom Erdboden zu vertilgen“. Das klingt, auf Israel angewandt, immer noch milder als 3 2, steht aber, wie bereits betont, im vollen Einklang mit der Gesamthaltung des Stückes 1 3–3 2, wo ausnahmslos jedesmal erst die Versündigung des betreffenden Volks bewiesen und dann erst das Gericht ihm angesagt wird. — V. 9. Hier erst wird zu dem Schuldigen der Gegenwart, dem Hause Israel, übergegangen und Jahwes Verfahren mit ihm insbesondere dargelegt. Die Anknüpfung mit כי „denn“ genügt; aber viel besser wäre ein לָכֵן „darum“, was leicht bei Gelegenheit des Einschubs von 8 b könnte zu Schaden gekommen und abgeschwächt sein. — Der Satzbau der Ansage ist genau der gleiche wie in 6 11. הניע muß doch hier bedeuten „schütteln lassen“. Die Worte בכל־הגוים habe ich stets als falsche Epexegese gestrichen, wie das jetzt Duhm anheimgibt (Nowack, Köhler, Volz[?], Sellin); ebenso hatte ich בַּר vor בכברה ergänzt, ehe Guthe diesen Vorschlag machte. — Für כברה und צרור muß ich mich der Auffassung von Hoffmann, Preuschen, Volz (*ZATW* III, 1883, XI, 1895 S. 24, XXXVIII, 19/20, S. 105 ff.) anschließen, daß das *kirbāl* gemeint ist und Steinchen, die beim Sieben des Korns in ihm zurückbleiben. Ich habe den Ausführungen namentlich des letztgenannten nichts hinzuzufügen[69]. Nur darin kann ich nicht mit

[68] Mindestens הַזֹּאת hinter החטאה wäre doch noch zu verlangen, wenn Israel gemeint wäre, wie denn Harper gern übersetzen möchte „*this sinful kingdom*“.

[69] Ob כברה und *kirbāl* lautlich zusammenhängen?

ihm gehn, daß der Vers, so aufgefaßt, das völlige, rest- und bedingungslose Gericht bedeute, wie ihm denn auch V. 1–4 „ganz radikal die Auflösung und Vernichtung des Volkes voraussagt." Wenn das Sieb die Steinchen festhält, so müssen auch Körner da sein, die zur Erde fallen und damit erhalten bleiben — und umgekehrt, wenn die Deutung auf das *kirbāl* irrig sein sollte — also unterscheidet Amos zwischen Schuldigen und Unschuldigen, zwischen solchen, die zum Untergang verurteilt sind, und solchen, die das Gericht überstehn. Das entspricht durchaus der Haltung des ganzen Buches. Der Schein, als wenn Amos dem Volke Israel restlosen Untergang verkündigte, entsteht nur dadurch, daß er keinen Anlaß hat, dem Schicksal der Nichtschuldigen nachzugehn, obgleich sie überall neben den Schuldigen stehn und von ihnen als die Leidenden unterschieden werden. Das gilt gleich vom ersten Anfang in 2 6–8, ebenso von 3 9 f.; die Schuldigen und Bedrohten heben sich besonders deutlich heraus als die Üppigen in 3 12 ff. 4 1, als die, die bemüht sind, durch eifrigen Gottesdienst Jahwe zu bestechen in 4 4 ff. 5 21 ff., als die Übermütigen und Vertrauensseligen in 6 1 ff. 13. Es trifft also nicht zu, wenn Wellhausen, bei richtiger Deutung unsrer Verse 9 und 10, sagt, Amos „ziehe überall nur das Schicksal des ganzen Volkes in Betracht und unterscheide dabei zwischen Gerechten und Ungerechten so wenig wie die Geschichte selber". Er beruft sich dafür auf 9 1–4, wo Amos noch gesagt habe, „kein Einziger solle dem allgemeinen Verderben entgehn". Aber eben dort zeigt das Zusammensuchen der einzelnen Strafwürdigen aus allen Schlupfwinkeln des Weltalls, daß es sich keineswegs um ein einheitliches, das ganze Volk mit einem Schlage vernichtendes Gericht handelt, sondern um ein solches, das die Möglichkeit des Entrinnens für die Einzelnen offen läßt. Und gerade V. 4 beweist, daß Wellhausen irrt, wenn er sagt, Amos „betrachte das Exil als das Ende, nicht als ein Fegefeuer". Denn der Vers sagt unmißverständlich, daß der in die Verbannung getriebene Schuldige errettet wäre und sich errettet fühlen würde, wenn ihm die Ankunft und das Leben in der Verbannung gegönnt bliebe und nicht das Schwert ihn fortraffte. Es ist aber nicht daran zu denken, und auch Wellhausen meint das nicht, daß dies das Loos der gesamten fortgeführten

Volksmasse sein sollte; vielmehr gilt das nur von den Schuldigen, die bis dahin dem Gerichte entgangen sind. Das beweist handgreiflich auch 6 7, wo die bedrohten Schuldigen an der Spitze der Masse der Verbannten einhergetrieben werden. Daß „die Geschichte" nicht zwischen Gerechten und Ungerechten unterscheide, daß ein Gericht wie das erwartete, schwere Kriegsnot, unabwendbar viele Unschuldige mit fortraffe, ändert daran nichts; der Prophet lebt einmal des Glaubens, daß sein Gott Jahwe die Macht und den Willen habe, dabei den Schuldigen zu treffen und den Unschuldigen zu verschonen. Der immer sich wiederholende Rückschluß von dem Leiden auf die Schuld beweist, wie das der allgemeine Glaube Israels ist. Aber nicht auf das Entrinnen der Schuldlosen kommt es dem Propheten in dieser Unheilsweissagung an, sondern wie in V. 1–4 nur auf das unfehlbare Gericht über die Schuldigen; darum wird jenes nicht erwähnt. — V. 10. Die negative Aussage wird folgerichtig durch die positive ergänzt. Das Mittel der Strafe ist die gleiche *ultima ratio* wie schon in V. 1 4, das Schwert. Seit Oort und Wellhausen spricht man mit Recht תְּנֹשׁ und וּתְקָדֵם; aber man hat noch nicht bemerkt, daß die Hiphilaussprache des MT auf anderer Auslegung beruht. Sie faßt die Äußerung der „Sünder" als Verbot der Predigt an Amos auf (vgl. Mi. 2 6), weil er eben dadurch das Unheil herbeiziehe (vgl. 6 3), während es sich augenscheinlich um ein übermütiges Urteil über die Zeichen der Zeit handelt[70]. Für בעדינו pflegt man seit Hoffmann, Oort und Wellhausen עָדֵינוּ zu lesen, sicher eine Erleichterung; aber viel besser ist doch Riedels (*ZATW* 1900, S. 332) בְּעוֹדֵינוּ „solange wir noch da sind", das echte *après nous le déluge*, die gemeine Gesinnung der Redenden im Galgenhumor offenbarend. Ehrlich scheint diese Verbesserung zum zweiten Male gefunden zu haben; wenigstens erwähnt er Riedel nicht. Mit Recht verweist Riedel für die Form auf Thr. 4 17, für den Ausdruck auf Ps. 104 33; 146 2, für die Sache auf Jes. 39 8. — In dieser Gestalt — 9 7, 8a mit עֵינַי, richtig aufgefaßt, 9 ohne בכל־הגוים, 10 — halte ich das Stück, trotz des Einspruchs Wellhausens in seiner klassischen

70 Ehrlichs וְתִקְרִיב für וּתְקָדֵם ist doch überflüssig, vor allem nicht erst nötig, um die Hiphilaussprache תְּנִישׁ zu erleichtern.

Fassung, für ein so echtes Amoswort wie irgendeines der vorausgehenden, in jedem Zuge vollkommen übereinstimmend mit seinen übrigen Aussprüchen und den daraus zu erhebenden Anschauungen. Ich glaube das zu V. 9 ausreichend bewiesen zu haben. Insbesondere aber bildet es ein so vortreffliches Seitenstück zu dem voraufgehenden fünften Gesicht, und vor allem zu dessen Einzelausführung in 9 2–4, daß sich leicht begreifen läßt, warum der oder die Sammler die am Anfang verstümmelte Rede gerade hier angeschlossen haben.

V. 11–15. Das neue Heil. Das „An diesem Tage", das diesen Schlußabschnitt einleitet, knüpft nicht besonders gut an V. 7–10 an, weil die dort angesagte aufräumende, reinigende Tätigkeit Jahwes doch längere Zeit erfordern wird, nicht ein einzelnes Ereignis darstellt, das sich ungezwungen so anziehen ließe. Für eine ursprüngliche Anknüpfung würde man entweder ein והיה אחרי כן erwarten oder eine sachliche Zusammenfassung des mit V. 9 f. Erreichten, ähnlich Jes. 4 4. Wahrscheinlicher wird dadurch, daß V. 11 ff. wieder ein besonderes Stück bilden, dessen Anschluß nach rückwärts verloren gegangen ist. — V. 11. Seit Wellhausen ist man weit überwiegend einverstanden über die Verbesserungen nach LXX פִּרְצֶיהָ וַהֲרִיסֹתֶיהָ. Das הריסתיו des MT ließe sich allenfalls durch unmittelbaren Rückgang auf דויד „was ihm [davon] eingerissen ist", festhalten[71]; פרציהן erklärt sich, wenn man nicht einen bloßen Unfall annehmen will, nur dadurch, daß man einmal סכת דויד הנפלת meinte sprechen zu müssen. Das wird durch das ובניתיה im letzten Satze als falsch dargetan; aber immerhin wird zu fragen sein, was man sich bei der pluralischen Auffassung dachte, umsomehr, da Hoffmann, Schwally (*ZATW* 1890, S. 226 f.), Preuschen (*ZATW* 1895, S. 25) sie neuerdings wieder aufnehmen, leider ohne deutlich zu sagen, wie sie sie verstehen, auch ohne die Korrektur וּבְנִיתִיהֶן zu vollziehen. Von der wirklichen Behausung Davids

[71] Störend ist dabei die Wiederholung des Tatworts אקים, das gleich zu Anfang bereits verbraucht ist. Fast möchte man an Einschub des Satzes והריסתיו אקים denken; aber das Wiederaufrichten des Eingerissenen ist doch neben dem Ausmauern der Lücken so am Platze und wird damit durch den letzten Satz so schön zusammengefaßt, daß man ihn doch wird behalten müssen.

kann ja gar nicht die Rede sein, weder von der einen auf dem Zion noch von mehreren an verschiedenen Orten, wie Hoffmann zu verstehn scheint, sondern nur übertragen von dem schlichten Heim, das David seinem Volke baute und gab. Mit diesem allein möglichen Verständnis wird auch über den Umfang der Verheißung in unserem Verse unmißverständlich entschieden. Kaum begreiflich ist es daraufhin, wie neuerdings die Auffassung weithin herrschend werden konnte, als wenn nur das Südreich Juda gemeint wäre, so daß unser Vers beweisen würde, daß zu der Zeit, als er gesprochen oder geschrieben wurde, auch dieses bereits zusammengebrochen war, er also in die Zeit nach 586 gehörte und entfernt nicht von Amos herrühren könnte. Fast möchte man annehmen, daß der Prophet dergleichen geahnt und gefürchtet und den nächstliegenden Ausdruck בֵּית דָּוִד eigens deshalb vermieden hätte, um das Mißverständnis zu verhüten, daß das Haus = Geschlecht Davids gemeint wäre, das Königshaus also, das bei der Spaltung des Reiches im Süden den Thron behauptete, sodaß man dann den Vers auf die Wiederaufrichtung des Südreichs Juda allein hätte beziehen können. Da vielmehr von der Behausung die Rede ist, die David für sich und sein Volk aufrichtete, so kann es sich nur um das Gesamtvolk Israel handeln, weil eben mit David alle Stämme Israels unter demselben Dache wohnten. Bei diesem richtigen Verständnis könnte man aber später einmal erwogen haben, daß zu Amos' Zeiten zwei Häuser das Volk Davids beherbergten, das Südreich Juda und das Nordreich Israel, und deshalb mag man „die verfallenen Hütten Davids" verstanden und פִּרְצֵיהָ in פרציהן geändert haben. In Wirklichkeit äußert sich der verfallene Zustand der [einzigen] Hütte Davids eben darin, daß zwei Bruchstücke davon gesondert ihr Dasein führen, und die noch mit vielen Schäden. Daß es sich um die Wiederaufrichtung des Gesamtreichs Israel — wie es einst unter David, und schier nur unter ihm, bestand — handelt, läßt sich auch aus dem schönen Bilde unwiderleglich beweisen. Die Hütte ist zwar verfallen, aber keineswegs zerstört und vom Erdboden verschwunden; denn sie hat Risse, die sich vermauern, Trümmer eingestürzter Teile, die sich wieder aufrichten lassen. Das von Israel nach dem Zusammenbruch Judas im Jahre 586 auszu-

sagen, ist platterdings unmöglich: auch in Trümmern stand von da an die Hütte Davids nicht mehr, sie war zerstört, nicht verfallen. Der Prophet, der diese Worte sprach, sieht auch nach der Vollziehung des furchtbaren Gerichts über Nordisrael die verfallene Hütte Davids noch stehn, nimmt also mindestens das Weiterleben Judas an, und verheißt dann zugleich mit dem Eintritt der Begnadigung und des neuen Heils für das geläuterte Israel die Wiederaufrichtung des ungeteilten israelitischen Reiches, wie es einst unter David bestanden hat. Das ist genau, was wir von dem Judäer Amos zu erwarten haben, und so besteht nicht der leiseste Grund, ihm diesen, überdies höchst eigenartigen und schön gefaßten Vers abzusprechen[72]. Daß Amos keine Heilsweissagung könne gegeben haben, ist bloßer Machtspruch. Wir haben zu V. 9 gesehen, daß er dem nordisraelitischen Volke nicht unterschiedslos den Untergang ankündigt: das bedeutet für die verschonten Gerechten neues Heil, auch wenn der Prophet das auszusprechen keinen Auftrag erhielte. Die Voraussetzung, daß bei dessen Eintritt Juda noch unzerstört bestehe, bedeutet nicht, daß Amos an seiner Sünde vorbeisähe: auch über Juda kann inzwischen die gebührende Strafe ergangen sein, nur daß die Rüge und Strafansage nicht Amos aufgetragen ist. Wo und wann Amos diesen Ausspruch getan, an wen er ihn gerichtet hat, wissen wir nicht, dürfen aber sicher sein, daß er die Wirkung seiner Strafpredigt nicht durch unzeitige und an falscher Stelle angebrachte Heilsansage wird geschädigt haben. Ihr ursprünglicher Zusammenhang dürfte, wie wir oben sahen, verloren, ein erklärender Eingang vielleicht gewaltsam fortgebrochen sein[73]; aber ganz richtig steht sie jetzt am letzten Ende des Buches, einerlei, welcher Hand sie diese Stelle verdankt. — Es ist erfreulich, daß neuerdings die Stimmen sich wieder mehren, die dem Amos diese Heilsweissagung, mindestens V. 11 mit Teilen der Fortsetzung, zu belassen wagen.

[72] Daß גדר פרץ nur Jes. 58 12, כימי עולם Mi. 7 14. Mal. 3 4 sonst vorkommt, wird man nicht ernsthaft als Beweis anführen wollen, daß es sich dabei um spätes Sprachgut handelt.

[73] Vielleicht durch jene puristische Redaktion, die aus den Niederschriften der Propheten das Menschliche, Augenblickliche nach Möglichkeit strich (vgl. *ZATW* 1921, S. 218 ff.).

Von denen, die Sellin aufführt, muß Greßmann leider nach der neuen Auflage wieder gestrichen werden; Staerk spricht wenigstens in seinem Buche von 1908 (S. 16 f.) die entgegengesetzte Ansicht recht entschieden aus, mag aber seit der Zeit vielleicht zu andrer Meinung gelangt sein und sie an mir unbekannter Stelle ausgesprochen haben. Es bleiben neben Orelli, Oettli, König als neueste Vertreter der Echtheit H. Schmidt, L. Köhler und Sellin selber, denen ich Driver (1897), meine Äußerungen von 1900 und 1906 und W. Baumgartner (1913) hinzufügen möchte. Auch Baudissin (Einleitung S. 509) nimmt eine echte Grundlage an, die die Hauptsache bei Amos läßt. — V. 12. Daß sich hier der Faden von V. 11 nicht fortsetzt, beweist schon die mangelhafte Anknüpfung. Das Subjekt zu **יירשו** wird von V. 11 nicht geboten, sondern muß als **בני ישראל** in Gedanken ergänzt werden. Das **למען** ist ganz unglücklich; denn die verfallene Hütte Davids wird doch wahrlich nicht zu dem Zwecke aufgerichtet werden, daß die Kinder Israel fremde Länder und Völker in Besitz nehmen. Ein **לְרֶשֶׁת**, „derart, daß", wäre denkbar, um die Vollständigkeit des gemeinten Umfangs für das neue Reich nach uraltem Vorgang darzulegen. Aber auch sachlich liegt gerade einem Amos die Ausdeutung des Davidreichs nach dieser Seite hin völlig fern; die Vereinigung Gesamtisraels im Genuß der Gnade Jahwes ist es allein, worauf es ihm ankommt. Die Machtgelüste der späteren Zeit der Knechtschaft haben sich hier als Auslegung des alten Wortlauts zur Geltung gebracht und das Vermißte zur Stelle geschafft, wohl zunächst als Randbemerkung. — Auffallend ist das **שארית אדום**, doch wohl, was zur Zeit des neuen Heils von Edom noch übrig sein wird. Es ist Edom unter dem Gesichtswinkel der exilischen Zeit, bei Hesekiel, Ps. 137; Thr. 4, die glühend gehaßte Vormacht des Heidentums. Zu ihm treten die übrigen Völker[74], die einst, unter David, Jahwe gehört haben, wofür man nur den Panegyrikus auf David in 2 Sam. 8 zu vergleichen braucht. So muß wohl oder übel das **אשר נקרא שמי עליהם** gefaßt werden, obgleich unter den nicht weniger als 16 Stellen,

[74] Schwerlich ist **כל-הגוים** noch von **שארית** abhängig zu machen, wie Ehrlich es tut: „und [den Rest] aller Völker" usw. Das wäre in gutem Hebräisch doch **ושארית כל-הגוים**.

die Driver für diese Bedeutung aufführt[75], nicht eine einzige ist, die von einer bloßen Gewaltherrschaft redet, sondern alle sich auf die heilige Stadt, den heiligen Tempel, das heilige Volk, einen Jahwe geweihten Menschen (Jer. 15 16) beziehen. Eine einzige Stelle, von Driver und Marti übersehen, bleibt übrig, an der die Wendung für das Ergebnis gewaltsamer Bezwingung gebraucht wird, 2 Sam. 12 28, wo Joab David herbeiruft, damit ihm, nicht seinem Feldhauptmann, der Ruhm der Eroberung Rabbas zufalle. Zu diesem Bedenken kommt noch der seltsame Umweg über Jahwes Person, da es sich doch eben nur um die Völker handelt, die David und durch ihn Israel gehört haben. Und wiederum möchte man auch das „einstmals", die Tatsache, daß ein Besitzverhältnis der Vergangenheit hergestellt werden soll, gern ausdrücklich hervorgehoben sehen. Man darf sich daher nicht wundern, wenn man diesem Verständnis hat ausweichen wollen, sei es durch eschatologische religiöse Deutung (so etwa Keil), sei es durch andre Auffassung des Satzbaus. So Ehrlich, der den Relativsatz zum Subjekt des ירשו macht, „damit diejenigen, über die mein Name genannt ist," — d. i. die Frommen in Israel — „den Rest Edoms und aller andern Völker erben"; aber das ist doch der Gipfel der Unnatur, auch in der uferlosen Dehnung des כל־הגוים neben dem „Rest Edoms". Natürlich denkt auch Ehrlich dafür nicht an Amos. — Der Vers hat schon im Altertum Not gemacht und seine Schicksale gehabt, wenn wir in LXX lesen ὅπως ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, d. i. יִדְרְשׁוּ statt ירשו, Streichung des את־, und אָדָם statt אדום. Diesen sinnlosen Satz ergänzt dann die Anführung Act. 15 17 bei sonst wörtlicher Übereinstimmung durch τὸν Κύριον hinter ἀνθρώπων, und diese Lesart mag wohl erst aus dem Neuen Testament in LXX A zurückgetragen sein. Indessen übersehe man nicht, daß bei der falschen Lesart ידרשו nicht „Jahwe", sondern „mich" das Objekt sein müßte und dies (neben יִדְרְשׁוּנִי) durch אֹתִי, also Zusatz bloß eines י, zu gewinnen wäre, woraus dann wieder את יהוה durch Ausschreiben der vermeintlichen Abkürzung leicht werden konnte.

[75] Dazu noch 2 Sam. 6 2 von der Lade Jahwes und, von Driver angeführt, Jes. 4 1 von dem Weibe unter dem Namen ihres Gatten.

Daß LXX ursprünglich lautete ἐκζητήσωσίν με ist daher mindestens eine naheliegende Möglichkeit. — Auch die Schlußformel klingt durchaus nicht nach Amos; vgl. dazu Jes. 9 6. — V. 13. Die neue, ganz auf eigenen Füßen stehende, an keinerlei vorausgehende Ereignisse anknüpfende Einführung (vgl. 8 11, sehr häufig im Buche Jeremia von 7 32 an) löst diesen Vers völlig aus dem Zusammenhang und erweist ihn als einen Zusatz, der einen weiteren, vermeintlich unentbehrlichen Bestandteil des Heils der Endzeit, die wunderbare Fruchtbarkeit des Bodens, dem alten Bestande der Weissagung nachträgt. Daß der Vers in den Zusammenhang eingeschoben ist, wird auch dadurch bewiesen, daß er zu früh kommt, die Frucht vor den Bewohnern, die den Acker bebauen, wie sie V. 14 erst zur Stelle bringt. Auch wiederholen 14 aβb in anderer Wendung und bescheidenerer Fassung denselben Gegenstand; an den Schluß von V. 14 dürfte V. 13 von ונגש an allenfalls als Steigerung dieser Aussage angeschlossen werden, wenn nicht die unmittelbare Fortsetzung in V. 15 auch dies unmöglich machte. Auch dieser zweite Einschub zeugt wieder für das höhere Alter der so vermehrten und vermeintlich bereicherten Grundlage. Schriftstellerisch und dichterisch steht dieser Vers immerhin auf weit höherer Stufe als der vorhergehende; Seitenstücke bieten vor allem Lev. 26 5 und Jo. 4 18. — Schön schildert a die ununterbrochene gesegnete Arbeit des Landmanns im Wechsel der Fruchtjahre; LXX mißdeutet die Aussagen auf die Zeiten und Früchte, wie sie Lev. 26 5 in der Tat an die Stelle der Handelnden setzt. — Für הַחורש statt חורש (Oettli, Marti, Staerk) bietet der Artikel in LXX keinen ausreichenden Beweis; will man den Grund dafür in בַּקֹּצֵר suchen, so muß man auch הָעֹנְבִים lesen. Zweifellos spricht der Rhythmus hier mit; er forderte das הַזֹּרֵעַ. — b. Das erste Glied deckt sich mit Jo. 4 18 aα, nur daß dort das Kal יִטְּפוּ punktiert ist; das parallele Glied klingt dort mit תֵּלַכְנָה חָלָב befriedigender aus als hier mit תתמוגגנה ohne Objekt. So will Rießler חָלָב ergänzen; aber auch Öl könnte in der Parallele zum Moste stehn, nur nicht Wasser, wie Staerk „und alle Hügel mit Wasser rinnen“ in den Text (S. 27) einsetzt, ohne die Änderung zu erwähnen. — V. 14. Der Vers knüpft vortrefflich an

V. 11 an, indem er für die Wiederaufrichtung des Gesamtreiches Davids die entscheidende Tatsache bringt, die Wiederbringung des fortgeführten Volkes des Nordreichs. Fast im ganzen Umfang decken sich Sprachgebrauch und Aussagen mit dem, was wir sonst bei Amos finden. Vgl. עמי ישראל für das Volk des Nordreichs 7 8, 15; 8 2 (9 10 ohne ישראל); die beiden nächsten Zeilen sind die harmonische Umkehrung von 5 11; für נשמות vgl. 7 9; die Gärten mit demselben Plural גנות finden sich 4 9. Es hilft auch nichts, wenn Marti für a β b auf Jes. 65 21 verweist; denn dieser Vers ist offenbar flüchtige Abkürzung des Wortlauts unserer Stelle, da er die Frucht der Weinberge essen statt den aus ihr gekelterten Wein trinken läßt, den Genuß der Gärten also, mit dem unser Vers schließt, falsch auf die Weinberge überträgt. So bezeugt Jer. 65 21 nur das höhere Alter unseres Verses. Die Aussagen sind gemäßigt, nichts weiter, als daß das heimgekehrte Volk Heimstätten finden und die Frucht seiner Arbeit genießen soll. Die einzige Wendung, mit der man die Herkunft des Verses von Amos anfechten mag, ist die erste, das viel umstrittene שוב שבות. Ich brauche die Frage hier nicht *ab ovo* aufzurollen. Heißt es „die Gefangenschaft wenden", „aus der Verbannung zurückführen", — Rießler will für dieses Verständnis nach LXX *αἰχμαλωσίαν* שְׁבִית verbessern — so steht dafür die Ansage der Verbannung bei Amos in 5 27; 6 7; 9 4, vgl. 7 11, zur Verfügung; heißt es, wie ich mich nach wie vor (vgl. meinen Hiob-Kommentar zu 42 10) dazu bekennen muß, „die Wendung für jem. herbeiführen, in integrum restituere, wiederherstellen", so bedeutet das hier im Rückblick auf jene Ansage sachlich genau das Gleiche. Daß dieser Ausdruck erst nach der Zeit des Amos geprägt sei, kann niemand beweisen, auch wenn man die Echtheit des Vorkommens in Hos. 6 11 bestreiten will[76] und so ein Vorkommen vor Jeremia nicht nachzuweisen wäre.[77] — Wie man וישבו m. c. streichen kann (Staerk, Greßmann[1], Sellin), um damit den schönen Sinn gegen-

[76] Bei dem engen Zusammenschluß von 6 11b mit der sinnentsprechenden Formel in 7 2a α ist das doch keineswegs so leicht.

[77] Soll man daneben die Möglichkeit eines ursprünglichen וְהֲשִׁבֹתִי את־עמי freigeben?

über den Seitenstücken zu vernichten, ist schwer zu begreifen, da der Vers deutlich vier schöne vierhebige Zeilen bildet, ebenso wie V. 11 von אקים an erst zwei vierhebige Zeilen bietet und dann mit einer dreihebigen abschließt. Daß Staerk vollends im Text (S. 27) nur a γ b bietet, in der Anmerkung (S. 186) den ganzen Vers m. c. streicht, dann doch versucht, a α β zu retten, indem er zwei Dreier daraus gewinnt, während er die Fortsetzung als Zweier liest, bleibt mir ein ungelöstes Rätsel. — V. 15. Der Vers klingt schlecht mit der Wiederholung על־אדמתם und מעל אדמתם, so daß Staerk ihn nicht mit Unrecht als Prosa bezeichnet. Die Streichung des Relativsatzes אשר נתתי להם, die Sellin m. c. vollzieht, läßt das nur noch greller hervortreten. Vielmehr dürfte על־אדמתם als richtige Randverbesserung zu מעל אדמתם an dessen Stelle einzusetzen sein:

Und will sie einpflanzen, daß sie nicht wieder ausgerissen werden,
Auf ihrem Boden, den ich ihnen gegeben habe.

Dann ist ולא ינתשו עוד Zwischensatz, und על knüpft an ונטעתים an. So entstehn zwei gute vierhebige Zeilen, die bei Amos in 2 9 f.; 7 11, 15 ihre Seiten- und Gegenstücke finden und keineswegs von Jer. 24 6 usw. abhängig zu sein brauchen. Sie sind für den echten Amos-Schluß hinter V. 14 nicht eben nötig, weil dort den Heimgekehrten auch bereits Wohnsitz und Genuß der Bodenfrüchte zugesagt ist; aber als steigernde Zusammenfassung schließen sie sich doch gut an und bilden einen volltönenden Abschluß, der Jahwe selbst wieder in den Vordergrund rückt. Ich muß den Vers daher im Anschluß an V. 11 und 14 für echt halten. — Daß „Dein Gott" in der Schlußformel nach der Meinung des Ergänzers den Propheten anreden solle (Duhm), ist doch ganz unwahrscheinlich, da nicht Jahwe redet, sondern nach den ihr gleichlaufenden Formeln נאם־יהוה in V. 12, 13 der Prophet als Berichterstatter ihn redend einführt. Vielmehr kann das „Du" nur das Volk anreden, wie in 4 12 f., was logisch durchaus nicht unmöglich wäre, aber freilich hier recht unvermittelt aufträte. Sehr beachtenswert ist deshalb die Lesart der LXX, יהוה אלהי הצבאות, vgl. 3 13; 6 14. Aber für die Ursprünglichkeit solcher Abschlußformeln kann natürlich niemand einstehn.

Das letzte Kapitel des Buches Amos enthält also drei echte Stücke: das fünfte Gesicht, in V. 1–4 allem Anschein nach vollständig, wenn auch im Anfang stark beschädigt, erhalten; die dem Inhalt nach nahe verwandte Unheilsansage V. 7, 8 a, 9, 10, am Anfang abgebrochen und mit dem Lückenbüßer der Doxologie V. 5 f. angehängt, durch die mißverständliche Verwahrung V. 8 b unterbrochen, aber ohne sie, wie es scheint, im weiteren Verlauf vollständig; endlich die Heilsweissagung von der Wiederaufrichtung des Gesamtreichs Israel V. 11, 14, 15, von zwei späteren Händen in V. 12 und 13 um begehrenswerte Güter bereichert, aber ohne sie vollständig, bis auf den fehlenden Anschluß im Anfang, die Kennzeichnung des Tages, an dem solches Heil in die Erscheinung treten wird.

DER GOTT BET'EL

RUDOLF KITTEL
LEIPZIG

Vorbemerkung. Die Sigla 𝔊𝔖𝔙 usw. oder 𝔐 sind dieselben wie in des Verfassers *Biblia Hebraica*

I

DASS der Name Bet'el den bekannten Ort bezeichnet, an dem Jerobeam sein goldenes Stierbild errichtete und wo schon Jaqob vor Zeiten den Gott Israels geschaut haben sollte, bedarf keines Beweises. Weniger allgemein bekannt dürfte sein, daß der Name gelegentlich auch eine Gottheit selbst bedeutet. Die sichersten Belege dafür besitzen wir im hebräisch-aramäischen Sprachgebiet in den aramäischen Papyri von Elefantine[1]. Andere Texte unterstützen den Nachweis.

Man geht wohl am besten aus von Papyrus 27, der aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach das Bruchstück einer Anklageschrift eines gewissen Malkīja darstellt, der seinem Gegner, den er im Verdacht des Einbruchdiebstahls hat, den Reinigungseid auferlegt[2]. In Zeile 6 spricht Malkīja aus: „Ich habe (Bitte oder) Forderung [שְׁאִילָ]א und (Anrufung oder wohl besser:) Klage, Einspruch מַקְרְיָא unternommen[3] bei unserem Gott", was Sachau

[1] *Aramäische Papyri und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine*, bearbeitet von Ed. Sachau. Leipzig 1911. Vergleiche dazu: *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine. Kleine Ausgabe* . . . bearbeitet von Arthur Ungnad. Leipzig 1911.

[2] Sachau S. 103 f.; Ungnad, S. 44.

[3] Ungnad ist wohl im Rechte, wenn er die Worte שאילא und מקריא als Termini der Rechtssprache deutet, etwa im Sinne von „Klage" und „Einspruch".

richtig deutet: ich habe dich vor den Richterstuhl des Gottes im Tempel und bei dem priesterlichen Richterkollegium gefordert. Malkīja fährt dann in Zeile 7 fort: „Er (der Gott oder die in seinem Namen urteilende Priesterschaft) ist zu mir gekommen משא im Gericht“ d. h. er hat durch seine Priester die Gerichtsverhandlung aufgenommen[4]. Und nun redet er den Gegner direkt an: „Ich Malkījah rufe dich[5] vor den Gott ḤRM-bet'el zwischen den vier . . .[6], daß du sagest“ usw.

Damit ist allerdings der einwandfreie Beweis geliefert, daß in Elefantine, also bei den ägyptischen Juden der Perserzeit, eine Gottheit des Namens ḤRM-Bet'el verehrt wurde. Wir können nun zwar die erste Hälfte dieses Gottesnamens nicht vollkommen sicher vokalisieren, werden aber kaum fehlgehen, wenn wir sie nach den Arabischen, wo charam *(ḥaram)* den geweihten Tempelbezirk bedeutet, Charambet'el lesen und demnach „der Bezirk des Bet'el“ deuten oder aber, da Charam selbst ein Gottesname sein kann: „der Charam des Bet'el“. Natürlich wäre an sich auch die Übersetzung „der Bezirk des Gotteshauses“ denkbar. Sie ist an sich sogar die nächstliegende. Aber da es sich doch einmal um einen Gott dieses Namens handelt, so müßte

[4] במרינא kann auch bedeuten „mit dem Urteil“. Dann wäre der Sinn: nachdem ich die Entscheidung des Gottes anrief, hat er (durch seine Priester) bereits das Urteil verkündet. So deutet Sachau S. 105. Aber die nachfolgende Apostrophe an den Gegner macht viel wahrscheinlicher, daß die Entscheidung noch aussteht und Malkīja den Gegner erst auffordert, im Angesichte des Gottes die Wahrheit zu bekennen. Dann erst soll wohl das Urteil selbst folgen.

[5] Sachau möchte wegen des folgenden לאמר das אקרא lieber als synkopiertes אהקרא (אקרא) fassen und übersetzt, wenn auch zögernd: „lasse ich dich aussprechen“. Aber die im Texte oben gegebene Fassung von לאמר wird kaum zu beanstanden sein.

[6] Wie die Lücke auszufüllen ist, läßt sich nicht sagen. Sachau denkt an 4 Rächer oder Strafrichter, die im Tempel anwesend sein sollen. Aber בין „zwischen“ deutet viel eher auf eine Örtlichkeit, etwa zwischen 4 Säulen oder dergleichen. Denn „vor“, wie Sachau übersetzt, bedeutet בין nicht. — Ganz anders versteht Ed. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine* 1912, S. 63 unseren Text. Doch kommt für unseren Zweck darauf nicht viel an, weshalb ich auf ein näheres Eingehen verzichte. Die 4 vorhin auf eine Örtlichkeit und auf Dinge, nicht Personen, gedeuteten Unbekannten versteht er ansprechend von Schwursteinen.

mindestens der Bezirk doch wieder zum Gotte, also zum Eigennamen Charam geworden sein. Haben wir also sonst noch irgendwelche Andeutungen dafür, daß auch Bet'el als Gott verstanden werden kann, wie sie sich sofort darbieten werden, so ist das Naturgemäße, auch hier den Gott Bet'el zu finden.

Ich bin mit Absicht von diesen Texte ausgegangen, weil sich hier gleich an einem zweiten Beispiel derselbe merkwürdige Prozeß aufzeigen läßt, vermöge dessen bei hebräischen und verwandten Gottesnamen ihre Entstehung aus heiligen Dingen, also aus Gegenständen oder Stätten ihrer Verehrung, nachweisbar wird. Mag Charambet'el den Bezirk des Gotteshauses oder den Bezirk des Gottes Bet'el bedeuten, unter allen Umständen ist dieser heilige Bezirk hier zum Gotte geworden.

Wie das möglich ist, sehen wir besonders deutlich bei der Göttin Qades. Das Wort Qades קדש bedeutet an sich heilig, der Gottheit geweiht. So wird es zur Bezeichnuug zahlreicher Örtlichkeiten im Norden und Süden des hebräisch-kanaanäischen und arabischen Sprachgebietes von Syrien und Palästina gebraucht, die sicher alle einmal besonders geschätzte Verehrungsstätten einer Gottheit waren. Ich nenne nur Qades am Orontes, Qades in Naftali und Qades-Barnea' in der Südsteppe. Daneben tritt aber eine Gottheit Qades auf. Als die Herrin irgendeines der als Qades bezeichneten Heiligtümer, also als die *Ba'alat Qades* wird sie unter Weglassung des ersten Wortes kurzweg selbst Qades genannt und nimmt als solche einen recht hohen Rang im altkanaanäischen Göttersystem ein[7].

Daß dies der Hergang der Entstehung dieser Gottheit ist und nicht etwa der umgekehrte, an sich auch mögliche und bezeugte Fall der Ableitung der Benennung eines heiligen Gegenstandes aus einem Gottesnamen[8] vorliegt, beweist schlagend die

[7] Vergleiche über sie in meiner *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* I 5. 6. (1923), S. 180 f.

[8] So ist vermutlich die Bezeichnung Aschera für den heiligen Pfahl oder Baumstumpf als das Kultusobjekt oder auch den heiligen Raum, den Kultusort — so in Babylon (Zimmern *KAT* 3 437) — der Göttin 'Aschtart zu deuten. Seit der Entdeckung der Amarnatexte wissen wir, was früher vielfach bestritten war, daß es schon in alter Zeit eine (der 'Aschtart nahe verwandte) Göttin Aschera gab. Sie war augenscheinlich die Gemahlin eines alten Glücksgottes Ascher, von dem der Stamm Asser

maskulinische Form des Namens für eine weibliche Gottheit. Wäre der Gottesname das Ursprüngliche und die Orts- oder sonstige Bezeichnung — auch heilige oder geweihte Personen heißen bekanntlich Qadesch oder Q^{e}descha — so müßte zweifellos die Göttin als weibliches Wesen den Namen *Q^{e}descha* „Geweihte, Heilige" führen, genau so wie die der Gottheit geweihten Frauen nicht den geweihten Männern gleich Qadesch heißen, sondern *Q^{e}descha*.

Als eine weitere Analogie mag genannt werden die Benennung eines Gottes Ṣalm mit demselben Worte, das von Hause aus das Bild bezeichnet[9]. Es vollzieht sich also hier der psychologisch leicht zu erklärende Vorgang, daß der „Herr des Gottesbildes", dem es geweiht ist oder den es darstellt und in dem er sich manifestiert, tatsächlich mit dem Bilde selbst verwechselt wird, eben weil er hier sich kundtut und aus dem Bilde schein-

seinen Namen zu haben scheint. Da die Göttin als Fruchtbarkeitsgöttin im Fruchtbaum sich manifestiert, so konnte der heilige Baum oder dessen Ersatz, der heilige Pfahl, leicht als Sitz oder Behausung der Göttin gelten und als solche *bet aschera* heißen. Diese Bezeichnung ist uns bis jetzt nicht überliefert, sie ist aber durchaus möglich. Der Kürze halber bleibt das *bet* weg, und es bleibt auch weg, weil man im heiligen Baum oder Pfahl die tatsächliche Vergegenwärtigung der Gottheit sieht. So führt dann der Pfahl selbst den Namen Aschera. Die gegenteilige Anschauung, nach der der Pfahl das Ursprüngliche und die Göttin sekundär wäre, ist bei älteren Forschern üblich gewesen, da man das Alter der Göttin noch nicht kannte. Wenn sie auch heute noch da und dort auftaucht, so darf dabei wohl mit einem kleinen Anachronismus gerechnet werden. Vergleiche zur Sache in meiner *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* I $^{5.6}$ S. 194 f. (besonders S. 195 Anm. 1) und S. 178 (besonders Anm. 4); II $^{6.7}$ S. 59 (besonders Anm. 5).

[9] Vergleiche bei Lidzbarski *Nordsemitische Epigraphik* I S. 358. — Ähnliches gilt auch von *Chammān* חמן, das eigentlich die Sonnensäule, dann aber den in ihr vertretenen Gott bedeutet. Hier ist der Übergang dadurch besonders deutlich, daß uns auch das Zwischenglied noch erhalten ist. Der Gott, der in der Säule wohnt, heißt eigentlich *Ba'al Chammān* בעל חמן, auch אל ח'. Doch bleibt aus dem oben angegebenen Grunde Ba'al auch weg, und so nennt man den Gott kurzweg Chammān. Vergleiche Lidzbarski *a. a. O.* S. 276. Die natürliche Folge sind dann Eigennamen wie עבדחמן. — So kann es auch einen Gott Altar geben: Ζευς βωμος oder Μαδβαχος. Im Altar ist der Gott gegenwärtig: so wird die Gottesstätte selber Gott. Vgl. noch Anm. 51.

bar zum Gläubigen redet, durch Nicken oder Winken mit dem Bilde Orakel gibt, im Bilde und an ihm die Verehrung seiner Bekenner, ihre Opfergaben und Spenden entgegen nimmt. Wie stark die Neigung, diesen Prozeß der Vertauschung zu vollziehen, in der religiösen Psyche aller Völker vorhanden ist, zeigt am besten der Umstand, daß unser Volk vielfach heute noch von wundertätigen Bildern weiß. Wie könnte ein Bild Wunder tun, wenn nicht hinter ihm eine Gottheit steht, mit der es selbst vertauscht wird? Und wie könnte das Muttergottesbild oder das Bild des heiligen Josef oder der heiligen Anna so vielfach kurzweg als die Mutter Gottes oder als der heilige Josef oder die heilige Anna bezeichnet werden, wenn nicht für das Bewußtsein des naiven Menschen beide, Bild und Person, ganz unmittelbar in einander übergingen?

Wie nun im Namen Charambet'el der heilige Bezirk eines Gotteshauses oder eines bestimmten Gottes selbst als Gottheit erscheint, so tritt auch der Bezirk allein als Gott auf. Natürlich ist auch damit ursprünglich nicht der Bezirk als solcher gemeint, sondern ein ganz bestimmter, nämlich der heilige Bezirk des Haupt- oder Schutzgottes einer bestimmten Person oder Örtlichkeit; so daß von Hause aus Charam wohl immer mit einem bestimmten Zusatz zu denken war. Doch wie dem immer sei, tatsächlich erscheint das bloße Charam als Gott. Wir finden den Gott in dem Namen חרמנתן Gott Charam hat gegeben[10]. Da das zweite Wort keine Gottesbezeichnung, sondern nur das bekannte Verbum enthalten kann, so ist das Ganze deutlich ein menschlicher Eigenname mit Charam als Gottesnamen.

Es leidet nach alledem keinen Zweifel, daß Charambet'el als Gott entweder den Charam des Tempels oder den Charam des Gottes Bet'el bezeichnet. Daß die letztere Deutung durchaus möglich ist, ergibt die eben vorgenommene Untersuchung über Charam und verwandte Begriffe. Auch Bet'el „Gotteshaus" ist an sich eine heilige Stätte wie Charam oder Qades. Daß sie zum Gotte werden kann, zeigt die Entwicklung der genannten Worte. In diesem Falle hätten wir in dem Gott Charambet'el eine Art Doppelgottheit zu sehen, wie sie auf semitischem Boden

10 Pap. 34 4: Sachau S. 126; Ungnad S. 53.

des öftern vorkommen. Der Charam des Bet'el ist dann der zum Gott Bet'el gehörige, mit ihm eng verbundene Gott Charam, ähnlich wie *ʿAnat-Jahu*[11] die zu Jahu oder Jahwe gehörige ʿAnat, *Aschtart-Kemosch* in der bekannten Mesa-Inschrift die zu Kemosch gehörige, mit ihm eng verbundene ʿAschtart ist. Daß solche Verbindungen besonders gern zwischen männlichen und weiblichen Gottheiten angenommen werden, liegt in der Natur der Sache. Die Verbindung erscheint dann als Ehe. Aber sie ist keineswegs auf die Ehe beschränkt. Es gibt männliche Götter, die denselben Thron einnehmen, also wie ein Freundes- oder Brüder- oder Zwillingspaar sich friedlich in die Herrschaft teilen. So bilden in Heliopolis Hermes-Merkur und Zeus ein Paar[12]. So bezeugt uns eine nordsyrische Inschrift von Kefr Nebo einen Gott *Symbetylos*. Das ist doch wohl ein Gott, der denselben Gottessitz, das selbe Betyl, mit einem andern als sein *σύνθρονος* teilt.[13] Es brauchen das alles ja keine großen Götter

[11] Siehe nachher S. 130 f.

[12] Zitiert nach Lagrange, *Études sur les Religions Semitiques*[2] 1905, S. 196 Anm. 5.

[13] *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 1902, S. 182; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* II 323. Der Gott Symbetylos Συμβετυλος ist der Mitbesitzer des Betyls, er teilt das Betyl — Βαιτυλιον mit einem andern Gott. Danach liegt es allerdings recht nahe, Βαιτυλος oder Βαιτυλιον als einfache Wiedergabe von Bet'el — ביתאל anzusehen und demgemäß als Gotteshaus oder Gottesbehausung zu übersetzen. Das geschieht auch trotz immer wiederholter Mahnung zur Zurückhaltung (Dillmann, *Genesis*[6] S. 337. Lagrange, *Études usw.* 194 f. W. R. Smith-Stübe, *Die Religion der Semiten*, Anm. 309 a. E. [engl. Originalausgabe S. 210 Anm.]) immer aufs neue (so z. B. bei Gunkel, *Genesis*[3] S. 320; Zimmern, *Keilinschr. u. d. alte Test.*[3] 438; R. Dussaud, *Les Origines du sacrifice usw.* 166, der sie kurzweg mit der Maṣṣebe gleichsetzt). Aber schon die eine Tatsache muß Bedenken erwecken, daß bis jetzt keine griechische Transkription bekannt ist, die ביתאל mit Βαιτηλ oder Βετηλ, Βετυλ wiedergäbe. Wir finden ausschließlich Βαιθηλ (einmal Βαθηλ, wenige Male Βηθηλ). Auch Josefus hat immer das *θ*. Auch sonst tritt für בית immer in LXX *βαιθ* oder *βηθ* ein. (Ob Formen wie Βαιτουλια oder Βητολιω in den Apokryphen überhaupt als mit בית zusammenhängend empfunden wurden, darf man mit Grund bezweifeln.) Es ist nicht einzusehen, weshalb hier an Stelle des überall sonst durchgeführten *θ* ein *τ* eingesetzt sein sollte, wenn die Bedeutung „Gotteshaus" gemeint wäre. Es kommt dazu, daß überhaupt *τ* für hebräisches ת außerordent-

zu sein. Sie können ganz wohl als schlichte kleine Numina gedacht sein, die den großen Hauptgöttern gegenüber einen be-

lich selten erscheint, während θ für ת zahllose Male auftritt. Ich habe mir die Mühe genommen die Angelegenheit mit der Concordanz von Hatch-Redpath für die mit T beginnenden Eigennamen und mit Hilfe von Wutz, *Transkriptionen von der Septuaginta zu Hieronymus* durchzuprüfen. Das Material ist nicht erschöpfend, dazu müßten alle Eigennamen und sonstigen Transkriptionen zur Prüfung herangezogen werden. Immerhin gibt es ein Bild. Gegenüber den schon in dem von mir Verglichenen überaus zahlreichen Eigennamen mit hebr. ת im Anlaut oder griech. θ für hebr. ת im Inlaut finden sich lediglich folgende Ausnahmen: Ταναχ, Ταναχει — תענך, תחני, תחן; Ταν θαναι — תחני; Ταραθ — תרח; Ταφεθ — תפת; Ταφνας — תחפנחס; Ταφου — תפל; Τοχος — תחש; [Εσ]τεμα — אשתמע; τιμωριαν — תמרורים?; Φιλιστιειμ (Φυ—) — פלשתים; Χετ, Χιτταιων etc. — חת, חתים (auch für כתים); Φαλτει — פַּלָּתִי (einmal); Σουταλαει — שתלחי; Κατααθ — תחת?; ταναθαν — תרתן. Bedenkt man, daß unter den Namen eine ganze Anzahl ist, die gar nicht hebräisch oder überhaupt semitisch sind, bei denen wir also gar nicht wissen, wie das ת in Wahrheit klang, wie כתים, חתים-חת, פלשתים, פַּלָּתִי, תַּרְתָּן u. a. (auch Ευφρατης — פרת, das um seiner griech. Endung willen oben nicht genannt ist, mag dazu gehören), so schwindet die Zahl auf ein sehr bescheidenes Maß zusammen gegenüber einer Legion von Worten, in denen ת durch θ wiedergegeben ist. Es bleibt daher sehr fraglich, ob Βαιτυλος mit hebr. ביתאל etwas zu tun hat. Daß die Baetylien heilige Steine waren, die Verehrung genossen, beweist noch nicht, daß sie ihren Namen vom „Gottessitz" haben. Tatsächlich werden sie auch nie als Behausungen eines Gottes bezeichnet, sondern als beseelte und darum bewegliche Steine (Philo Bybl. II 19 bei Müller *Fragm. Histor. graec.* III 568). Daran ändert auch nichts, daß sie bei den Phöniken einen eigenen Gott gehabt haben sollen, den Gott Βαιτυλος (Philo Bybl. II 14: Müller a. a. O. 567). Dieser Gott ist dann eben die Personifikation des Bätyls oder Meteorsteins oder um was für einen Stein es sich sonst handeln mag, nicht aber die Personifikation des hebr. Betʾel. Auch die Berufung auf die Konsonatennamen בית — Βητα, דלת — Δελτα, זין — Ζητα, חת — Ητα ändert an diesem Ergebnis kaum etwas. Denn einmal ist gerade die zweite Silbe dieser griechischen Bezeichnung noch vielfach dunkel, wie das vorletzte Beispiel zeigt, und sodann ist die Bedeutung von *Bēt* = Haus also hebr. בַּיִת angesichts der Tatsache, daß das Zeichen ⌂ allem andern ebenso ähnlich sieht wie einem Hause, doch immer noch außerordentlich zweifelhaft. Auch daß Συμβετυλος in Kefr Nebo und Βετυλος bei Philo Byblios Euseb. Praep. evang. I. 10, 16 neben αι und η mit ε auftritt (das ε scheint hier das Ursprüngliche), ist ebenso bedenklich wie das τ. Solche Dinge kommen ja schließlich einmal als besondere Ausnahme vor. Aber darf man Hypothesen auf lauter Ausnahmen — in diesem Fall gleich zwei! — gründen?

scheidenen Wirkungskreis haben. So ist ohne Zweifel auch jener Charam des Betel, der vergottete heilige Bezirk des aus dem Gottessitz gewordenen Gottes Betel, zu verstehen. Der Bezirk und sein Gott gehören eng zusammen. Es ist ein Gott und doch zugleich zwei: zwei zu einem Gottwesen eng verbundene, zu einer Einheit zusammengeflossene Wesen.

Immer ist bis jetzt nur vorausgesetzt, daß Bet'el ein Gottesname sein kann. Es ist aber dabei zugleich gezeigt, wie wir sein Zustandekommen zu denken haben. In Wahrheit zeigen nun eine Anzahl weiterer Texte, daß sowohl in den Elefantinepapyri als anderwärts an dem Vorkommen dieses Gottes nicht gezweifelt werden kann.

Der vorhin genannte Charam-natan heißt ein Sohn des *Bet'el-natan*. Und neben ihm erscheint ein Bet'el-natan als Sohn des *Jeho-natan*[14]. Damit ist der Gottescharakter von Bet'el vollkommen klar gestellt. Jeho-natan, ein Name, den ja die Bibel auch kennt, bedeutet „Jahwe hat gegeben". Von Charam-natan hörten wir schon die Bedeutung: „Charam hat gegeben". Demnach kann Bet'el-natan nur heißen: „Bet'el hat gegeben", und zwar in dem Sinne, daß Bet'el der Gott ist, dem die Eltern ihren Sohn danken. In Wahrheit wird es Jahwe selbst, nur mit anderem Namen und in eigenartiger Ausprägung sein. Der heilige Ort, der Tempel, an dem er verehrt wird, vielleicht auch dessen heiliger Stein — wir wissen ja über die Beschaffenheit des Tempels von Elefantine nichts Näheres —, erscheinen wie Unter- oder Nebengötter neben Jahwe. In Wahrheit sind sie wohl eben Erscheinungsweisen, Offenbarungsformen dieses Hauptgottes.

Zu diesem Befunde stimmt nun aufs beste, daß wir in dem Papyrus 18 eine große Steuerliste für den Tempel vor uns haben,[15] die besagt, daß eine für Jahwe gesammelte Geldsumme zu ungleichen Teilen neben Jaho-Jahwe an *'Anat-Bet'el* und an *Aschim-Bet'el* gegeben werden soll. Unter dem ersten der beiden Namen kann nur die 'Anat des Bet'el, die als Genossin (πάρεδρος) zu ihm gehörige 'Anat, gemeint sein. Der zweite Name bietet insofern einige Schwierigkeit, als die erste Hälfte

[14] Pap. 34, 4. 5: Sachau S. 126; Ungnad S. 53.
[15] Kol. VII. Sachau S. 74. 75; Ungnad S. 34.

nicht sicher zu vokalisieren und zu bestimmen ist. Wir kennen aus 2 Kön. 17 30 eine syriche Gottheit *Aschima*, die aber mit der *aschmat Schomron* von Am. 8 14 schwerlich etwas zu tun hat. Viel eher gehört diese Aschima und ihre männliche Entsprechung Aschim mit dem babylonischen Gott Ischum zusammen[16], so daß der Name *'schm-betʾel* den Aschum-Ischum des Betʾel bezeichnen würde. Jedenfalls erscheint in beiden Namen Betʾel genau so als Gottwesen wie in ʿAnat-Jahu oder in Jehonatan Jahu-Jahwe.

Weiter stimmt nun aber zu diesem Befunde nicht allein die Tatsache, daß wir auch auf einem Ostrakon von Elefantine den Namen *Betʾel-natan* finden[17], sondern auch in Pap. 17, 9 den Namen *Betʾelʿaqab*, eine Zusammensetzung mit demselben Verbum עקב „lohnen" oder vielleicht „überlisten", mit dem der Name Jaʿqob gebildet ist[18].

Es kann demnach über das Vorhandensein des Gottes Betʾel, der wenigstens in Elefantine kaum viel anderes als eine andere Bezeichnung für Jahwe gewesen sein wird, kein Zweifel bestehen. Aber nach dem, was wir oben über die Entstehung dieses Gottes gesehen haben, kann es nun weiter auch gar nicht befremden zu erfahren, daß auch außerhalb des hebräisch-jüdischen Kulturkreises dieser Übergang vom Gotteshause zum Gotte selbst vollzogen worden ist. Auch hier hat der Name schwerlich mit dem Baetylion etwas zu tun, so stark der Gleichklang ist, sondern bedeutet einfach die Vergottung des Tempels oder Gottessitzes.

Zum erstenmal hat meines Wissens Hugo Winckler[19] auf den in einem Vertrage Asarhaddons mit Baʿal von Tyros enthaltenen Namen *Ba-ai-ti-ilāni* hingewiesen, der demnach einen kanaanäischen Gott *Baiti-ilē* oder Betʾel enthält. Dieser Gott darf indes wohl einfach als tyrischer Gott gelten. Aber auch in der

16 Vergl. dazu meine *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* II 6. 7, S. 369 Anm. 7 und S. 394 Anm. 2.

17 *Corpus Inscript. Semitic.* II, 1 Nr 154, 2. Ebenda findet sich in Zeile 7 ein Name, der zwar nicht ganz sicher zu lesen ist, aber wahrscheinlich *Betʾel-schēzib* „Betʾel hat gerettet" lautet.

18 Sachau S. 71; Ungnad S. 28.

19 *Altoriental. Forschungen* II. S. 10 ff. Er heißt Gott des Westlandes, *ebir nāri* — עֵבֶר נָהָר, was bei einem Vertrag mit dem tyrischen König von selbst naheliegt.

Zeit Artaxerxes' I. und auf einem Backstein Nebukadrezzars II. kommt der Personenname *Bīt-ili-nuri*, „Bit-il = Bet'el ist mein Licht", vor.[20] Auch hier ist somit der Gott Bet'el vollkommen einwandfrei festgestellt. Und zwar diesmal doch wohl als babylonischer, wenn auch aus Kanaan herübergewanderter Gott. Seine Eigenschaft als Gott wird hier durch den Umstand noch besonders bezeugt, daß Bitil das Gottesdeterminativ vor sich hat. Zu dieser Gruppe von Namen gehört dann auch ein Name *Bet'el-d^{e}lāni* oder *Bet'el-dala'*, „Bet'el hat (mich) herausgezogen"[21]. Unter diesen Umständen kann nun auch kein Zweifel mehr aufkommen über den vielumstrittenen Namen bei Sach. 7 2 ביתאל שראצר. Es ist *Bait-il-šaruṣur* „Bet'el schütze den König".[22]

II

Wie ist nun die Verwendung des Wortes *bet'el* als Gottesname zu erklären? Die mir richtig scheinende Deutung ist im Bisherigen bereits vorgeführt: die heilige Stätte, der Gottessitz, wird als Offenbarungsstätte des Gottes mehr und mehr zum Vermittler der Gegenwart des Gottes und allmählich zum Gotte

[20] Zimmern, *Keilinschr. u. alt. Test.*[3] S. 437 nach Hilprecht, *Babylon. Expedit.*, Vol. IX p. 60. 76.

[21] Der erste von Zimmern a. a. O. 438 in *Corp. Inscr. Sem.* II Nr. 54 richtig erkannt, der zweite aus den *Univ. of Pennsylvania Publications* II, 1, 17 nach Gesenius-Buhl[16], *Hebr. Lexikon*, S. 162 b citiert.

[22] Auch der Name *Bet'el-TQM* in Pap. 25, 6. 10 (Sachau S. 99; Ungnad S. 42 f.) gehört vielleicht hierher, obwohl sich die zweite Hälfte nicht leicht deuten läßt, da Verbalbildungen mit der 2. Person in solchen hebr. Namen sonst nicht üblich sind. Sachaus naive Frage S. 100: „Liegt etwa eine Form der Wurzel קום vor?" führt freilich nicht weiter. Aber wenn man, was an sich doch keineswegs ausgeschlossen scheint, eine 2. Person annehmen darf, so ist der Name als Gebetsruf anzusehen und תקם Jussiv zu fassen (תָּקֹם). *Bet'el-taqōm* hieße dann „Bet'el, mögest du aufstehen (zur Hilfe, zum Schutz)!" — Denkbar wäre auch eine Ittaf'alform mit pass. Bedeutung. Exod 40, 17 heißt es im Targum אִתְקַם משכנא „das Zelt wurde aufgestellt". So könnte בֵּיתְאֵלְתִּקַם heißen: „(das Bild des) Bet'el wurde aufgestellt". Aber einmal wäre das ein sonderbarer Personenname, sodann aber wäre die Synkope des א von אתקם zwar nicht unerhört, aber doch immer auffallend.

selbst. Ist diese Deutung richtig, so kann die Göttlichkeit von Betʾel immer erst etwas Sekundäres sein, das Ergebnis eines Prozesses der Vergottung. Dieses Sekundäre kann recht alt sein, aber das Ältere ihm gegenüber muß doch immer der Gottessitz, die heilige Stätte oder der heilige Gegenstand, der als Gottessitz dient, sein.

Diese Auffassung wird in neuerer Zeit bestritten. Es treten immer wieder Stimmen auf, die der Meinung Ausdruck leihen: Betʾel bedeute von Hause aus den Gott, der Gott Betʾel sei also das Primäre und die Verwendung des Wortes im Sinne von Gotteshaus, Gottessitz und im besonderen im Sinn einer bestimmten heiligen Stätte das Sekundäre. Insbesondere werden alttestamentliche Texte, in denen Betʾel eine Rolle spielt, mehrfach so gedeutet. Wo Betʾel deutlich als Ortsname auftritt, wird dieser örtliche Charakter des Wortes zwar nicht geleugnet, wohl aber mehrfach als erst nachträglich aus der Gottesbezeichnung geflossen angesehen.

Dadurch erwächst der Forschung die Aufgabe, das Verständnis jener biblischen Texte aufs neue zu prüfen. Wäre jene neuerdings auftretende Anschauung im Rechte, so würde sich dadurch ein merkwürdiger Kreislauf der Entwicklung in der Bedeutung des Wortes Betʾel ergeben. Denn da Betʾel nie anders übersetzt werden kann als mit „Gotteshaus, Gottessitz“, so muß das Wort, auch wo die Erklärung von einem Gott das Primäre scheint, doch immer zuerst jenen Gottessitz bedeutet haben und der Gott Betʾel kann immer nur von ihm abgeleitet sein. Soll er also der biblischen Ortsbezeichnung zeitlich vorangehen und demnach ihr gegenüber das „Primäre“ sein, so kann dieses „Primäre“ doch immer nur scheinbar oder relativ primär sein. In Wahrheit ist es auch dann immer schon ein Sekundäres. Aber angenommen, die Auffassung sei im Rechte, so würde sich bei ihr doch immer ergeben müssen, daß im tatsächlichen biblischen Sprachgebrauch Betʾel eine heilige Stätte darstellt. Das zweifellos Allererste würde also zugleich — nach dieser Theorie — wieder das Allerletzte sein. Wir hätten dann drei Stufen der Entwicklung: 1. Betʾel als Gottessitz und als heilige Stätte; 2. Betʾel als Gott; 3. Rückkehr zu Betʾel als Gottessitz und heilige Stätte.

Gewiß ist ein solcher Kreislauf der Entwicklung nichts, was *a priori* für unmöglich zu erklären wäre. Nichts in der Welt, was überhaupt *ist*, ist unmöglich, und Zickzacklinien gibt es mancherlei in der Geschichte. Immerhin aber darf behauptet werden, daß jene Entwicklung im Zickzack nicht eben hohe Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich hat, ehe erwiesen werden kann, daß die Entwicklung wirklich so verlief. In diesem Falle hätte natürlich vor der Macht der Tatsachen jede Theorie, schien sie vorher wahrscheinlich oder nicht, sich willig zu beugen. Doch müßte der Beweis erst erbracht werden und unsere Aufgabe ist, zu prüfen, ob er erbracht ist oder sich erbringen läßt.

1. Als erster ist, soweit ich sehe, mit jener Anschauung vom alten biblischen Gott Bet'el hervorgetreten Irael Lévi[23]. Er stellt kurz und bündig und ohne viel Beweisgründe zu suchen, den Satz auf: Bet'el hat in den Papyri von Elefantine die Bedeutung eines Gottesnamens: „c'est un nom propre devenu nom commun". Daß Bet'el, fährt er fort, ursprünglich eine Gottheit war, bezeugt die Bibel beispielsweise schon in Gen. 31 13 und 35 7 oder in 35 15 und in 1 Sam. 10 3.

Da die andern hier genannten Stellen uns nachher, und zwar mehrfach mit gleichzeitiger Begründung der aus ihnen gezogenen Schlüsse, wieder begegnen werden, empfiehlt es sich, ihre Besprechung hier zurückzustellen. Ich beschränke mich deshalb hier auf das Sondergut Lévis, die zwei zuletzt von ihm genannten Texte.

a) In 1 Sam 10 3 hat Samuel soeben an Saul die Salbung vollzogen. Er entläßt ihn mit den Worten: „Damit hat Jahwe dich zum Fürsten über sein Volk Israel gesalbt. Du sollst über das Volk Jahwes herrschen ... und das diene dir als Zeichen dafür, daß Jahwe dich zum Fürsten über sein Erbteil gesalbt hat: ..... wenn du dann von da weiter gehst und zur Eiche Tabor kommst, so werden dir dort drei Männer begegnen, die hinaufgehen אֶל הָאֱלֹהִים בֵּית־אֵל." Lévi übersetzt die letzten Worte kurz entschlossen: die hinaufgehen *zum Gott Bet'el*.[24] Da die Elefantine-Papyri einen Gott Bet'el kennen, ist ihm ganz selbst-

[23] *Revue des Études juives* 63 (1912), S. 177 f.
[24] Lévi a. a. O. S. 177.

verständlich, daß auch hier von ihm die Rede ist und der Text demgemäß in der angegebenen Weise übersetzt werden muß.

Aber dem stehen zwei schwere Bedenken im Wege, die Lévi, wie es scheint, gar nicht aufstießen, ihn jedenfalls nicht beunruhigt haben.

Zum ersten: wenn Samuel den Saul im Namen Jahwes zum Fürsten über das Erbe Jahwes eben gesalbt hat, ist es dann wahrscheinlich, daß er von den Leuten, die mit Opfergaben zum Heiligtum von Bet'el pilgern, so redet, daß der Schein entstehen könnte, als suchten sie dort einen ganz andern Gott als Jahwe? Denn wie immer der Name jenes Gottes gelautet haben mag, den jene Menschen aufsuchen, ob Bet'el oder Jahwe, — daß er Jahwe nächstverwandt, ja nur eine Abart von ihm war, ist auch im erstgenannten Falle für die Zeit Samuels sicher. Warum sagt also Samuel: sie gehen zum Gott Bet'el und nicht einfach entweder: sie gehen hinauf zu Gott nach Bet'el oder ganz kurz: sie gehen hinauf nach Bet'el? (Denn עלים als ein Verbum der Bewegung fordert eigentlich von selbst einen Ort. Steht also ein als Ortsbezeichnung mögliches Wort in der Nähe, so ist es das von selbst Gegebene, es als solche zu fassen.) Welcher Gott gemeint sei, weiß im Grunde Saul selbst, ohne daß Samuel es ihm sagt. Auch denkt er und Samuel sicher an Jahwe. Wenn Samuel trotzdem den Gott nicht *Jahwe* nennt, sondern *Elohim*, so ist der Grund leicht zu ersehen. Bet'el ist kein von Hause aus jahwistisches Heiligtum. Es ist keine Gründung Israels, sondern von Israel vorgefunden, als es ins Land kam. Vor Jahwe wohnte hier ein kanaanäischer *El*[25], der seit der Richterzeit mehr und mehr Jahwe Platz machte. So hat der Berichterstatter über die Zeit Samuels und Sauls[26] noch ganz wohl die Erinnerung bewahrt, daß Bet'el nicht immer Heiligtum Jahwes war und daß es, wohl ähnlich wie Sikem, noch längere Zeit gemeinsamer Besitz beider Teile, derer von Israel und der Kanaaniter, war. Dieser Tatbestand kommt zum Aus-

[25] Vergleiche über die kanaanitischen Elwesen in meiner *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* I 5. 6 (1923), S. 264, auch S. 237 f. 258.

[26] Über die Erzähler der Samuelgeschichten findet man nähere Auskunft in meiner *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* II 6. 7 (1925), S. 288, (von mir K^J und K^E genannt). Ebenso bei Kautzsch^4 I S. 407 f.

druck in dem Wort *Elohim:* „sie ziehen hinauf zur Gottheit nach Bet'el". So ist zu übersetzen und zu deuten. Nichts hingegen spricht dafür, daß Samuel vom „Gott Bet'el" reden wollte[27].

Zum zweiten aber: Wenn nun wirklich, wie Lévi meint, der Erzähler einen Gott Bet'el im Sinne hätte und sagen wollte, die Männer pilgern zu ihm — gewiß hätte er sich so, wie er tat, nicht ausgedrückt. Man stelle sich vor: irgendein Bekenner Jahwes oder des Kemosch oder sonst eines Gottes redet in hebräischer Sprache von seinem eigenen Gott oder dem Gott eines andern. Kommt in solchen Reden auch nur einmal die Wendung vor יהוה האלהים oder כמוש האלהים oder הדד האלהים? Zahllose Male lesen wir: Jahwe mein Gott, Jahwe dein Gott, Jahwe sein, unser, ihr Gott, יהוה אלהי, יהוה אלהיך, יהוה אלהיו usw. — nie aber: der Gott Jahwe יהוה האלהים. Ebenso, wenn Jefta dem Heiden gegenübertritt und seinen eigenen Gott und den Gott des Gegners einander gegenüberstellt, so sagt er: Jahwe unser Gott und Kemosch dein Gott Richt. 11 24. Oder wenn die Philister sich um ihr und ihres Gottes Schicksal sorgen 1 Sam. 5 7, so sagen sie: seine

[27] Man vergleiche dazu noch die Ausdrucksweise in 1 Sam. 10 5: „dann kommst du zur Anhöhe Gottes oder nach dem Gibea Gottes" (נבעת האלהים) und 10 7: „tu was deine Hand findet, denn Gott (האלהים) ist mit dir". In beiden Fällen läßt der Erzähler Samuel nur an Jahwe denken. In 10 5 kann Gibea Gottes nur so genannt sein, weil hier eine Opferhöhe stand, wie 1 Sam. 22 6 bezeugt, auch wenn man nicht mit 𝔊BL בַּבָּמָה für das ברמה von 𝔐 lesen will. Denn zur Terebinthe, dem heiligen Baum, unter dem Saul seine Großen versammelt, wird ohne Zweifel eine Opferstätte gehört haben. Aber so sicher Saul hier niemand anderem als Jahwe seine Opfer brachte, so wenig hat doch der Erzähler vergessen, und mit ihm der Sprachgebrauch der Zeitgenossen, daß die Höhe früher und wohl damals noch auch von ihren alten Besitzern, den Kanaanäern, mitbenutzt wurde. Darum der neutrale Ausdruck האלהים. Und wie stark dieser neutrale Sprachgebrauch noch die Gemüter beherrscht, tritt nun eben am allerbesten in der Tatsache zutage, daß in 10 7 der Erzähler auch zu Saul selbst den Samuel von האלהים reden läßt, obwohl er ihm soeben die Versicherung gegeben hatte: er sei im Namen von יהוה zum Fürsten über das Volk von יהוה gesalbt. Es handelt sich bei dem „Gott ist mit dir" wahrscheinlich um eine geläufige, aus alter Zeit überkommene Redensart. Sie erklärt den neutralen Sprachgebrauch hier am besten. Vgl. Baumgärtel, *Elohim außerhalb des Pentateuchs* (= Beiträge zur Wissensch. vom AT Heft 19) 1914.

Hand liegt schwer auf uns und auf Dagon unserem Gott דגון אלהינו. Niemand fällt es ein, zu sagen: האלהים כמוש oder האלהים דגון.

So sagt man denn auch כי י״י האלהים Jos. 22 34; 1 Reg. 18 39 oder כי י״י הוא האלהים 1 Reg. 8 6 „denn Jahwe (der) ist Gott“; oder man sagt י״י האלהים הקדש 1 Sam. 5 11 „Jahwe der heilige Gott“; oder כי אתה י״י האלהים 1 Reg. 18 37 „denn du Jahwe bist der Gott“; oder בית י״י האלהים 1 Chron. 22 1 „das Haus des Gottes Jahwe“ usw. Nie aber würde in solchem oder anderem Zusammenhang ein Hebräer gesagt haben: האלהים יהוה. So ist die Frage wirklich berechtigt: Wenn nie ein Hebräer gesagt haben würde האלהים יהוה oder האלהים כמוש oder האלהים דגון — warum in aller Welt sollte er denn sagen האלהים ביתאל? Er hätte es doch, wenn er jenen Sinn ausdrücken wollte, so leicht gehabt zu sagen: sie ziehen hinauf אל ב׳ האלהים oder אל ב׳ אלהינו oder אל ביתאל אלהיהם. Warum tut er das nicht? Doch wohl nur, weil er von einem Gott Betʾel eben gar nichts sagen will, sondern von dem Ort Betʾel redet.

b) Nicht anders verhält es sich mit Gen. 35 15. Es ist zu übersetzen: „Und Jaqob benannte den Namen der Stätte, woselbst אלהים zu ihm geredet hatte, Betʾel.“ Lévi zieht, um seinen Gott Betʾel hier zu finden, Elohim zu Betʾel und übersetzt: „Und Jaqob benannte den Namen der Stätte, woselbst er zu ihm geredet hatte, Gott Betʾel.“ Scheinbar kann Lévi sich darauf berufen, daß zuvor auch das Subjekt, das zu Jaqob redete (teils Elohim, teils Jahwe), weil selbstverständlich, nicht besonders genannt ist (V. 13 und 14). Aber er übersieht, daß schon die starke Überfüllung des Zusammenhangs hier mehrere Hände erweist und daß in V. 15 P am Worte ist. Aber viel wichtiger ist auch hier der grammatische Anstoß. Auch אלהים ביתאל würde kein Hebräer gesagt haben, so wenig als האלהים ביתאל. Wollte der Erzähler Jaqob den Sinn, den ihm Lévi in den Mund legt, zum Ausdruck bringen lassen, so hatte er auch hier andere Wendungen zur Verfügung. Er hätte ihn sagen lassen ב׳ האלהים oder ב׳ אלהי oder ב׳ האל oder ב׳ אלי. Jedenfalls ist die Übersetzung Lévis grammatisch ebenso ausgeschlossen, wie sie durch den Vergleich mit den parallelen

Versen 35 13 und 14 unmöglich gemacht wird: wenn sie nichts von einem Gotte Bet'el wissen, wie käme ausgesucht gerade P dazu, ihn hier zu betonen?

2. Wesentlich gründlicher als Israel Lévi geht René Dussaud zu Werke. Wir danken dem verdienten Forscher auf andern Gebieten namhafte Förderung. So sind wir zu der Erwartung berechtigt, er werde uns, wenn er zu dieser Frage das Wort ergreift, ebenfalls Wertvolles zu sagen haben.

Dussaud hat sich[28] die Aufgabe gesetzt nachzuweisen, daß der Gott Bet'el ehedem im Kultus von Efraim und in der ursprünglichen Form des Elohisten denselben Platz einnahm wie später (seit der jahwistischen Umbildung der Überlieferung) Jahwe. Auch er geht zum Erweis seines Satzes aus von den Papyri von Elefantine und schließt aus ihnen, daß der Gott, der im nördlichen Israelstaate vorzugsweise verehrt wurde, in den alten biblischen Texten eben jenen Namen Bet'el führte. Er erklärt sich den Hergang so: der Ort hieß ursprünglich *Luz* (Gen. 28 19; 35 6 f), aber die hohe Blüte der hier geübten Verehrung des Gottes Bet'el veranlasste seine langsame Umnennung in Bet'el. Erst mag man *Bet-Bet'el* gesagt haben, der Einfachheit halber wird daraus allmählich bloßes Bet'el wie man für Bet-Baʿal-Meʿon kurzweg Baʿal-Meʿon sagen lernte[29].

So bereitwillig der Leser der These von dem Vorhandensein einer Gottheit Bet'el in den Texten von Elefantine und gewissen akkadischen Texten seit Asarhaddon zustimmen wird, so begierig wird er sein, zu hören, welche „alten biblischen Texte" sie kennen.

a) Unter ihnen wird zunächst genannt Jer. 48 13: „Moab wird (in der Zukunft) zuschanden werden an Kemosch genau so wie das Haus Israel an Bet'el, dem Gegenstand seines Vertrauens, zuschanden wird." Hier sind ohne Zweifel Kemosch, der moabitische Hauptgott, und Bet'el auf seiten Israels als die zwei Hauptstücke ihres Heidentums und ihrer heidnischen Abgötterei namhaft gemacht. Es liegt daher nahe, daß Bet'el

[28] *Les Origines Canaanéennes du Sacrifice Israélite* 1921, S. 69 f.

[29] *Les Orig.* etc. S. 232. 234. Es mag hier auf sich beruhen, ob eine Benennung wie „Haus des Gottes-Hauses" an sich viel Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich in Anspruch nehmen kann: ich persönlich glaube es nicht. Aber wichtiger als diese Erwägung ist das Zeugnis der Texte selbst.

genau so wie Kemosch als Gott gedacht sei. Indessen der Schluß ist, wenn auch naheliegend, doch für eine genauere Erwägung keineswegs zwingend. Vergegenwärtigt man sich die Art, wie Amos und Hosea über Orte wie Bet'el und über den dort geübten Kultus reden, so wird man finden, daß sie diese Kultusstätten, obwohl die Leute dort Jahwe verehren wollen, in Wahrheit gar nicht als Jahwestätten werten und behandeln: sie sind ihnen in Wahrheit Götzenorte, denn in Wirklichkeit werden dort Götzen verehrt. Das will sagen: die Art, wie hier Jahwe gedient wird, ist so sehr mit heidnischen Bräuchen und Gedanken vermischt, daß der Gott, dem auch die von Israel hier huldigen, in Wahrheit gar nicht Jahwe mehr ist, sondern Baal. So schilt Hosea Bet'el geradezu *Bet'awen* „Götzenhaus" und Amos sagt von ihm: Bet'el soll zu *'awen* werden, was wir etwa wiedergeben können: „das Gotteshaus soll des Teufels werden".

Aber daraus folgt noch lange nicht, daß Hosea und Amos in Bet'el nicht die heilige Stätte, sondern einen Gott sehen. Im Gegenteil: wenn Amos[30] neben Bet'el im selben Atemzuge Gilgal und Beerseba nennt und ihnen gleich Bet'el den Untergang verheißt, so spricht zum voraus alles dafür, daß er auch in Bet'el die heilige Stätte meint. Dasselbe gilt für Hosea. In Hos. 4 15 heißt es: „Besuchet doch nicht Gilgal, zieht nicht hinauf nach Bet'awen", in 5 8: „Stoßt ins Horn in Gibea, in die Trompete zu Rama, erhebet den Kriegsruf in Bet'awen". In beiden Fällen kann nach dem Zusammenhang Bet'awen d. h. Bet'el schlechthin nur als Ortschaft und Kultusstätte gemeint sein.

[30] Am. 5 5. Auch Dussaud kennt diese Stellen (S. 234 f.), aber er verwendet sie sofort und doch auch zugleich etwas kurz angebunden für seine These. Auch in Am. 1 5 hat er zwar sicher recht, daß bei *biq'at awen* das zweite Wort der Ersatz für einen Gottesnamen wie Hadad sein wird, genau so wie es bei Bet'awen Ersatz für *el* ist. Nur folgt auch daraus wieder für Bet'el als Gott gar nichts. Im Gegenteil: ist *biq'at awen* eine Kultusstätte (Baalbek), so wird eben auch *bet-awen* eine solche sein. — In Hos. 10 8 hat Duss. ganz richtig gesehen, daß און, das sonst bei Hosea Ersatz für אל ist, zum Texte gehört und בית zu ergänzen ist, חטאת ישראל aber die Glosse darstellt. Nur folgt daraus wieder für den Gott Bet'el gar nichts. Ebenso wenig beweist das Schwören bei dem Gott von Bet'el Am. 8 14 (s. dazu meine *Biblia Hebraica*).

Läßt sich also aus Hosea und Amos für den Gott Bet'el nichts entnehmen, und erklärt sich anderseits das schroffe Auftreten dieser Propheten gegen Bet'el und seinen Namen ausreichend auch bei der Kultusstätte Bet'el, so ist damit auch Dussauds Deutung von Jer. 48 13 vom Gott Bet'el aufs neue unsicher geworden. Nichts zwingt zu ihr. Auch der Zusatz מבטחם „auf das sie vertrauen" nicht. Das Wort מבטח steht zwar nicht selten bei Gottesnamen wie besonders Jahwe, es findet sich aber auch von Ägypten, vom Zelt, von Gold und anderen Dingen vgl. Ez. 29 18; Hi. 8 14; 18 14; 31 24. Unser Ergebnis über Jer. 48 13 geht also dahin: Da schon in der Zeit Asarhaddons (681—669) in einem akkadischen Texte Bet'el als phönikischer Schwurgott bezeugt ist, so könnte es keineswegs befremden, wenn auch Jeremia, den wir als Zeitgenossen Josias und seit etwa 620 bis 586 wirkend kennen, diesen Gott nennen würde. Daß er es tut, ist möglich, aber nichts weniger als sicher.

b) Ganz besonderen Nachdruck legt nun aber Dussaud auf Gen. 31 13. Das ganze Kapitel 31 scheint ihm dem Zweck zu dienen, den Kultus des Gottes Bet'el in den Augen der Israeliten zu legitimieren. Dazu dient besonders seine Zurückführung auf die Väter Abraham, Isaaq und Jaqob[31]. Den letzteren Sätzen kann man ohne weiteres zustimmen, sobald an Stelle des Gottes Bet'el einfach der Kultus von Bet'el und anderen Orten gesetzt wird. Aber gerade mit dieser Erkenntnis scheint Dussaud nicht gedient. Ihm ruht aller Nachdruck auf dem Gotte Bet'el.

Während der Jahwist Jaqob unter den Schutz Jahwes stellt, soll der Elohist dem Gott Bet'el die Rolle des Beschützers Jaqobs zuweisen. Dies soll der elohistische Text von Gen. 31, besonders V. 13, enthalten[32].

Der Text lautet: אנכי האל בית־אל אשר משחת שם מצבה וגו׳. $\mathfrak{G}^{D}$ übersetzt εγω ειμι ο θεος ο οφθεις σοι εν τω τοπω ω ηλειψας μοι εκει στηλην. $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ fehlt; $\mathfrak{G}^{D\,sil}$ und $\mathfrak{G}^{E}$ haben εν τοπω θεου ου. Das ergibt, ins Hebräische zurückübersetzt אנכי האל הנראה אליך בבית־אל אשר משחת שם לי מצבה וגו׳: „Ich bin der Gott, der dir in Bet'el erschien, woselbst du mir eine Massebe

[31] *Les Origines* etc. S. 236 f.
[32] Ebenda S. 238.

gesalbt hast“.... In der Tat wird dies der richtige Text sein. Wie dieser Text zustande kommt und worauf er sich gründet, soll uns sofort beschäftigen. Zuvor aber haben wir zu hören, was Dussaud aus ihm macht und mit welchem Rechte.

Seine Übersetzung lautet mit Berufung auf 𝔊: „Ich bin der Gott Bet'el, der dir erschien an dem Ort, woselbst du eine Massebe gesalbt hast“.... Das würde einem hebräischen Texte entsprechen אנכי האל בית־אל הנראה אליך במקום אשר וגו׳. Ein solcher Text und seine obige Übersetzung sind aus vielen Gründen ein Ding der Unmöglichkeit. Ich führe nur die wichtigsten vor.

Erstens. Der Zusatz von 𝔊 *ο οφθεις σοι* usw. steht hinter *ο θεος*, gehört also zu האל, nicht zu בית־אל. Ihn dahin zu setzen, ist durch nichts begründete Willkür. Nach allen Regeln einer gesunden Textkritik darf eine derartige Umstellung von Worten, handle es sich um den Urtext oder um Übersetzungen, doch immer nur dann vorgenommen werden, wenn der Text, wie er lautet, keinen befriedigenden Sinn gibt. Lassen wir diese allgemeine Regel außer acht, so sind wir in der Gefahr, einer nach subjektiven Einfällen oder bloßen Eindrücken urteilenden Willkür anheim zu fallen und damit allen Boden unter den Füßen zu verlieren. Daß aber die vorhin von mir gegebene Übersetzung keinen befriedigenden Sinn gebe, wird sich nicht behaupten lassen.

Zweitens. 𝔊 hat für בית־אל scheinbar kein Äquivalent, dafür aber *εν τω τοπω ω* oder *εν τοπω θεου ου*. Das veranlaßt D. sowohl בית־אל als auf Grund von *εν τω τοπω* auch noch ein במקום in den Text aufzunehmen. Das sieht, oberflächlich angesehen, aus, als ließe es sich leidlich an. Bei näherem Zusehen erweist es sich als ein rein mechanisches, aber unsystematisches Zusammennehmen dessen, was eben gerade zur Hand war. Schon die Variante *τοπω θεου* hätte D. bedenklich machen müssen, ob er auch auf dem richtigen Wege sei. Noch mehr eine systematische Prüfung der Übersetzungsweise von 𝔊. Denn jede textkritische Operation auf Grund der alten Übersetzungen darf an den, der sie vollzieht, als erste und grundlegende Forderung die stellen, daß der Text nicht nach einem zufällig und gelegentlich aus der betreffenden Übersetzung

herausgegriffenen Befunde umgestaltet werde, sondern daß erst die ganze Eigenart der Übersetzung, ihre sonstigen Gepflogenheiten und Übersetzergewohnheiten in Betracht gezogen werden, ehe ein Urteil über eine einzelne Stelle abgegeben wird. Wäre Dussaud dieser allgemeinen Regel gefolgt, so hätte ihm nicht entgehen können, daß 𝔊 τοπος durchaus nicht ohne weiteres, wie es dem Laien scheint, für hebräisches מקום bietet, sondern gelegentlich auch für hebr. בית. Haben wir nun eine wohlbezeugte Variante in 𝔊, die τοπος θεου darbietet, so ist für sich schon klar, daß diesem τοπος θεου ein hebr. בית־אל entspricht und daß nicht die geringste Veranlassung besteht, um des τοπω willen ein מקום in den hebräischen Text aufzunehmen. Als Belege für τοπος = בית führe ich an 1 Sam. 10 25; 24 23; 1 Reg. 8 42; Ps. 119 54; Jer. 7 14 $\mathfrak{G}^{A}$. Die letztere Stelle ist von besonderem Gewicht, weil hier $\mathfrak{G}^{B\aleph}$ geradezu οικω bieten, ein Beweis, wie eng die beiden Vorstellungen τοπος und οικος sich für den Übersetzer berühren.

Drittens aber — und das ist vielleicht die Hauptsache — die Übersetzung האל בית־אל = „der Gott Bet'el" ist unhebräisch. Natürlich kann auch nicht übersetzt werden: „der Gott von Bet'el". Eine mögliche Übersetzung wäre höchstens: „der Gott ist in Bet'el". Aber auch sie ist hier ausgeschlossen. Demnach lassen die Worte sich — mit einer gleich zu nennenden Ausnahme — überhaupt nicht übersetzen und sie müssen einen Textfehler enthalten, dessen Beseitigung vorhin gezeigt ist. — Nun bleibt aber der Einwand, daß unsere Texte des öftern doch den Eigennamen hinter dem determinierten Gattungsappellativ bringen. Doch gibt es dafür meines Wissens nur zwei Beispiele: „der Mann Mose" האיש משה und „der König David, Salomo" usw. המלך דוד neben דוד המלך. Die erste Redensart findet sich Ex. 11 3 und Num. 12 3 neben משה האיש in Ex. 32 1 23. Daß die Regel ist משה האיש oder משה איש האלהים oder ירושלם העיר usw., bedarf keines Beweises. Wenn es nun ausnahmsweise einmal heißt: „Der Mann Mose war sehr groß" oder „der Mann Mose war sehr demütig", so kann es sich nur um eine stark verkürzte Ausdrucksweise für „der bekannte Mann, nämlich Mose" handeln. Es liegt also hier gar keine einfache Zusammenstellung von Gattungswort und Namen vor, wie wir sie

in der Redensart „der Mann Mose“ oder „die Stadt Jerusalem“ oder „der Berg Zion“ empfinden. Sondern es liegt ein abgekürztes Appositionsverhältnis vor. Um das zu verstehen, vergegenwärtige man sich nur, wie einem hebräisch geübten Ohre die Verbindung הָהָר צִיּוֹן für „der Berg Zion“ klingen würde, während die Genetivverbindung הַר צִ׳ uns ganz geläufig ist[33].

Ähnlich verhält es sich mit המלך mit nachfolgendem Namen neben der grammatisch richtigen Verbindung von המלך mit vorangehendem Eigennamen. Sie allein entspricht der Regel. Man sagt עזרא הסופר, אחיה הנביא usw., nie aber הנביא אחיה, הסופר עזרא usw. So muß also auch die Redeweise beim König ihren ganz besondern psychologischen Grund haben. Denn die Redeweise ist so durchaus unhebräisch, daß sie nur unter ganz besondern Bedingungen und nur auf Umwegen entstanden sein kann. Wenn man in Israel oder Juda vom König sprach, so wußte, wenigstens sofern es sich, wie es die Regel war, um den lebenden König handelte, jedermann im Lande, wer gemeint war. Niemand hatte also nötig den Namen beizufügen. Ohne Zweifel ist das auch in der Regel nicht geschehen, wie es anderwärts nicht geschah noch geschieht. Der König ist eben der König, es gibt ja im Lande nur einen. Diese Einzigkeit der königlichen Stellung war es also, die überall, wo es sich um das eigene Land und den regierenden König handelte, den Eigennamen überflüssig machte. Um ihretwillen war der Name selbstverständlich und darum überflüssig. So hat man sicher in der mündlichen Rede einfach „der König“ gesagt, und in der schriftlichen Erzählung ursprünglich ebenfalls[34]. Bei einem gestorbenen König, wenn man von ihm sprach, oder beim König eines andern Staates wird man sich zunächst der korrekten Redeweise bedient haben: „der König von Assur“, „der König von Aram“ oder „Asa, der König von Juda“ usw. Indem die Chroniken und Erzählungen, die einfach vom „König“ sprachen, Jahrzehnte und Jahrhunderte alt wurden, droht das Verständnis dieses

[33] Ebenso מְצוּדַת צִיּוֹן „die Burg von Zion“, wo wieder das Genetivverhältnis besonders deutlich heraustritt.

[34] Man lese eine Erzählung wie 2 Kön 3 4-27, wo drei Könige vorkommen, so hat man den Ton, in dem ursprünglich vom König, dem eigenen wie dem fremden, geredet wird. Joram in V. 6 scheint Zusatz.

„der König“ in Vergessenheit geraten. So setzt man zur Erklärung vielfach da, wo nicht von Hause aus schon דוד המלך usw. gestanden hatte (was natürlich, wenn auch oft unnötig, doch vielfach schon dastehen konnte), den Namen als eine Art erläuternder Glosse dahinter[35]. In späten Texten wie der Chronik kann es dann kommen, daß diese verhältnismäßig alte Glosse bereits als Textbestandteil angesehen und einfach herübergenommen wird. Da hat sie dann schon den Sprachgebrauch beeinflußt — ein Sprachgebrauch, der eben dann schon, obwohl „hebräisch“, doch eigentlich nicht mehr hebräisch ist.

Man sieht daraus, daß aus diesen beiden Beispielen sonderbarer Ausdrucksweise für die Wendung האל ביתאל nichts zu entnehmen ist. Sie ist und bleibt unhebräisch, wofern man sie mit „der Gott Bet'el“ zu übersetzen versuchen wollte. Wir haben oben die sprachlich möglichen Übersetzungen der Wortgruppe האל ביתאל zusammengestellt. Wir können jetzt noch als weitere Möglichkeit hinzufügen: „der bekannte Gott Bet'el“. Aber auch diese Übersetzung würde Dussaud nicht zum Ziele führen. Denn gerade sie paßt hier am allerwenigsten, da es sich je nach der These um die erstmalige Nennung des Gottes handeln soll. Es träfe also bei dem Gott Bet'el gerade das nicht zu, was bei „der Mann Mose“ bestimmend war: denn während Mose der bekannte Mann ist, ist Bet'el eben für Jaqob nicht der allbekannte Gott. Vielmehr soll Jaqob ja eben nach dieser Deutung hier erstmals kundgetan werden, daß

[35] Daß solche erläuternde Glossen gern nach dem betreffenden Worte, das sie erklären sollen, in den Text gesetzt werden, beobachten wir auch sonst. Vergleiche 1 Sam. 7 9: עוֹלָה כָּלִיל. Das zweite Wort ist erläuternde Glosse, die dem Leser zum Überfluß sagt, daß das Brandopfer ganz verbrannt wird. Oder 2 Sam. 1 2: der Entronnene kommt „aus dem Lager von Saul her“. Wessen Lager gemeint ist, braucht der Erzähler nicht zu sagen, aber ein pedantischer Abschreiber hat das Bedürfnis, es noch besonders zu melden. Oder 2 Sam. 10 7 „mit dem ganzen Heer, den Gibborim“. Beide Begriffe, das ganze Heer und die G., widersprechen sich: die G. sind nur ein Bruchteil des Heeres. Aber ein Glossator vermißte sie und schaltet sie ungeschickt ein. Ferner 2 Sam. 22 35: „daß meine Arme den Bogen spannten“. 𝔐 hat קשת נחושה, wobei נ lediglich verstärkende Glosse ist: 𝔊 L. hat es noch nicht. Auch Hos. 10 8 (s. vorhin Anm. 30) gehört hieher.

Bet'el ein Gott sei[36]. Und während überall, wo „der König David", „der König Salomo" noch steht, der Name in der mündlichen Rede und in der ursprünglichen Erzählung ohne weiteres entbehrt werden konnte, ist hier der Name Bet'el — jene Übersetzung vorausgesetzt — schlechthin unentbehrlich. Es liegt also nach keiner Richtung eine Analogie vor.

Viertens endlich muß mit Entschiedenheit an das zweimalige Ortsadverbium שם in unserem Texte Gen. 31 13 erinnert werden. Wenn der oben gegebene Nachweis richtig ist, daß Dussaud ohne jeden Grund nach τοπω von 𝔊 das Wort מקום in den Text aufnimmt, so ist schon damit seine Übersetzung und Deutung hinfällig. Denn שם fordert in Bet'el eine Ortsbezeichnung. Als Gotteseigenname ist Bet'el neben שם hier vollkommen unbrauchbar.

c) Immerhin mögen aufmerksame Leser des hebräischen Alten Testamentes vielleicht den Einwand zur Hand haben, daß doch da und dort ähnliche Wortverbindungen wie die von mir beanstandete האל בית־אל zu finden seien. Doch glaube ich, der Einwand trifft nur scheinbar zu. In der Tat erklären sich alle ähnlichen Wortverbindungen anders. So lesen wir in Gen. 46 3: אנכי האל אלהי אביך „Ich bin der Gott (schlechtweg), der Gott deines Vaters" oder in Gen 33 20 ויקרא לו אל אלהי ישראל „und er nannte ihn (den Altar): Gott, Gott Israels", falls nicht zu übersetzen ist: „. . . Gott ist der Gott Israels" — oder wohl richtiger: „El, der Gott Israels" beziehungsweise „El ist der Gott Israels". Wie der Altar zu dem Namen *El* kommt, braucht uns hier nicht zu beschäftigen[37]. Aber soviel wird so-

[36] Für die Art, wie bisher unbekannte Gottesnamen geoffenbart werden, haben wir glücklicher Weise Beispiele in Ex. 3 6 und Ex. 6 2. 3. Er sprach: „Ich bin der Gott deines Vaters, der Gott Abrahams, der Gott Isaaqs und der Gott Jaqobs" oder: „Ich bin Jahwe; aber zu Abraham, Isaaq und Jaqob erschien ich als El schaddaj, mit meinem Namen Jahwe bin ich ihnen nicht kundgeworden". Hier haben wir klassische Muster. Wäre unsere Stelle Gen. 31 31 als Offenbarung eines neuen Gottes und Gottesnamens gemeint, so würde sie etwa lauten: „Ich bin dein Gott" oder „Ich bin der Gott deines Vaters, der Gott Abrahams und Isaaqs" oder aber: „Ich bin Bet'el: mit diesem Namen bin ich deinen Vätern Abraham und Isaaq nicht kundgeworden".

[37] Siehe darüber oben Anm. 9.

fort deutlich, daß hier die Verbindung אל אלהי י׳ ganz anderer Art ist, als sie nach der hier bestrittenen Auffassung angeblich in האל בית־אל sein soll. Denn hier ist *El* der Eigenname, in jener angeblichen Verbindung wäre האל Appellativ. Aber auch Gen. 46 3 kommt nicht in Frage. Auch hier ist אלהי אביך hinter האל nicht Eigenname des *El*, sondern bloße Apposition zu ihm: „Ich bin der (dir längst bekannte) Gott schlechtweg, nämlich deines Vaters Gott".

Weiter können vielleicht als Parallelen in Anspruch genommen werden Texte wie Ps. 68 20: האל ישועתנו „der Gott (schlechtweg), unser Heil", oder Ps. 42 10: לְאֵל סלעי „dem Gott, der mein Fels ist", oder 42 9 לאלהים לאל חיי „Gotte, dem Gott meines Lebens". Aber die zwei letztgenannten Stellen zeigen deutlich schon durch das Genetivverhältnis (vgl. לְאֵל ohne Artikel), daß eine Benennung Els mit einem Eigennamen nicht in Frage kommt. Dasselbe gilt trotz des Artikels auch bei Ps. 68 20: ישועתנו ist hier deutlich Apposition: „der Gott, nämlich unser Heil" d. h. der unser Heil selbst bedeutet, es nicht nur spendet, sondern geradezu es persönlich in sich darstellt. Nur zu nennen brauche ich endlich Redensarten wie אל אלהים י״י Jos. 22 22 „Gott, Gott, Jahwe" oder wohl wieder besser: „El, Gott, Jahwe", was dann in Ps. 50 1 einfach herübergenommen ist, aber schon so, daß man es nicht mehr übersetzen darf, sondern alle drei Worte als Eigennamen ansehen muß: „El, Elohim, Jahwe". Aber auch in der Grundstelle bei Josua ist die Wortgruppe nicht etwa eine Verbindung von Gattungs- und Eigennamen, etwa derart, daß אלהים י״י = Gott Jahwe im Sinne von König Salomo oder Gott Bet'el wäre, sondern alle drei stehen unabhängig nebeneinander: alles, was von Gott zu sagen ist, alle seine großen Titel und Namen, unter denen man ihn anrufen kann, werden in diesem feierlichen Anruf als gleichwertige und selbständige Elemente nebeneinander gestellt. Die Häufung erhöht die Feierlichkeit: „Gott, Gottheit, Jahwe", — etwa wie wir im liturgischen oder feierlichen Gebet neben „Großer Gott" auch die Anreden kennen wie: „Großer Gott, du Ewiger, Gnädiger, Barmherziger!"[38]

[38] Von Wendungen wie כָּאֵל ישרון Deut. 33 26 und הָאֵל מעוזי 2 Sam. 22 33 sehe ich ab, da in beiden Fällen Textfehler vorliegen; s. meine

d) Nicht ohne Absicht ist die Stelle Gen. 31 13 mit aller nötigen Ausführlichkeit behandelt. Denn sie ist für Dussaud die Grundlage für das Verständnis einer ganzen Anzahl weiterer Texte. Wir werden seine Ausführungen von jetzt an wesentlich kürzer behandeln können. Denn ist sein Verständnis jener Stelle als unrichtig erwiesen, so ist von selbst auch den aus ihr gezogenen Folgerungen die Grundlage entzogen. So wenn Dussaud in Gen. 28 20–22 den Text folgendermaßen[39] umgestaltet (ich setze die Lesart von 𝔐 in Klammern bei): „Wenn *Bet'el* (𝔐 Gott) mit mir ist und mich auf diesem Wege, den ich gehe, behütet .... so soll *Bet'el* (𝔐 Jahwe) mir als Gott gelten. Dieser Stein aber, den ich als Maṣṣebe aufgerichtet habe, *den will ich Bet'el nennen* (𝔐 der soll ein Gotteshaus[40] בית אלהים werden), und von allem, was du mir gibst, will ich dir den Zehnten entrichten", — so ist die zweimalige Einsetzung von Bet'el im Sinn eines Eigennamens durch nichts begründet als durch die angenommene Richtigkeit der Deutung von Gen. 31 13. Ich kann diese Begründung nicht für zureichend halten. Ebensowenig ist die Einsetzung eines Wortes wie אֶקְרָא „ich will ihn benennen" im Texte irgendwie begründet. Auch was Dussaud auf S. 224 Anm. 4 über Gen. 33 20 sagt, ist durch nichts begründet. Weder liegt ein Recht vor, für El dort kurzweg Bet'el einzusetzen, noch beweist das dortige ויקרא, daß an der vorhin erwähnten Stelle 28 22 einfach ein אקרא eingefügt werden darf.

e) An diesem Ergebnis ändert es nun auch nichts, wenn Dussaud sich weiterhin auf Gen. 46 3 beruft. Wir haben diese Stelle schon oben S. 24 berührt und sie übersetzt: „Ich" — es spricht Elohim — „bin der (dir von Jugend auf längst bekannte) Gott[41],

Biblia Hebraica. In Deut. 33 ist כְּאֵל zu lesen, da Jeschurun überall Kosename für Israel, also hier Genetiv ist und für מע' ist nach Ps. 18 zu lesen המאזרני.

[39] *Les Origines* usw. S. 238.

[40] = aus ihm soll ein Tempel werden. Denn ein Tempel stand nach Amos 7 13; 9 1 in der israelitischen Königszeit tatsächlich in Bet'el. Die Vision von Am. 9 1 ff ist mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit auf den Tempel von Bet'el zu beziehen.

[41] Irrig ist es, wie oft geschieht, z. B. noch neuestens bei Kautzsch[4], zu übersetzen: „Ich bin El". Es müßte mindestens heißen: „Ich bin der El".

nämlich der Gott deines Vaters". Es liegt aber wiederum, da der masoretische Text einen durchaus befriedigenden Sinn bietet, gar kein Grund vor, hinter האל das Wort Bet'el einzuschalten und dieses dann als Gottesnamen zu fassen[42]. Solche Operationen sind für eine gesunde, nach strenger Methode arbeitende Textkritik gefährlich. Denn — das gilt auch hier wieder — verläßt man einmal den Boden solider Tatsachenforschung, so ist kein Halten mehr. — Das bewährt sich an Gen. 31 53, wo wir das bekannte Wort vom „Schrecken Isaaqs" פחד אביו יצחק lesen, bei dem Jaqob schwört. 𝔊 hat κατα του φοβου του πατρος αυτου Ισαακ, setzt also durchaus 𝔐 voraus. Aber Dussaud[43] findet die Ausdrucksweise: „Jaqob schwur bei dem Gott, den sein Vater verehrte", die augenscheinlich den Sinn von 𝔊 darstellt, bereits nicht mehr ursprünglich. Seiner Meinung nach haben die alten Übersetzer den Text, weil 𝔐 sich abnorm ausdrückte, paraphrasiert. Es muß daher auf verderbten Text geschlossen und der Text nach V. 13 so hergestellt werden: „Jaqob schwur beim Namen des Gottes Bet'el, den sein Vater verehrt hatte", hebräisch בֵּית־אֵל אֲשֶׁר] פָּחַד אביו.

Es braucht hier gar nicht auf die obige Erörterung über Gen. 31 13 verwiesen zu werden, um die Unmöglichkeit dieser Textkritik zu erhärten. Das Wort vom Schreck Isaaqs steht, wie Dussaud entgangen zu sein scheint, hier in V. 53 nicht zum erstenmal. Es findet sich schon in V. 42. Hätte Dussaud diese Stelle berücksichtigt, so wäre er schwerlich auf seine Erklärung verfallen. Dort lesen wir: „Wäre nicht der Gott meines Vaters,[44] der Schreck Isaaqs, bei mir gewesen, du (Laban) hättest mich mit leeren Händen ziehen lsssen". Auch hier übersetzt 𝔊 ganz einfach φοβος Ισαακ. Was dabei, hier und in V. 53, von „Paraphrase" zu bemerken wäre, kann ich nicht sehen. Einfacher und wörtlicher übersetzend als mit φοβος kann man פחד überhaupt nicht wiedergeben. Es ist aber weiter hier und in V. 53 an dem hebräischen Ausdruck פחד יצקח absolut nichts „Abnormes" wahrzunehmen. Daß solche uralte vorjahwi-

[42] *Les Origines* etc. S. 237.

[43] Ebenda S. 236/237.

[44] „Der Gott Abrahams" ist wohl samt dem folgenden „und" Glosse. Denn augenscheinlich ist doch nur dieser eine Gott gemeint.

stische Gottesbezeichnungen wie *El r°ʿī*, *El ʿōlām* usw. in den spätern Texten nicht öfter wiederkehren, ist ganz natürlich. Jene alten kanaanitischen El-wesen waren in jahwistischer Zeit ganz von selbst von Jahwe aufgesogen worden und so in ihm aufgegangen. Aber darum liegt in ihnen noch lange nichts Abnormes. פחד יצחק erklärt sich ganz normal nach Ps. 31 12, wo der Psalmist sich selbst den „Schreck seiner Bekannten" nennt: vor ihm, dem Kranken, erschrecken seine eigenen Freunde. Der Schreck Isaaqs ist der, vor dem Isaaq erschrickt, den er scheu verehrt, wie Jahwe als der Heilige Israels der ist, den Israel heilig hält und darum verehrt[45]. Und nun mache man hier in V. 42 den Versuch, ebenfalls nach Dussauds Rezept den Gott Bet'el in den Text hereinzubringen, so wird man sehen, wie absolut unmöglich der Vorschlag ist — ganz abgesehen davon, daß der angebliche Gott Bet'el doch augenscheinlich eine Entdeckung Jaqobs sein sollte und darum eigentlich unmöglich mit dem Gott Isaaqs von V. 42 und 53 zusammen geworfen werden durfte. Aber sieht man darüber auch weg: hier in V. 42 ist der „Schreck Isaaqs" Apposition zu „der Gott meines Vaters", er ist also eben, wie es auch die Bezeichnung „Schreck" d. h. Gegenstand scheuer Verehrung nicht anders erwarten läßt, hiedurch als Gott Isaaqs bezeichnet[46]. Was soll da noch der Gott Bet'el dabei? Diese Art von Text„verbesserung" verunstaltet und verdirbt lediglich einen wunderschönen uralten Ausdruck. Es ist als wollte man einen schönen erratischen Block, einen aus grauer Vorzeit herüberragenden und von ihr zeugenden Findlingstein lediglich seiner ungefügen altertümlichen Form wegen mit dem Meißel so zustutzen, daß er unserem modernen Geschmack entspricht.

[45] Auf andere Deutungen braucht hier nicht eingegangen zu werden. Keinesfalls ist die von Ed. Meyer vorgetragene: Schreck vor Isaaq zu rechtfertigen.

[46] Es tut nichts Wesentliches zur Sache, daß der 𝔊 lautet: „der Gott meines Vaters, der Gott Abrahams und der Schreck Isaaqs". Wären auch die vorhin Anm. 44 ausgeschiedenen Worte keine Glosse, so könnte der Sinn kein anderer sein. Der Gott Isaaqs — das ist augenscheinlich die Meinung des Glossators — wäre dann als derselbe wie der Gott Abrahams bezeichnet. Der Satz würde dann sagen: der Gott meines Vaters, nämlich der Gott Abrahams und der Schreck d. h. Gott Isaaqs.

III

Damit könnte ich meine Aufgabe als erfüllt ansehen, wäre nicht ganz unlängst Raymond Weill aufs neue mit derselben These unter teilweise neuer Begründung und indem er neue Folgerungen aus ihr zog, hervorgetreten[47]. Auch hier haben wir es mit einem Forscher zu tun, der auf Grund seiner geschichtlichen und archäologischen Arbeiten ernst genommen sein will.

Bei der Besprechung der Gestalt Jaqobs und seines Verhältnisses zu Bet'el kommt auch er zu dem Ergebnis, der Name Bet'el bezeichne zwar in israelitischer Zeit eine Stadt, habe aber im ursprünglichen Bericht von Gen. 28 den Gott Bet'el selbst im Sinne gehabt. Die Unterdrückung des Gottesnamens war überaus leicht: man brauchte das Wort *Bet'el „Gotteshaus"* nur auszudeuten, so hatte man die Umdeutung vom Gott auf den Ort von selbst vollzogen[48]. Zum Erweis dieser Annahme beruft Weill sich in erster Linie auf die von Dussaud herangezogenen, eben besprochenen Texte[49], freilich ohne genügend zu erwägen, daß diese gleichsam spielend vollzogene Umdeutung doch auch schon zum voraus ihre erheblichen Bedenken gegen sich hatte, worüber schon oben S. 133 gehandelt ist.

Weill geht nun aber einen Schritt weiter, indem er noch Gen. 35 7 in den Bereich der Untersuchung sieht und in dieser Stelle ebenfalls den Gott Bet'el wenigstens vermutungsweise findet. Jaqob ist auf der Rückkehr vom fernen Osten bis Bet'el gelangt. „Dort baute er einen Altar und nannte die Stätte: Gott von Bet'el אל בית־אל[50], denn dort hatte sich Gott ihm offenbart, als er vor seinem Bruder floh". Es darf wohl erwähnt werden, daß 𝔊𝔖𝔙 nicht Gott von Bet'el, sondern nur Bet'el

[47] *L'Installation des Israélites en Palestine et la Légende des Patriarches.* Paris 1924 (Extrait de la Revue de l'Histoire des Religions 1923).

[48] *L'Installation* usw. S. 36.

[49] Doch ist er einigen gegenüber selbst nicht ganz ohne Bedenken *a. a. O.* S. 37 Anm. 1.

[50] Mehrfach wird auch übersetzt: „Gott ist in Bet'el". Für unsere Frage ist die Verschiedenheit der beiden Übersetzungen ohne Belang, daher ich sie hier bei Seite lasse.

bieten. Aber man hat darauf kaum Gewicht zu legen. Die immerhin befremdliche Erscheinung, daß eine Örtlichkeit, überhaupt eine Sache, als Gott bezeichnet wird, konnte die Übersetzer leicht zum Übergehen von אל reizen. Man wird also hier gut tun, der schwierigern, minder glatten Lesung den Vorzug zu geben und die von 𝔊𝔖𝔘 als nachträgliche Glättung anzusehen. Aber gerade daraus möchte Weill, wie es scheint, den Schluß ableiten, daß die ursprüngliche Geschichte den Gott Betʾel im Sinne gehabt habe, genau so wie er es für Gen. 31 13 annimmt. Auch hier also hängt wieder an der Erklärung dieser vorhin eingehend gewürdigten Stelle alles. Denn aus Gen. 37 7 selbst oder seiner Umgebung läßt sich unmöglich ein Beweis entnehmen. Man vergegenwärtige sich nur die Tatsache, daß im Texte selbst die Stätte מקום, nicht aber der Gott den Namen „Gott von Betʾel“ erhält[51] und daß dementsprechend der Text fortfährt: „denn *dort*“ שָׁם usw. Das leugnet nun freilich Weill auch nicht. Er begnügt sich daher damit, kurzweg eben vom „ursprünglichen“ Text zu reden. Das geht indessen nicht an. Wer vom ursprünglichen Texte redet, muß auch sagen können, wie er lautete und vor allem wie der Übergang vom ehemaligen Wortlaute zum heutigen Text von E oder J zustande kam. Dussaud hat das an seinen Texten mehrfach versucht und ist daran gescheitert; Weill würde, hätte er hier den Versuch gewagt, dasselbe erlebt haben. Es wäre also wohl richtiger, weil vorsichtiger gewesen, sich auf die These zu beschränken: nicht der Text, sondern die mündliche Sage habe einmal im Zusammenhang mit Jaqob von einem Gotte Betʾel geredet. Dagegen wäre meines Erachtens nichts einzuwenden — wenn das Alter dieses Gottes sonst bewiesen wäre.

Doch beschränkt Weill sich nicht auf unsere Stelle. In der Annahme, den Gott Betʾel nunmehr bewiesen zu haben, geht er dazu weiter, zu zeigen, daß dieser selbe Gott nun auch in der

[51] Über diesen Prozeß ist oben Anm. 9 das Nötige gesagt. Man kann als weitere Beispiele des Übergangs von Gottesnamen auf Dinge oder Orte außer: Ζευς βωμος (Μαδβαχος), was hier zum Altar El-Betʾel besonders gut stimmt, noch anführen: *Berg Nebo; Baʿal Chaṣor, Aschtarot Qarnaim* u. a. Meyer, *Israeliten* S. 296 erinnert an Kirchennamen wie St. Jakob, St. Peter.

Geschichte von Jaqobs Kampf mit einer Gottheit am Jabboq Gen. 32 zu suchen sei[52]. Genauer: die Offenbarung des Gottes in Gen. 28 war ehedem auch die Folge eines Kampfes mit ihm und endete mit der Enthüllung des Namens Bet'el. Demnach wären Gen. 28 und 32 ursprüngliche Parallelen gewesen. Die Hypothese ist sicher geistreich. Aber es gelingt ihr nicht nachzuweisen, daß Gen. 32 wirklich etwas mit Bet'el und vollends mit Bet'el als Gottesnamen zu tun hatte, noch daß Gen. 28 vom Gott Bet'el handelt. Weill destilliert zwar aus V. 13 und 15 einen angeblichen kanaanitischen Urtext heraus: „Ich bin Bet'el, der Gott dieses Ortes, und ich werde mit dir sein und dich behüten", und aus V. 16: „Jaqob sprach: Gewiß wohnt Bet'el an diesem Platz, und ich wußte es nicht".

Aber das alles geht weit über die Analyse des Textes und das, was man aus ihr mit einiger Sicherheit erheben kann, hinaus. Man kann immer nur sagen: Es ist wohl wahrscheinlich, daß der israelitischen Sage von Jaqob eine kanaanäische voranging, und man könnte weiter vermuten, daß diese altkanaanäische Jaqobsage, die wohl auch schon an Bet'el haftete, auch den Gott Bet'el mit Jaqob schon in Verbindung brachte — wenn sich Bet'el sonst als altkanaanäischer Gott erweisen läßt. Hier aber ruht, wie immer wieder betont werden muß, der verhängnisvolle Trugschluß aller dieser Forscher: unsere Zeugnisse für diesen Gott reichen bis zum Zeitalter Asarhaddons und auf israelitisch-jüdischem Boden allerhöchstens bis zu Jeremia herauf und hier nur als Möglichkeit. Kein früherer biblischer Text enthält den Gott.

Wollen wir also nicht den Boden der Tatsachen unter den Füßen verlieren, so müssen wir uns allen Ernstes bescheiden, zu sagen: So weit wir bis jetzt wissen, ist Bet'el in alter Zeit in Israel und vermutlich bei den Kanaanitern Ortsname gewesen. Der Übergang zum Göttesnamen ist sekundär; er vollzog sich, soweit wir zur Zeit sehen können, in Phönikien gegen Ende der vorexilischen Zeit, bei den Juden am Ende derselben oder im Exil.

Der Fall ist lehrreich. Er zeigt aufs neue, was wir bei

[52] *L'Installation* usw. S. 38 ff. 47 ff.

Friedr. Delitzsch und andern erlebt haben, daß auch namhafte und verdiente Erforscher der Grenzgebiete des Alten Testamentes leicht in die Irre gehen können, wenn sie sich auf das spezifisch alttestamentliche Gebiet begeben. Denn die alttestamentliche Exegese und Literarkritik, vor allem aber die Textkritik, fordern heute die ganze Lebensarbeit eines Mannes für sich und werden dem Außenseiter leicht zur Gefahr.

* * *

Nachtrag. 1. Während der Korrektur dieses im Januar 1925 geschriebenen Aufsatzes kommt mir durch die Güte des Verfassers die Abhandlung des Grafen Baudissin über *El Bet-el* im 41. Beiheft zur *ZAW* (für Marti) S. 1 ff. zu. Baudissin geht vielfach einen ganz andern Weg als ich, kommt aber zu ganz ähnlichem Ergebnis, was für die Richtigkeit des letzteren spricht. Zu den oben S. 142 angeführten Beispielen fügt B. hinzu האדן יהוה „der Herr Jahwe" S. 7. Doch wird dadurch das Gesamtbild nicht verändert. Auch verweist B. auf phönikisches אלם als vorangestellte Apposition: אלם נרגל „die Gottheit Nergal" usw. B. erklärt hier אלם als Titulatur. Ich würde vorziehen zu sagen, daß diese spezifisch phönikische Ausdrucksweise[53] im Hebräischen nicht bezeugt ist. Hebräisch אלהים יהוה für יהוה אלהים ist kaum denkbar. Vielleicht darf auch daran erinnert werden, daß die hier in Frage kommenden phönikischen Inschriften, soweit ich sehe, alle jüngern Datums sind, also wohl schon einen gewissen Zerfall der Sprache voraussetzen, ähnlich dem oben S. 144 fürs späte Hebräisch vorausgesetzten.

2. Zu dem in Anm. 47 genannten Buch von R. Weill vergleiche man jetzt noch meine demnächst in der *Oriental. Lit. Zeitg.* erscheinende Besprechung.

6. Mai 1925.

[53] Vgl. Georg Hoffmann, *Über einige phönik. Inschriften* 1889 (= Abh. Gött. Ges. Wiss.) S. 15 ff.

SWINE IN OLD TESTAMENT TABOO

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AMONG the flesh-food that was barred from use by the Hebrews was that of *swine* (Lv. 11 7 and Dt. 14 8). The nominal ground for this prohibition was that they parted the hoof, were cloven-footed and did not chew the cud, and were unclean.

The attitude toward swine in the Old Testament is almost universally disdainful and derogatory. In Is. 65 the writer says of the rebellious, they are: "A people that provoke me to my face continually, sacrificing in gardens and burning incense upon bricks; that sit among graves, and stay over night in hidden places; that eat swine's flesh; and broth of abominable things is in their vessels" (vv. 3, 4). In the 66th chap. among the reprehensible offerings were those of a dog's life and swine's blood (v. 3), and eating swine's flesh (v. 17). The unclean habits of swine are set forth in Prov. 11 22: "As a ring of gold in a swine's snout, so is a fair woman who turns aside from discretion." The desecration of "the vine of Israel" is pictured by the psalmist thus: "The boar out of the wood doth ravage it, and the wild beasts of the field feed upon it" (80 14).

On turning to the New Testament we discover representations of swine similar to those of the Old Testament. In Matthew the demons, whose habitat was the demoniac, upon the appearance of Jesus, requested that upon expulsion they might enter a herd of swine, the despised animal of Israel,—the result of that transfer is well-known (Mt. 8 31 f.). When the prodigal son

was reduced to extremities, he fed hogs for a living, to a Jew the most disgraceful of employments (Lk. 15 15), and as a climax, to appease his hunger ate the rough feed of those hogs.

On what ground was the hog barred from the list of foods allowed the Israelites? It is interesting to note that the hog is the only animal excluded on the ground that it parted the hoof and did not chew the cud, and that *today* such a prohibition would not rule out the mule-foot hogs that are bred with such success in several countries. No other direct reason is assigned in the narrative of Leviticus and Deuteronomy against eating swine's flesh. The other references in the Old Testament emphasize the thought of that prohibition, and far more than that of any other flesh prohibited in the entire two lists.

Was the prohibition of swine-flesh based on hygienic or religious grounds? Some writers have gone to extreme lengths to find hygienic principles as the underlying reasons for the ban on pork; and some valid grounds they doubtless have, but were the grounds they have discovered those that were in the mind of the compiler of these restrictions? It was practically shown years ago (Smith, W. R., *Religion of the Semites,* pp. 201, 272, 232, 457) that the real reason for the ban was a religious one. Lucian, in *Dea Syria* 54, states that among Syrians swine's flesh was *taboo,* but whether because holy or because unclean was not clear; in "rules of holiness the motive is respect for the gods, in rules of uncleanness it is primarily fear of an unknown or hostile power" (W. R. S. 143), in Leviticus both seem to have come under divine ordinances.

"According to Al-Nadim the heathen Harranians sacrificed swine and ate swine's flesh once a year" (W. R. S. 272). This ceremony appeared yearly in Cyprus in connection with the worship of the Semitic Aphrodite and Adonis. In ordinary worship of Aphrodite swine were not admitted, but in Cyprus wild boars were sacrificed once a year on April 2 (Lydus, *De Mensibus,* Bonn. Ed. p. 80). Exceptional sacrifices of swine to Aphrodite took place at Argos, and in Thessaly, though these may have been purely Greek rites.

Isaiah the prophet in the passages already quoted (65 4; 66 3, 17) probably alludes to the same sacrifice, as an abomin-

ation, including two other unclean animals, the dog and the mouse.

That swine was especially sacred to Aphrodite or Astarte is affirmed by Antiphanes (*ap. Athen. III* 49). Among the Greeks the favorite piacular victims were sacred animals; *e. g.*, the swine of Demeter and the dog of Hecate; and the essential act of lustration consisted in the application of the blood of the offering to the guilty person (W. R. S. 332);—all reflected in the prophecy of Is. 66 3, 17.

To sum up the opinion of W. R. Smith (392 V. 1) "The piacular sacrifice of swine at Cyprus on April 2, represents the death of the god himself, not an act of vengeance for his death. Adonis, in short, is the Swine-god, and in this, as in many other cases, the sacred victim has been changed by false interpretation into the enemy of the god."

When we pass from these cases, to the evidence in early Babylonia we have a variety of testimony. Among the Babylonian deities we discover one called *Nin-shakh*, the second element in the name meaning "wildhog,"—a well-known animal that lived in the marshes and swamps of that great valley. Very early in Babylonian history this beast was domesticated, but was not allowed to feed on the fields and pastures as did the sheep, goats and cattle, for reasons we can well understand, but was kept in pens or permitted to run about the streets of the cities like dogs, and with them and vultures to act as scavengers, to rid the city of its garbage. Even this offensive method of feeding did not prevent the hog from being a house animal as seen in Hammurabi's laws (§ 8). "If a man steal ox or sheep, ass or pig, or boat—if it be from a god (temple) or a palace, he shall restore 30-fold; if it be from a freeman, he shall render 10-fold. If the thief have nothing wherewith to pay he shall be put to death."

It was used as food by the population with certain restrictions. On specified days of the Babylonian calendar, as 30th day of the fifth month, the flesh of this animal was not eaten, probably because this day was dedicated to the hog, as a remnant of some old religious feast. And at certain feasts it was roasted for the priestesses (*B. E.* 6, 1, 21, 5, 34, 10); and their

fat (lard), was used as an offering to the gods (*R. A. 9,* 101, IX, 12 ff.).

To the god Nin-shakh above mentioned, Rim-Sin built a temple in Erech, called his beloved residence, probably an old temple of the god restored or enlarged. More than this we cannot at present assert.

In spite of all the many references to the use of swine in offerings to divinities, and for priestesses, and prohibition on certain days, they were not clean beasts; on the other hand they were cheap and easily procurable. Their associations with demons which gladly seized upon them (as in Mt. 8 32; *C. T.* 17, 5, 43) gave them an ominous character. The figure of Labartu the child-slaying demon is represented with two sucking pigs, clinging one to each side of his body (*Z. A. 16,* 156, 26), as if they were nourished by the hideous character of that monster. Such associations indicate their classification in the minds of the Babylonians.

In pre-Israelitish Palestine swine were well-known. Macalister in his excavations at Gezer found among the bones of sacrifices at the high places, those of sheep, kine and camels, and among the bones in the great neolithic sanctuary he identified quantities of bones of hogs (*Q. S.* 1903, 321; 1904, 113). Why these were the special victims in the sacrifices we have no exact means of knowing. That they were immolated is beyond shadow of a doubt.

Since the hog was sacred to a divinity in Cyprus and Greece, to another god in Babylonia, was associated in myth and legend with demons and evil spirits, was used in feasts to certain priestesses and gods, and was sacrificed to divinities by the inhabitants of pre-Israelitish Palestine, there is abundant reason on religious grounds for classifying him in Hebrew legislation as unclean, and for prohibiting the use of his flesh as food among the worshippers of Jahweh.

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THE NAME *YAHWEH* AND ITS MODIFICATIONS IN PROPER NAMES

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IN the *Journal*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 370—8, the writer published a short discussion of the Tetragrammaton and its meaning, form in proper names, etc. From a number of criticisms and suggestions which have been made, it is evident that striving for concision has led again to lack of general intelligibility in certain parts of the paper. The following observations will perhaps help to remedy this defect.

On page 374 we discussed the Masoretic form *Yehô-* at the beginning of theophorous compound names, and compared it with "the equally absurd *Yehôsef* for *Yôsef*." More detail is here necessary. The spelling יהוסף for the usual יוסף is found once in the Old Testament (Ps. 81 6), and frequently on the ossuaries and graffiti of the Second Temple (cf. Klein, *Corpus inscriptionum judaicarum, passim*, and Sukenik, JPOS IV, 172 ff.). Of course, the name was still pronounced *Yôséf*; the spelling "*Yehôséf*" is due to the analogy of the vast category of names beginning with Yô,—and always so written in the early period of the Kings of Judah,—which began to be spelled יהו in the seventh century and were virtually always so spelled after the Exile, though the pronunciation still remained *Yô*. Fortunately, we can follow the spelling from century to century, thanks to the ample epigraphic material now accessible. The ostraca from Samaria and the earlier seals from the ninth and eighth century write consistently יו, that is *Yau* (for

older *Yáhū*) or *Yô*; just when *Yau* was contracted to *Yô* we cannot tell, but it may have occurred during the latter part of the pre-exilic period, since the Assyrian transcriptions of the eighth century indicate a pronunciation *Yau*. The change in spelling which we find in the Jerusalem ostracon, from the seventh century, as well as the later pre-exilic seals, all of which write יהו, probably represents a reaction due to the religious revival of Yahwism in the period of Hezekiah and Josiah, which insisted on the use of the full form of the name *Yahweh*, just as we find in J (= Eissfeldt's J), compiled early in the seventh century (so from Gen. 10), and D. To strict Yahwists, the pronunciations *Yáhū*, *Yau* and *Yô* were associated with religious laxity and worship of the god of Israel under heathen forms. The fact that the Jews of Elephantine still wrote the divine name as Yáhū, instead of using the full Tetragrammaton, is thus in itself an illustration of the distinctly pre-Deuteronomic attitude of the colonists in Upper Egypt, who were descended from Jewish circles opposed to Jeremiah and the Deuteronomic innovations. On the other hand, the יהו and יה of the well-known early post-exilic jar stamps from Jericho and Jerusalem (now brought to light in numbers by the Palestine Exploration Fund excavations) are presumably nothing more than convenient abbreviations for administrative purposes, and have no ulterior bearing.

The Masoretes took the spelling יהו, handed down to them, and tried to vocalize it. They were faced with the same problem as in other cases of superfluous letters due to historical spelling. The familiar illustration of בְּאֵר shows how they went to work. Here they found the pronunciation *bêr*, for *bé'r*, for **bi'r*, where the *alef* had quiesced, just as in Arabic *bîr* for *bi'r*. Since all the consonants except the last one had to be pointed, and their system forbade pointing *alef* with *šewâ*, they naturally had to place the *šewâ* under the initial consonant. It goes without saying, however, that the Masoretes themselves did not pronounce *bé'ér*, but *bêr*. It was only in later times that the artificial pronunciation *be'ér* was adopted, just as large circles in the lower middle classes of America have begun to pronounce the silent consonants in English because they are written: e. g., *fore-head*,

etc. In the same way they found the spelling יהו with the pronunciation *Yô*. There was only one way out of the difficulty—to point the initial *yôd* with *šewâ*, which they promptly did. It is by no means impossible that they actually thought that *Yô* was an unjustifiable contraction from an original **Yehô*, since they were not comparative philologists. At all events, their system forced them to create an anomalous punctuation which presently became a literary pronunciation, and has been responsible for gallons of wasted ink in recent times.

In connection with the Egyptian parallels cited on pp. 375, 8 my attention has been called to the Egyptian *Ḫpry*, a title of Rêʿ which became very popular in the late period, as a possible case in point. I had indeed thought of it before, having noticed the comparison made in one of Völter's papers (to which I may spare myself the trouble of referring), but had not considered it worth-while mentioning it. Most Egyptologists regard *Ḫpry* as merely meaning "Divine Beetle"; the scarab beetle, Eg. *ḫprr>ḫpry*, was the symbol of the god Amôn-rêʿ, who was, therefore, called "Beetle", in accordance with the mystic interpretation of early mythological symbolism which became so popular in the first millennium B. C.

Before closing we may consider briefly the contentions of Luckenbill's recent paper, "The Pronunciation of the Name of the God of Israel", *AJSL* XL, 277—83 (July, 1924). Professor Luckenbill has given a number of trenchant criticisms of prevailing views, and his observations must be considered carefully.

On p. 278 he calls attention to the Late Babylonian (Murašû) spelling of *Yônatân: Ya-a-ḫu-u-na-tan-nu*, which proves a pronunciation *Yahûnatán*. This is, however, an exception, which only shows that the Babylonian Jews of the post-exilic age were under the same seventh century influence as their Palestinian brethren, and that they pronounced the name *Yônatán* on formal occasions as *Yahûnatán*, the correct archaizing form, which was still well-known to them because of the variant pronunciations *Yâhū*, *Yah* and *Yô* at the end of theophorous names. Luckenbill's further comments on the basis of Babylonian and West-Semitic transcriptions are without much bearing on the history of the Tetragrammaton, since the latter was coined and contracted

long before the ninth century B. C., to which our oldest relevant epigraphical material belongs.

The final ה in the orthography of the Mesha Stone represents *éh*, not *ôh*, as the writer has tried to show in a paper not yet published on the dialect of this text. It is by no means impossible that it stands for *ôh* in the name *Qrḥh*, but there is no reason why the Moabite final *he* should be any more restricted in vocalization than the Hebrew one. Practically all occurrences of final *he* on the Stone denote the pronominal suffix of the third person masculine, both with nouns and verbs. Since the language of the inscription is at least strongly influenced by Aramaic, the vowel of the pronominal suffix should be *é*, i. e., we should read *arṣéh*, "his land," not *arṣôh*. Quite aside from other considerations is the fact that the vowel *ô* can only appear after the intervocalic *h* has been elided, *áhū* becoming *au*, which is then contracted to *ô*. The *e* vowel of *éh* has a different origin, and corresponds exactly to the Hebrew connecting vowel *é* in imperfect forms like *yaʿaḇdéhū* which is also originally short. In other words, the *he* is quite in place in *éh* for **éhū*, but entirely out of place in *ô*<**au*<**áhū*. The statement in Gesenius-Kautzsch quoted on p. 280 by Luckenbill is based upon a few anomalous vocalizations of the Masoretes. Luckenbill's statement (p. 282) that "the writing יהוה found in the Moabite stone, so far from favoring a pronunciation 'Yahweh', seems definitely to preclude it" is strange, even if we admit that the Tetragrammaton should be pronounced *Yahô* in Hebrew, since the Moabite Stone does not write medial long vowels *plene*.

At the end of his paper Professor Luckenbill hazards a suggestion which he puts in the form of a question: "Was the original form of the name *Yāhaun?*" The basis of the strange appearing form is an effort to make the *waw* in the name *Yahweh* as given in the Mesha Stone less anomalous in case the pronunciation should be *Yáhô*. While stipulating that it is all hypothesis, he suggests: "A form *Yāhaun*, written יהון, might have lost its final *nûn* like שילן, etc., and it is not inconceivable that the resulting *Yāhau*, יהו, which may have been going over into *Yāhô*, might have had a ה added to it as a vowel-letter." Here we have a misunderstanding of the morphological relation

of *Šîlô(h)* and *Šîlônî*, *Seilûn*, which has been explained in my paper in this *Journal*, p. 374, n. 22. Since the *ôn*-ending stands for *ân*, and not for *aun*, there would be no parallel, even if my explanation should be rejected. On Luckenbill's theory, the Moabite spelling יהוה could only represent a pronunciation *Yahwôh*, which might conceivably stand for *Yahwôn*.

Since Professor Luckenbill, as the foremost Assyrian philologist in America, is contending vigorously against faulty Assyrian philology, wherever it appears, he will surely not object to criticism of his Hebrew phonology, where he is quite abreast of the current standard. At all events, temperate discussion of these knotty problems can only be advantageous to biblical scholarship.

JUDAISM AND MAZDAYASNA: A STUDY IN DISSIMILARITIES

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SINCE the days of Thomas Hyde (1700) much has been written on the comparison of Judaism and Mazdeism. Students of the subject have hitherto taken up what we may call the higher theological development of both religions, and have found some similarities, which may be due to parallel evolution or to diffusion of ideas. No unanimous verdict has been reached by scholars. Our method of approach will not be a study of these intellectual data but of more concrete features. It is based on the following preliminary observations.

In the description of the Persian religion by Herodotus there is not one word said about God or theology, only about ritual and practices which come under observation. This attitude of Herodotus is most common. There were many Copts in Egypt when the 'Arabian Nights' assumed their present form. And yet we find nothing in the 'Nights' about higher Christian theology but many stories on concrete points of religion such as Herodotus noticed in Persia. Again the things that mattered in the controversy between the Judeo-Christians and the converts made by Paul were circumcision, meats offered to idols, blood, things strangled, and fornication. No doctrine is mentioned. So far as I was able to observe, in West Africa the arguments of Moslem missionaries were not an appeal for a deepening of the belief in a God in Heaven, known of all Africans, but discussions about fasting in Ramadhan, abstaining from pork and to some extent from liquor, and using written Moslem talismans instead of, or in addition to, ancient amulets made

by the witch-doctor. From Egypt the Hebrews borrowed, perhaps, circumcision, but certainly not belief in life after death. Nearer to us we have other instances. We do not find that the worship of the Virgin Mary, transubstantiation, Christian soteriology, and the doctrine of orders have had any influence, positive or negative, on Judaism. But now there are organs and choirs in synagogues and temples, and in England rabbis wear the clerical collar. When these influences are not even found, it would be most unlikely that theological contacts exist at all. What do the Poles know about the Jewish religion, or the Jews of the Catholicism of their neighbors in Poland? Only externals, only details, usually misunderstood and exaggerated. These are the things that are always observed and remembered and that usually prevent the influence of one religion upon the other, and often cause the contact between two nations of different religions to make them not more alike but still more different. In our discussion, therefore, we shall take the point of view that for a foreigner the essence of a religion is rather non-essential. What he observes, what he may imitate if he approves of it, are concrete elements, which a theologian working from the inside may consider as secondary. We think that it is a kind of psychological law.

One of the first ideas to be compared in the case studied here is the attitude towards the dog. It is well known that Zoroastrianism nearly became a kunolatry. The look of the dog was well known as a purifying and saving power. A dog's life was worth more than a man's life. In the Bible, on the contrary, the dogs were held in contempt, as they are in all the Semitic East to day. They were rightly looked upon as shameless, treacherous, and filthy. To be called a dog was an insult. It was a title given to the Gentiles and the enemies of Israel, or to male prostitutes.

The praises of the ant found in Proverbs 6 6–8 and 30 24–25 are well known. The ant retained this excellent reputation in Talmudic literature. On the contrary, the killing of ants was a duty for all Mazdeans, and a means of gaining merit. He went 'to the ant' to kill it and never would have called it 'exceeding wise.'

The cock was greatly honored in Mazdeism. In rabbinical Judaism he is called the most impudent of birds, lascivious, quarrelsome and vicious. He is a mischievous dish-breaker, either by his mere crowing or when he flies about the house. Breeding of cocks was forbidden in Jerusalem because they scratch the ground and may spread ritual uncleanness by picking up unclean objects. The demons have cock's feet. This last belief may be of Babylonian origin. Most certainly, as well as the former, it is just the opposite of what a Zoroastrian would have thought.

For the Mazdeans, swine were good animals classed with the camels (Bundahish 14, 6). The Hebrews were far from thinking likewise.

Finally, the sacredness of the bull, which had been so recently overthrown in Israel, should easily have revived if the Israelites had been keenly desirous of imitating the Persians.

Another subject where dissimilarity is evident is that of the ablutions so important in Jewish ritual. The Magi are said to have overthrown a king for having built bath houses, as they cared more for the cleanness of water than for their own. True or not, the story was not unlikely, and that was just the kind of story that would make their religion very uninteresting to Jews. The purifications with *gomez* or ox-urine would be most obnoxious to them as to any one else.

Hebrew temple ritual was as different from Persian ritual as possible, and remained so. "The Persians think it unlawful to build temples or altars," says Herodotus, "imputing folly to those who do so." Burning victims would have been to them the worst form of sacrifice instead of the highest as in Israel. If Persian examples had been followed by the Jews they would have revived the worship on top of the mountains, which had been suppressed not so long before.

The Mazdean custom of incestuous marriage was much criticized by foreigners. It certainly would not have appealed to the Hebrews more than to others.

The Magian custom of exposing dead bodies to birds of prey would have been quite as unattractive to a Jew. No doubt the other Mazdeans did not as yet practice this method

of disposing of corpses, but a Jew who would have liked to know about the real Persian theology would have had to be much with Magians. They would certainly have taught him that the duty of keeping the earth clean from pollution was the first step in the 'good religion.'

We shall now take up some features of religion where we find concrete and therefore essential dissimilarities.

Even the doctrine of God must be approached from this point of view. If a Moslem argues with a Christian on belief in God he does not take up a lofty point of theology but that of *shirk* in the plainest form and says at once, "How can God have a son if he has not a wife?"

In the same way a Jewish monotheist, noticing the lofty teaching of Zoroaster, would have claimed that it was nevertheless inferior to that of Moses and less clear. He would have been repelled by the mention of Ahura's wives, even though these may be explained away as being rivers. If a Jew had had a chance to know the subtleties of Mazdean thought he would have thought that his own belief in the *ruah* of God was far more valuable and strong than the pale connection of Spenta Mainyu with thought.

And after all the Jew would have been right, far more than he could think. The Semite conception of God as the author of evil made of the problem of evil a greater, a nobler, a more tragic thing than the doctrine of Ahriman. Compare the book of Job and its transcendant and triumphant message, and the Mazdean method of solving the problem of evil by taking care of bitches, repeating sacred texts, and killing ants and frogs.

Of course the Hebrew could not accept Persian dualism. He could not if he was a Semite, and his God was above evil. He could not because his God was not like the Iranian deity developed from a nature power. He could not because he took little interest in nature as such, in its possible laws and in its struggles.

Less foreign to his point of view was the dualism of Egypt, set forth in a warm imagery as the conflict between Set and Osiris. That might have appealed to Jews of the Diaspora

and it probably did through the mysteries.[1] We may note here that the belief in Satan's independence of and opposition to God appears clearly first in Wisdom 2 24, that is to say in a book written in Egypt, where Persian influence is not to be thought of, but where Hellenistic influence, including much of the old Egyptian religion, was evidently at work.

The Semitic East is full of spirits good and bad, the *jinn*. They are not and were not, like the Yazatas, mere personifications, but real living beings, mixing with men and women, and when they had names, these were in Israel good Semitic names, as they should be in a Semitic world. Persian names are not found among them. Every man has a double. The Hebrews could have learned that centuries ago in Egypt. There was no need for them to hear of *fravashis*.

If the Hebrew doctrine of the Resurrection had been derived from Persia the Cinvat bridge would have come into prominence as the central feature of it. We may easily explain the doctrine of resurrection as a purely Jewish development. If we must find foreign influence, Egypt was nearer than Persia and more friendly.

There was no single line of development of Jewish Eschatology during the last centuries before Christ. The differences between these various systems evolved in Judaism and that of Mazdeism have been set forth by Charles, Söderblom and others. From our point of view, similarity in the doctrine of hell would be more likely than in the doctrine of heaven. We shall, therefore, note here the striking difference between the Jewish and the Avestan hell. The latter is a place of cold, stench, and poison. The former is the place of fire, the most sacred symbol of the Zoroastrian God. Had a Zoroastrian influence been at work on Judaism it would have unified Jewish eschatology in a direction sympathetic to Mazdean principles. The result would have been a similarity approaching to that of 'Tophet and Eden' of Immanuel ben Solomon Romi with Dante.

[1] L. Cerfaux, *Influence des mystères sur le Judaisme alexandrin avant Philon*. Museon 34, 29—88.

It is true that Zoroaster had apocalyptic tendencies, but these are also found in Ezekiel, who certainly found their roots in the old religion of Israel, and not in a Zoroastrianism unknown then in Babylonia.

Moreover we want to emphasize the point that Jewish theologians did not generally accept the apocalyptic views found in the apocrypha. Apocalyptism remained very much on the margin of the main current of Jewish thought. Most important therefore is the fact that even in that margin Mazdean influence cannot be certainly proved.

Judaism as soon as we observe it as a clearly developing form of religion is a book religion. Not so Zoroastrianism. It is well known that the destruction of Persepolis by Alexander dealt to that religion a most severe blow. There was left not a single complete copy of Zoroaster's work. In contrast with Judaism, we may call Mazdeism an archive religion. The similarity found here by some with Judaism turns out to be a dissimilarity.

Our next point is that there was no reason why the Jews should have had any friendly feeling towards Mazdeism. It is true that Cyrus had been their friend and they should have been grateful to him, but it is by no means certain that Cyrus was a Zoroastrian. If Darius was the first Persian ruler to follow the reformed faith of Zoroaster he was also a firm ruler, who probably nipped in the bud Jewish national hopes by doing away with Zerubbabel. The prophecy of Zechariah shows that Israel was at the beginning of the rule of Darius expecting a wonderful apocalyptic manifestation of God, destroying the power of Persia and establishing a Messianic rule. This hope was disappointed. Under the successors of Darius heavy taxes had to be paid, and the little good done by Cyrus was so completely forgotten that the Jews hailed Alexander as a deliverer.

Again, one does not very well see at what period of Jewish history the influence could have been felt. Not under Persian rule, we think, when religion was closely connected with the state and when, moreover, the attitude of the King of Kings was tolerant towards other religions. The Achemenians knew

and said clearly that Ahura was the god of the 'Aryan Aryans', thus qualifying his universality and lessening the appeal he could make to other races. Darius did not reject the other gods, the *baga,* they were beneficent to him. A fragmentary copy of the Babylonian version of the Behistun inscription used in Babylonia apparently does not even mention Ahura-Mazda. Thus were the Achemenians so tolerant that they can scarcely have been witnesses to the Zoroastrian faith. The attitude of respect for the God of Israel which they assumed—or which their Aramean secretaries well trained in diplomacy assumed for them—would probably strengthen much the Jewish faith in the God of Israel who had rescued them from Babylon's yoke. It would be understood as lack of real faith in Ahura-Mazda. As for the Jews of Babylonia they must certainly have known that the Achemenians respected Marduk as if he were a real god. In the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon the official protection extended to the triad Ahura, Mithra, Anahita would be severely judged by a monotheist Jew, for behind Mithra were Shamash and Marduk, and behind Anahita was the goddess Ishtar, now forever connected with shame in her name Ashtoreth. Under the empire of Alexander and of the Seleucids Mazdeism was discouraged and uninterested in a world mission. Where it was growing at all, as in Armenia and in Commagene, it was in a polytheistic and debased form.

The very fact that the Mazdeans let the lofty teaching of Zoroaster in the Gathas be smothered by Magian beliefs and practices shows that they had not understood it well and so could not transmit it to others, even if they had cared to do so, and if there had been a point of contact. The Gathas were in a dead language and hidden away. If a Jew had had access to them, could he have been more of a Zoroastrian than the adepts of the prophet of Iran? Would he have been enough of a critic to know more than his masters, the Magians? To ask the question is to answer it.

We may also note here that the assimilation between Zoroaster and Nimrod, found in so many Syriac sources, goes back almost certainly to a Jewish view, which would stamp the prophet of Iran as an alien of the worst kind and an antagonist

of Abraham. Other traditions identifying him with Balaam or Baruch, Jeremiah's secretary, or even making him a disciple of Elijah, were they known among Jews, would leave Zoroaster either an enemy of the living God or a plagiarist. In either case, it would discourage investigation.

Finally we think that a 'borrowing' hypothesis is always *a priori* a doubtful one. Israel had a real religious genius. In Persian and Seleucid times, an Israelite had a right to be proud of his discovery of God. We cannot imagine that Israel could busy itself with copying from nations which were scarcely up to its level. Religious leaders of Israel had discovered by themselves the doctrine of individual responsibility. They gave it such a form that it is greater than any doctrine ever taught in Persia. After all, the world follows Israel and not the Parsis.

L. R. Farnell says excellently, "The hypothesis of borrowing, which is always legitimate where the peoples with whom we are concerned are adjacent, is only raised to proof either when the linguistic evidence is clear, for instance when the divine names or the names of cult-objects are the same in the various districts, or when the points of resemblance in ritual or religious concept are numerous, striking, and fundamental, or peculiar to the communities of a certain era."[2] No such adequate proofs have been brought forward by advocates of Mazdean influence on Judaism. Indeed, no proofs at all can be brought in the field of lower and concrete religious forms.

After his thorough study of Armenian Zoroastrianism, M. H. Ananikian comes to the conclusion that even in Armenia, where there was much influencing by Mazdeism of concrete aspects of religion, the higher aspect of Zoroastrianism has left no trace.[3] This makes us still more sceptical of the claims of influence of Mazdayasna on Jewish theology. We should certainly want the clearest kind of evidence for theological influence when we can discover none in the concrete forms of religion where it should come first.

[2] *Greece and Babylon*, p. 37.
[3] *ERE* I, 802.

THE RÔLE OF SOLOMON IN THE SONG OF SONGS

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THE rôle of Solomon in the Song has always attracted attention; but whether his part there was real, fanciful, or symbolical, how late the poem reached its Solomonic form, and just what significance is to be attached to his rôle therein, have been matters of more or less serious debate throughout the history of the interpretation of the poem. In this paper I desire to consider the Song primarily from the standpoint of this problem.

Substantial progress in the interpretation of the Song of Songs has, I believe, been made in spite of all that has been said upon the subject. This may be a bold statement and presumably it requires some interpretation. There is still the widest diversity of scholarly opinion on the poem, more of such indeed to the square inch of Scripture than is true, perhaps, of any other corresponding area of Holy Writ. Progress has been made, nevertheless, first of all in the direction of its unity.

The character of Solomon in the Song has always compelled a consideration of unity. Even more the refrain involving the "daughters of Jerusalem" has suggested some formal sense of unity. The predominant presence of a maiden in the poem, and the presumption that she could be measurably identified throughout the piece has of course made in the same direction. On the other hand the lack of historical background, especially the uncertainty as to the date of composition, has left obscure both the motivation of the poem and its own particular aim.

The attempt to find the genetic development of the Song in allegory, erotic poetry, wedding songs, or some form of dramatization, has each in turn reacted upon the conception of its inner unity or diversity.

These attempts have for the most part proved abortive, as might have been expected, since the method of procedure was essentially that of trial and error in the dark, and certain alluring points of similarity were apt to be overestimated. Numerous proposals have therefore commended themselves to various minds, only to be discarded upon further reflection. I believe it not unduly venturesome to say that progress has more recently been made in a growing feeling of the inadequacy of the wedding songs theory really to account for the poem. But more especially the proposal of Meek[1] to find the basic material of the piece in the poetry of the fertility cult of Babylonia and Syria has gone far beyond any previous attempts of this sort not only by adducing an array of very attractive analogies and explanations, but more particularly by being able to show convincing philological evidence of Babylonian origin. This hypothesis calls for a certain unity of conception based upon a very definite cycle of motives and aims.

How far such a basis can be used directly to explain the existing poem in detail has not, to my knowledge, been seriously undertaken. The need for such an undertaking, before much further assured progress in the interpretation of the poem can be expected, should require no justification. It is admitted that not much of the original character of the poem as a Tammuz liturgy has persisted, and this raises the question as to how far the original motives of the liturgy have survived the admittedly great changes in form and setting.

It is clear, first of all, that the original seat of the Tammuz cult as associated with the Song has been changed at least once and perhaps twice, with the consequent likelihood of modifications due to the process of migrations and changed

[1] *Canticles and the Tammuz Cult*, A. J. S. L. XXXIX, pp. 1—14; *Babylonian Parallels to the Song of Songs*, J. B. L. XLIII, pp. 245—252; *The Song of Songs and the Fertility Cult: Symposium of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia*, 1924, pp. 48—79.

environment. It is evident from the poem itself that at one time it centered in the Lebanon and that region of the extreme north of Israel.[2] Was it still earlier located in Babylonia?[3] Its center was, at any rate, later transferred from the Lebanon to Jerusalem and this still remains its focal point, whatever other accretions may have been added later. This change of center involves (1) all the passages dealing with the "daughters of Jerusalem"[4] who may well have replaced an older women's chorus, and (2) the references to King Solomon which can only be applied appropriately and certainly to him.[5] The removal of these passages would entirely disrupt the poem, so completely has it been reconstructed from the Jerusalem and Solomonic viewpoint.

We may make our approach to our problem at this point. What were the motives that could have led to this extensive rewriting and change of setting of the piece and its predominant associations with Solomon? The answer to that question requires first of all an analysis and an evaluation of what remains after the above passages have been removed.

There is, then, first the words of a maiden who speaks 71 verses out of a total of 117 in the entire poem. The main content of these verses up to 8 5 is occupied with an absent shepherd lover, either in expressing ardent longing for him[6] or glad reminiscences of his earlier presence[7] or in recounting troubled dreams wherein she sought him and even found him only to have him elude her finally;[8] or in glowing idealization of the absent lover.[9] But always he is absent till 8 5 when for the first time he appears on the scene, and always his character as a shepherd is evident. But when he does appear, the scene

[2] cf. 4 8, 15; Wilfred H. Schoff, *The Offering Lists in the Song of Songs, Oriental Club Symposium*, pp. 80—120.

[3] cf. Meek, J. B. L., XLIII, pp. 245 ff.

[4] 1 5, (6-7), 8; 2 7; 3 5; 5 8, (9); 6 1; 8 4.

[5] 3 7-11; 1 2-4 (when taken with the "daughters of Jerusalem"); 6 4-9; 8 11-12.

[6] 1 7; 7 9a-13; 8 1-3.

[7] 2 3-5, 8-17; 4 7-16; 5 1.

[8] 3 1-4; 5 2-7.

[9] 5 10-16.

is no longer in Jerusalem but in the maiden's village home far from the Court of Solomon. There remains in 1 9–11, 15; 4 1–6; 7 1–9 the words of one who is referred to as king.[10] The words of this character are always addressed to the maiden either in an endeavor to flatter her vanity as in 1 10–11, 16; 2 2, or to so catalogue her physical characteristics as to reveal sensual lust on his part. Whom does this character represent in the original cult? If the prototype of the maiden is some form of the Goddess Ishtar, her longed for and lost lover logically goes back to an earlier form of Tammuz, fittingly expressed throughout the poem in the form *Dod(a)i*. The figure of the king from the recognized West Semitic name of Tammuz viz. דוד[11] adds no new features nor situations not applicable to Solomon, and the entire rôle is quite as appropriate for Solomon as anything specifically ascribed to him. If, however, this figure is older than Solomon, as it may well be in the fertility cult, it may have had one of two sources. First, it might have come from a variant form of the fertility cult in which Tammuz was represented as king. This is somewhat improbable in itself because of the peculiar use of this term as a title of Tammuz. Among 28 titles of Tammuz cited by Zimmern[12] only two contain the word "king," viz., *"lugal amash"* and *"lugal ki-bad-du"* i. e. "king of the cattle stall" and "king of evanescence" respectively; and here manifestly *lugal* has nothing to do with a king as such, and should more properly be translated "lord." The instances cited by Langdon (*Tammuz and Ishtar*) fall into three categories: (1) Instances referring to Babylonian kings, whose deaths are interpreted as having had an effect on nature similar to the death of Tammuz. This, as will be appreciated, is at most only a partial identification and it ceases to have any further application to the representations of the fertility cult beyond the point of comparison. (2) Instances where certain Babylonian kings claimed to be the husbands of the mother goddess Innini. These cases

[10] cf. 1 12 and 7 5.

[11] cf. Meek, A. J. S. L., XXXIX, p. 5.

[12] *Der Babylonische Gott Tammuz: Berichte der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, 63. Band XIII. 4.

would seem to lack considerably from being identifications with Tammuz, first because the goddess had other Divine consorts than Tammuz, and hence the instances of kings cited do not clearly equate them with a particular god. In the second place we can probably discern how this relation of the kings to the goddess arose and was conceived. Idin-Dagan (Thureau-Dangin, *Königszuschriften*, p. 10, v. 24) claims that Innini summoned him to rule, which shows that he regarded the goddess as his patron divinity, and he calls her his beloved spouse, not probably in the rôle of Tammuz, which would have pointed to his speedy death; but in his own right, as a relation which gave an added assurance of his right to rule through his alliance with the Divine Matriarchate. On the other hand when such a king died it would be very natural if he were spoken of as Tammuz, as under (1) above. (3) Consists of a long Babylonian poem published by Radau,[13] which, although still not too well understood, seems to contain the celebration of the marriage of Idin-Dagan, third king of Isin with the goddess Innini. At one extreme this may mean only an extension of examples under (2), at the other, it signifies a king taking the place of Tammuz in union with the mother goddess. In Langdon's view this goes back to the more barbaric west Semitic rites in which the king was actually slain, even as Tammuz perished. This I believe is the only obvious kind of case where a king could find a direct entrance into the dramatization of the fertility cult; but it is not at all certain that the above poem had either that intention or effect, since to be the consort of the mother goddes was one thing, but to personate Tammuz in the fertility cult was quite another, as it involved the death either really or symbolically of the personator, and there seems to be no indication in Babylonia of that form of the rite in which kings were involved (Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 64). In spite, therefore, of the fact that Tammuz was known as an ancient king, and other kings were identified with him, the free dramatization of Tammuz as king in the

13 "Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts" no. 2 (*Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*).

fertility cult has definite limitations. That is, a king might personate the god at the beginning of the cult cycle where Tammuz dies, and this might be the natural death of the king interpreted as Tammuz, but if so, since there was no means of bringing the dead back to life, the death of the king would have no further relation to the cult. Secondly, the king might die by the proxy of a human victim slain in his stead, or thirdly, he might die symbolically; and in both of these last instances he might also participate in the third stage of the Tammuz rites when the dead god was restored to life and the quest of the goddess was rewarded. But if the second stage of the rites represented by Ishtar's descent to Hades were celebrated, neither the dead god nor his representation as king, or what not, could be expected to appear as a speaking character, that is as alive, and if any dialogue were to take place at this point it would have to be confined, as in Ishtar's descent, to the goddess and the ruler of Hades as the characters.

The application of this to the Song will depend upon the stages in the Tammuz cycle which are represented in the piece, and their proper identification. This ought not to be difficult, even without a formal label. If and when the maiden is represented as separated from her lover and distressed because of that fact, and if at the same time she is addressed by a character designated as king, the prototype of the cult ought to be the underworld stage and the king should represent the ruler of the underworld. Whether this stage is represented in the Song should be determinable by an examination of the rôle of the king in its context.

The king is always represented as present with the maiden and addressing her in person, and his presence seems to serve no other purpose. The maiden's response to the king culminates either in longing for an absent shepherd, cf. 1 7; 8 1, or in glad reminiscence of her earlier association with him, cf. 2 3–4; 4 7 ff., or in expressions of loyalty and devotion to him, though absent, cf. 6 10. The maiden never acknowledges any relationship to the king. Once only does she use the word "king", 1 12, and then only in the most indifferent and conventional manner, while she warmly mentions the name of the absent

shepherd 21 times. Furthermore, throughout the first seven chapters of the piece the maiden is always either in the presence of the king or of "the daughters of Jerusalem", which amounts virtually to the same thing, certainly in the present form of the poem. Yet the one constant note in her speeches both to the king and to the women is the emphasis she puts upon the fact of the lover's absence and her distress because of that fact. This idea is, too, not only the thought of the maiden. The women's chorus also acknowledges it to be a fact, 1 8, and later make it a matter of their sympathetic concern as well, 6 1. This situation should not be possible if the king and the shepherd are identical and there was not the slightest ground for confusion if the poem wished to convey that meaning. This incongruity becomes very much more pronounced when the king is freely interpreted in terms of Solomon.

Franz Delitzsch gave the classic orthodox interpretation of the two character theory of the Song, but it is not, I think, too much to say that that interpretation was shattered by requiring king Solomon to become a rustic shepherd in the end, for which history made no room. The case, actually, for the two character theory is much more difficult than that, for it requires a well nigh incredible psychology of the maiden: (1) She is obliged to recognize her lover to be King Solomon and at the same time a rustic shepherd. This, for obvious reasons, gives one pause; but we venture to say that had it ever been actually attempted, the result would have been that the figure of the shepherd would have entirely disappeared in the brighter glory of Solomon. This is, however, so far from being the case that the shepherd is still in some respects even more prominent than Solomon. (2) Her consistent attitude to the daughters of Jerusalem from start to finish is that the lover is always absent (1 7; 2 3-4, 16; 5 8; 6 2), and that she is unable to join him. This is most difficult if Solomon be the real lover. (3) Her dream psychology if Solomon be the lover is not only pointless but lacks any foundation whatever. With the king repeatedly offering attention to her alone, how should any thought arise that she could lose him or that

he of all persons could not be found in the city? The dreams seem to be about any one but a king.

None of the above factors make it easy to refer the king to Tammuz, and all together they make it exceedingly difficult to do so, if the poem is to be granted any sort of unity. And indeed only the compulsion of there being no other alternative would lend it any encouragement. But as a matter of fact the other alternative cannot be denied the right to be considered. No one would pretend to say that we have a complete Tammuz liturgy, but the clearest insight we get of the course of the cult dramatization is perhaps to be found in Ishtar's Descent to Hades.[14] The goddess there plays the predominant rôle as does the maiden in the Song. We find, too, that there was a ruler of the underworld, and although it was a queen in the Babylonian poem, we also know there was a god of the Babylonian Hades who was called a king, viz., Nergal, who was also the consort of the queen of Arallu. And we also know that it was the purpose of the ruler of the underworld to keep the goddess there, and not without serious difficulty was she released.

Taking the Tammuz cycle at the point where the god is clearly represented as a shepherd and at the same time separated from his consort, and she, while in troubled quest of him in the walled city of night and darkness, is stripped of her clothing even as Ishtar by the keepers of the gates, cf. 5 7,—if a king appears at all at that point it would logically seem to be the king of Arallu. Now all of these conditions seem to be verified in the poem at this point in the cycle, but if Tammuz were to appear at this point as king, we should be virtually forced to the conclusion that we were at a different point of the dramatic cycle, probably near its close after Tammuz had been released from Hades. Is this possible?

It has been stated that the Song emphasizes the brighter and more joyous aspects of the Tammuz cult, while Babylonia has preserved its more gloomy and sombre features. This is

[14] cf. Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

true if we take the Song as a whole, but it gains that character almost entirely from the last chapter. In the first seven chapters and as far as 8 4 the maiden is separated from the lover and in deep distress at her inability to join him.[15] This at first glance seems to be offset by the joyous spring songs in 2 8-17 and the words of the lover in 4 7-5 1; but the fact that these are clearly reminiscent in their setting and so refer to past felicity only intensifies the sense of present separation and the consequent feeling of bereavement and longing. This is as we should expect as long as the maiden cannot join the shepherd, and there seems to be no ground to suppose that the underlying cult motive has progressed at this point beyond the unrequited quest of the goddess in the underworld at the court of the Babylonian Pluto; and therefore no reason exists to apply to the lover the epithet 'king' but every reason apparently to apply it to the god of the underworld. This is confirmed in a striking manner by 8 5 ff. For the first time in the poem the shepherd appears on the scene and himself speaks, the maiden is with him and expresses fervently the triumph and the invincible character of love. Solomon is referred to as at a distance and as an eliminated factor, and the poem closes in a burst of song.

How does this interpretation fit the rôle of Solomon? We know that, in the fertility cult, it was the purpose of the rulers of the underworld to keep the goddess in their realm by any means whatever, but none of them was love. It has been many times assumed that Solomon was the lover, and also occasionally denied. His case as lover rests upon the fact that: (1) He attempts to bribe the maiden's favor by the promise of jewelry (1 11). (2) He compliments her general appearance (1 15, 16; 2 1; 4 1; 6 4) in oft repeated formulae which insist that she is good looking, as good looking, for example, as a city or a horse. (3) He compares separate items of her features and form to various objects in a manner that is often either decidedly ugly or manifestly grotesque, e. g., her hair is likened to the dingy, shaggy and

[15] cf. 1 7; 2 2, 3; 5 2-7; 6 2-3; 8 1-3.

multicolored effect of a flock of goats, with the figure drawn in such a fashion as to give the impression that she was also partially bald (4 1 b). She is complimented for having all of her teeth, but by a figure that shows them to be horribly uneven (2 2), while in the very next breath he uses a figure which pictures her mouth as that of an old woman who has lost all her teeth. He likens her eyes to doves but admits that he can't see them because her hair hangs down so as to cover them (4 1). In the same manner he likens her temple to a cross section of a pomegranate but also admits that he can't really see them because her locks obscure them (4 3 b). Her neck is described in a manner to suggest the earliest recorded case of goitre. It is like the tower of David built for an armory capable of storing a thousand suits of arms (4 4). (4) His approaches culminate in obscene suggestion (4 5-6; 7 7-8 a) that is without parallel in the poem. Aside from these more than doubtful qualifications, he never professes affection. He never offers love nor asks for it in return. He is distinctly not the lover. He offers her trinkets, doubtful compliments, an attitude of lust, and a place among the innumerable denizens of his court. These may all be summed up as an effort on his part to retain the maiden, to prevent her escape. Love no more comes in question than between Ishtar and the rulers of the underworld. The purpose with both is the same. Moreover, Solomon as pictured with his vast and innumerable harem (6 8) is entirely unfitted to play the Tammuz rôle of lover according to the fertility cult. On the other hand he, with his countless harem, is eminently suited to play the part of Nergal the god of the nether world.

There are several things which tend to support this conception. The setting of the poem at Solomon's Court gave the most striking opportunity in Hebrew literature to enlarge upon the magnificence and splendor of that establishment, but not once is it referred to, while, in striking contrast, the poem revels with evident delight in bird songs, tinkling waters, flowers, gardens, vineyards, distant mountains and the pastoral life of the countryside. One would never even learn from the

poem that Solomon had a palace. It is therefore difficult to think that any redaction of the poem was ever written to glorify Solomon, but if he follows the symbolism of Nergal this silence about his glory is quite understandable. The king's description of the maiden as "terrible" in aspect and with unkempt head, with graying falling hair and toothless mouth may have served some other purpose originally than the mere gargoyle effect that now appears. It reminds us of the plagues of death with which Ishtar was smitten upon her arrival before the ruler of the underworld. Coupled with this may be mentioned the fact that twice the maiden complains of illness (2 5; 5 8), both times either in the presence, or the near presence of the king. Nergal was, we know, the god of plagues and sickness. Still further, her second dream experience of seeking her lover in the city of gloom and darkness and being stripped of her robe and smitten and wounded by the keepers of the wall is strikingly like the experience of Ishtar who was deprived of her clothing by the various gate keepers of the lower world as she went down in quest of Tammuz.

The statement that many waters cannot quench love neither can floods drown it (8 6) reminds us of a form of the myth where Tammuz is drowned in a flood, which seems to arise from the perishing of vegetation due to floods. One of the weapons of Nergal was the Abûbu flood. Solomon's bodyguard of expert swordsmen is the most outstanding feature in his first and only public appearance in the Song. We know of his cohorts of chariots and horsemen in the Book of Kings but only here of the swordsmen. Nergal was a god of war and of armies and the ideogram for sword was his most common symbol.

None of the above indications taken alone could, of course, permit a decision. Some of them may turn out to be less significant than they seem, but there are too many pointing in the direction of Nergal as the prototype of the king to be easily gainsaid; and there are, I believe, no *a priori* reasons why it should not be correct. On the other hand, there are serious difficulties in the way of the identification of the king

with Tammuz, in the situation which the king presents even if there were nothing to be said on the other side.

From the standpoint of this conclusion we may now attempt an answer to the query why the piece was rewritten and thereby put in its Jerusalem setting. We require for this either a religious or a political motive. The tentative results already stated leave no room for a religious motive and allow only a particular form of political motive. Accordingly this could hardly have been done in pre-Israelitish times since there is no evidence in that period of a sway of Jerusalem extending far enough north to connect with the seat of the North Palestine Tammuz cult. This is first realized in the days of David and Solomon. But the present rewriting calls for a condition of hostility such as existed between Israel and Judah in the early days of the divided kingdom, and indicates that it was done with the deliberate intent to vilify Solomon and show him up in his worst light.

Putting the situation in another way, granted the existence of the fertility cult liturgy in the north, and in the early days of the divided monarchy suppose it to have been so far secularized as to give us the maiden, a women's chorus, her absent shepherd lover and a king following the prototype of Nergal. There would have been a strong political incentive to identify the king with Solomon and to see in the reconstructed poem a vivid symbolism of the struggle between the North and South and a clear hope of the North's final triumph to the unmistakable glory of the former and the complete discomfiture of the latter. This calls for an earlier date than has usually been accepted for the introduction of Solomon. But with a much earlier form of the poem well assured, why should this be denied if it meets what seem to be the natural requirements of the poem, especially as this interpretation does not claim to dispose of any other later accretions to the piece?

A summary and comparison of the motives of the Song as it stands may now be made with the older Tammuz Cult. Whatever the characters once were, they are now all genuinely human and move entirely within the sphere of the present

life. All older religious elements in the poem have thus been, at least outwardly, secularized. A parallel case may be found in the Jacob stories.

The character of the maiden, separated from her lover and in search of him, but who cannot be ultimately kept from her quest by anything in heaven or hell, runs true to the cult form. The lover is never spoken of as deceased or overtaken by any calamity. On the contrary, he is represented as about his usual pursuits as a shepherd with his flocks (1 7; 2 16), and wherever he is conceived to be is idealized as a lovely and enchanted place (6 2). This *motif* is the result of a deflection here owing to the transfer of all the actions to the human sphere and the present life, but the change has not been accomplished without leaving clear traces of the older form. The reference to the 'going down' of the lover (6 2) points to an original reference to the underworld, as does also the use of "garden" in the same reference.[16]

The king, using every wile to thwart the quest of the maiden and bring her completely into his power by causing her to forget the lover, is himself checked at every turn by love itself, until love triumphs. The introduction of Solomon has again deflected the original *motif*. There were no blandishments in the case of the ruler of the nether world, but with Solomon these were his chief assets and his outward splendor was bound to eclipse many darker qualities of his prototype. The alignment of his endeavor was, however, all to the same end, with the same result. Furthermore his 'innumerable' harem was literally applicable only to the god of the underworld, and we cannot forget that it was a love strong as death (8 6) that gave the maiden her song of triumph.

Thus the older cult motives are found to persist and to be modified only as the setting and characters are also changed. Other new motives are also introduced which it is not necessary to discuss here, such as the bringing in of the maiden's mother (3 4; 8 2, 5) and her brothers (8 8-9).

[16] Cf. Meek, *S. of S. and the Fertility Cult*, p. 60, and the wider references there.

It would remain a simple matter to sum up at this point the relation of Solomon to the Song, but the history of the interpretation of the piece gives one pause. It shows an uncanny elusiveness about the poem. It may not therefore be out of place, before attempting any summary to inquire wherein this elusiveness consists, particularly now in relation to Solomon. His position is definite and his character often even offensively clear, nevertheless the opening verses of the Song are obscure. They can now only naturally refer to Solomon and be spoken by women of his court, but neither he nor they have been introduced except by the later heading (1 1). This causes a sense of groping and uncertainty to extend throughout the section and permits all kinds of assumptions with impunity. On the other hand the formal introduction of Solomon and his first speech (3 6-4 6) are perfectly clear, but his introduction comes too late to serve its natural purpose, and what is more, it is strikingly detached from its context. So far as any progress of thought or organic connection are concerned, the section might as well have been placed at any other natural break in the piece. It follows the refrain and so comes at a point where anything might follow. It closes by all natural indications with 4 6. The king has been announced. The women have been summoned, and with 4 1 the natural inference is that he is addressing the Shulammite, but there is no expression of affection. With 4 7 there is a new setting, a new attitude, and a new terminology. The speaker asks the maiden to come with him from Lebanon, new terms "sister" and "bride" appear and there is the sudden and striking evidence of a deep and fervent devotion in every line. This change in attitude and terms of endearment are strikingly left unexplained, but more incongruous is the sudden and unannounced change of place. With the scene formally set in Jerusalem, suddenly the maiden is asked to accompany the speaker from the Lebanon mountains. The English Revised Version significantly indicates a break at this point. This break is equally required by what follows. The description of the wedding feast (5 1 f.) is bound up with what precedes and permits no natural separation until 4 6 is reached.

3 6–4 6 is not only a proper introduction of Solomon but, placed at the beginning, it provides a definite scene and setting for all that follows. If this section be inserted after 1 1 everything in chapter 1 becomes clear. The characters in 1 2–4 at once have proper identification. They are those daughters of Zion who have been summoned in 3 11 to greet the king. Most naturally they are the women of his household. Their words are a clear attempt to answer from their standpoint the king's advances to the Shulammite, and express a frank bidding for his caresses. The first speech of the maiden now has a definite perspective and bearing. The women have intervened immediately after the king's address, and she makes capital of this fact to direct her reply to the king's compliments as though to the court ladies. Solomon had insisted that she was fair and beautiful. She says that she is black. He had followed with comparisons, that to say the least were grotesque compliments. She adds that at least she is comely. Her reference to her tanned skin brings out the fact of her country life and this leads her directly to apostrophize her absent lover, who is somewhere tending his flocks. The women in their half-hearted response clearly understand her language.

In 1 9–10, 15 and 2 1 the king continues his advances in language that is closely akin to 4 1–6. The court women are the audience. Each comparison of the king is answered by the maiden with a finer, more intimate reference to her absent lover, mentioned now each time by name[17]. The dialogue closes with her adjuration to the women (2 7).

The entire section is now well knit. The setting, characters and motives are clearly drawn and defined. The king and the shepherd are sharply juxtaposed, even before she calls him by name. This arrangement would also make it perfectly plain why the Song was later ascribed to Solomon. He is the first character to be introduced, and his first speech sets the alignment of all the forces to be brought into play.

In the second place we may note the effect of the transposition of the section 3 6–4 6 upon its present context. It

17 Cf. Syriac, which only transliterates the word.

will be noted that it results in bringing together, in one uninterrupted block, the maiden's reminiscence and dreams of her absent lover, with the court women as her auditors; and the picture is drawn with such power and pathos that the women who began with profuse adulation of the king are in the end ready to follow the maiden in order to find the lover. The section leaves no doubt whatever as to the character or whereabouts of the lover.

The transposition of the section 3 6-4 6 adds nothing to the poem, and changes no single factor in it, but it greatly clarifies the setting as well as the identification and alignment of the characters involved, and gives a definite formal unity to the piece.

It should be an argument in favor of this arrangement if the transposition can measurably be accounted for. It will be admitted that if the heading 1 1 be accepted as genuine, we have measurable guidance for the identification of the king, and indirectly some implied direction for the remaining characters in ch. 1. But without this there is no help but the later implications of the poem. It is probable, therefore, that the transposition did not take place till after this heading had been adopted. The ascription to Solomon was, however, added by those who looked upon him with favor. If, then, the poem is of northern origin, and early, as there seem to be good grounds for believing, the heading was not added until the poem migrated, probably with northern exiles, to Judah. But after the heading had been added, thoughtful readers must have observed that Solomon did not altogether do himself credit as a lover, in fact he expressed no affection at all, but only the most external and gross of physical appraisals; but, what was more serious, there was no evidence at all that he had made any progress with his suit, either in the acknowledgment of the maiden or in the sequel of the poem.

If only Solomon had expressed some warmth of feeling that the maiden had unequivocally reciprocated, or if he had said something which would define his personal relation to her, at least the king could be saved from humiliation. In a word, if only 5 7 ff. with its warm terms of endearment could be

thought of as the words of Solomon, the problem might be solved. But could not this be legitimately and neatly done by having Solomon's first speech continued by these very words? With the heading firmly in place, the poem would not be disrupted by this procedure. What if it did make Solomon's formal introduction come somewhat late? Was not 1 1 a sufficient notice? Solomon needed no formal introduction. And what were all such considerations in comparison with the gains on the king's behalf, in the wonderful outburst of the finest loving enthusiasm for the maiden in 5 7 ff. and her glad response to the terms "sister" and "bride"? He really did win his case then! No matter what happened in the poem before that point or after it that seemed to point in another direction! It could not occur to such an one that the price could make the victory prohibitive.

Solomon's rôle can now be briefly summarized. The poem was not his we know, and his interest in it was not of his choice nor to his credit. He was not the lover but rather the would-be destroyer of love, but he failed even in that. Such a conclusion does him no historical violence. We have only to recall that while he stood as Israel's most magnificent king, he was also to the great contemporary body of Israelites the most hated ruler of their history. It was true that he had held the spirit of the North in restraint for a time at Jerusalem, but it was not because of any affection on his part, but only for the purpose of gratifying his insatiable appetites and lusts. Yet the spirit of the North had never been broken, and their first love and loyalty had finally won them a reprieve that was like a release from the powers of the grave. A fertility cult liturgy reduced to folk poetry and reinterpreted by a political *motif*, that was later partly obscured by a divergent national ideal, would seem to satisfy and explain Solomon's connection with the poem.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Biblical Manuscripts in America

SINCE the publication of my report on this subject (*JBL*, XLII, Pages 239—250) my attention has been called to some omissions. Whatever blame is implied in this fact belongs to me, since the final compilation of the list was in my hands. I here call attention to the following supplementary data:

A manuscript of the Gospels in the library of Mr. William Keeney Bixby of St Louis is fully described under the title of The Bixby Gospels by Goodspeed in the *University of Chicago Historical and Linguistic Studies*, II, Part 4 (1915).

In the same *Studies* (II, Part 3) Professor Goodspeed gives a collation of the Freer Gospels. This I understand to be the same manuscript which I have listed under the University of Michigan as the Washington manuscript. Professor Sanders in his discussion of it informs us that it will eventually become the property of the Smithsonian Institution.

In the same series, Part 6, we have a collation of the Harvard Gospels, a cursive manuscript listed by Gregory as 666. Probably this is one of those briefly mentioned by me as belonging to Harvard College.

Professor Goodspeed informs me further that there is a double leaf of a Gospel cursive in the library of the Chicago Historical Society.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for January 1923 gives a catalogue of their exhibition of Bibles. This lists the Lectionary of the Gospels loaned by Mr. I. N. Phelps Stokes, also two Lectionaries of the fifteenth century, apparently the same mentioned in my list.

A Gospel manuscript in the University of Toronto, vellum, twelfth century, is now reported.

Although no attempt was made to list synagogue rolls mention might be made of the one owned by the New York Public Library, because it was formerly the property of the Jews of Kaifong-Fu, China.

The same Library owns a Samaritan manuscript of het Pentateuch written in 1231—1232.

The University of Toronto has a Samaritan Pentateuch, rather late.

Victoria College, Toronto, reports a leather Pentateuch said to be of Yemenite origin about four hundred years old.

In the same library is an Esther roll, rather late.

To the Latin list should be added the Harmony of the Gospels in the University of Chicago Libraries described by Goodspeed in his catalogue, page 18. It is of the fifteenth century.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library already cited mentions the following Latin manuscripts:

Evangelistarium; illuminated manuscript, gold on a purple ground, ninth century.

Bible and Actorum Sanctorum; illuminated, eleventh century.

Matthew and Mark, written about 1180.

Eleven others are dated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, some with illuminations. More noteworthy is the *Christi Vita ab Evangelistis descripta*, a folio on vellum dated about 1535, richly illuminated.

The University of Toronto has a Latin Gospels, vellum, fourteenth century.

HENRY PRESERVED SMITH

תלואים למשובתי, Hosea 11 7

Most modern commentators agree that nothing can be done with תלואים למשובתי Hos. 11 7, the phrase as well as the rest of the verse defying all attempts at explanation. *Cf.* Wellhausen, BBD., Nowack. The last-mentioned scholar declares categor-

ically: "The words are in a hopelessly corrupt state, the present text making no sense because תלה means 'to hang' and nothing else." Consequently no attention has been recently paid to the few older attempts to operate with the root in the derived sense 'to fasten', 'to attach'. *Cf.* Keil, in Keil and Delitzsch *Com.*, vol. III, p. 100. On the other hand, the emendations which have been suggested as an alternative cannot be said to be reasonably convincing. *Cf.* Marti's נלוים 'they joined themselves' and Oettli's נלאים 'they weary themselves' (so Harper).

I wish to call attention to an interesting parallel in Syriac in which ܬܠܐ is employed beyond any possibility of doubt in the sense of 'depending on', 'adhering to'. In the 'Epistle of Mara the son of Serapion' (*Spicilegium Syriacum*, ed. Cureton, London, 1855) we find on p. 46 of the Syriac the following statement: ܕܥܒܪܘ ܥܠ ܬܚܘܡܐ ܕܫܪܝܪܐ ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܛܒܐ ܕܐܬܠܝ ܒܪܝܫܝܗܘܢ ܘܒܥܝܢܗ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܬܠܝ. 'For they have gone beyond the limits of truth and transgress all good laws, because they depend (hang) upon their own lust.' ܬܠܝ of the Syriac and תלואים of the Hebrew text, both used in contexts surprisingly similar, correspond grammatically in form and even in number. (Both are Ptc. Pass. Qal). As to the meaning, nothing could suit the Hebrew verse better than 'my people is addicted to turning away from me', they habitually leave me in the lurch. The difference in the particles used with the verb in each case can be easily explained by the somewhat different shade of meaning required in the respective contexts. The Syriac text tells us of those who depend on lust for guidance (hence ... ב ;ܬܠܐ) whereas the prophet arraigns the professional backsliders, hopelessly addicted to (hence .. ל תלואים) their double-faced methods. The use of the verb in this derived meaning by a writer of the first century (see Cureton's Introduction) whose Syriac is, as far as can be judged, of a healthy, unadulterated kind, leaves little doubt as to the idiomatic nature of the expression under discussion. What was good Semitic idiom in the first century *A. D.* was most likely so at the time of Hosea. Whatever may be the case with the rest of this unquestionably difficult verse, the present instance is once more illustrative of the truth that many obscurities in the Bible are apparent and not intrinsic.

Had there been more occasion for the full use of the Hebrew vocabulary in the Scriptures a goodly number of now almost hopeless cases would have been automatically explained. What may have been household phrases at the time of Hosea or Micah are now responsible for a maze of infelicitous emendations solely because the nature of the Canonical Books did not always leave an unlimited range for the use of the language.

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THE TENTH CHAPTER OF GENESIS

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IN the early days of my literary career, that is to say in the year 1874, I contributed to the *Theological Review* (Jan. 1874) an article on the Ethnographical Table of Genesis. The chief object of this was to identify the names of Gog and Magog and thereby fix the earliest date at which the chapter could have taken its present form. Gog I identified with Gugu of Lydia, the Gyges of classical history, Magog being "the country of Gog." Consequently the Ethnographical Table must have received additions and insertions as late as the seventh century B. C.

I see no reason for revising my identifications. No other Gugu except the Lydian Gyges has turned up in the history of Asia Minor, and Ezek 38 2 restricts the age of Gog to that of Gyges. It is true that the prophet calls him "the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal," but these were the Asianic nations best known to the Jews and were consequently the representatives for them of the other nations of Asia Minor. The word *rôsh*, which was already a difficulty to the Septuagint translators, implies that he was at the time the paramount ruler in Asia Minor; and the Assyrian inscriptions have informed us that Meshech and Tubal were governed by a number of minor kings. In the time of Tiglath-pileser I., for example, Meshech was ruled by at least five kings.

In Ezekiel the words "land of the Magog" are attached to the name of Gog. They must be a marginal note which has made its way into the text to the detriment of Hebrew grammar. That they have not been derived from the book of Genesis is

clear from the article prefixed to "Magog." And it is also clear that the use of the article implies that "Magog" was regarded as a people or country. Hence I still hold to my old belief that the name has come from an Assyrian *mat-Gugi* "land of Gyges" and should be punctuated מגוג.

Magog is stated in Genesis to be the son of Japheth, his brothers being Gomer, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech and Tiras. It has long been recognised that Gomer represents the Gimirrâ of the Assyrian texts, the Kimmerians of the Greek writers. A letter of Sennacherib, when still crown-prince, to his father, which has been published by Harper (No. 146), gives the name as Gamir; at the time when the letter was written Gamir was a district in which Guriania, the modern Gurun, was situated. The Kimmerians must therefore have been settled there for some time. In the age of the Odyssey they were to be found on the shores of the Black Sea, and according to Eusebius (*Chron.* p. 303, ed. Mai) a horde of them captured Sardes for the first time in B. C. 1078. The statement has been questioned and it has been suggested that Eusebius or his authority confused the Kimmerians with Moschians or some other invading tribe from the east, but the reference in the Odyssey and the existence of a country known as Gamir before the beginning of the seventh century B. C. gives support to the Christian Chronicler. And it must be observed that the Biblical Gomer is Gamir, not Gimirrâ, the country and not the tribe.

Madai is evidently the Manda of the cuneiform inscriptions. Its identification with the name of the Medes, which seems to have been hitherto unquestioned, is impossible; the Medes belonged to a different part of the world. *Umman Manda*, "the Horde," as Delitzsch interpreted it, was the original expression, corresponding with the Goyîm or "nations" of Gen. 14 1, but the abbreviated *Manda*, "Multitude," could be used alone. The term is found already in the Hittite version of the invasion of Asia Minor by Naram-Sin (B. C. 2650), and the Hittite Code of Laws makes express mention of the Umman Manda. The similarity of the names Manda and Madâ or Medes, and the fact that they both represented invaders from the north, caused them to be confounded together by the later Babylonian scribes,

and the Manda of the Hittite texts accordingly became the Madai of the book of Genesis and the Matiênê of classical geography. Perhaps the confusion of names was assisted by the extension of Median supremacy to the Halys in the period which followed the fall of Nineveh.

The name of Javan—the Ionian Greeks—can be traced back to the 13th century B. C., but has not been met with as yet in the Tel el-Amarna tablets or the Hittite texts. Antioch stood on the site of a city called Iônê, and the *Periplus Maritima* tells us that the sea which washed the eastern coast of Cilicia was known as the Ionian. The name itself was Asianic, not Indo-European, formed by the Asianic suffix *-wan*, and the Greek genealogists made Iôn the son of the "tawny"-skinned Xuthus, in contradistinction to the Leuco-Syri or "White Syrians" of Cappadocia, and the nephew, not the brother, of Dorus and Æolus.

Tubal and Meshech have long since been identified with the Tibareni and Moschi, the Tabalâ and Muskâ of the Assyrian monuments, who like the Kimmerians were to be found on the shores of the Black Sea as well as in the south-eastern part of Asia Minor. They were included among the hordes who poured down upon the Hittite Empire and northern Syria and attacked Egypt at the beginning of the 13th century B. C. The Massoretic form of the name Tubal, it may be observed, is due to an association of the Tibarenian iron-smiths with Tubal-Cain "Tubal the Smith" where I see a "conflate" reading from an earlier cuneiform text, *tibira* being the Sumerian word for "smith" which has been glossed by the Semitic Cain.

On Tiras I can throw no certain light. Is it the Taruisa of the Hittite texts, which Dr. Forrer identifies with Troy?

The sons of Gomer are said to be Ashkenaz, Riphath and Togarmah. The old identification of Ashkenaz with Ascanius has been given up, and of late it has been the fashion to identify the name (as first suggested by myself) with the cuneiform Asguza, whom Winckler made the Scyths of Greek history. But Asianic names like Tarkhu-na-zi ("he of the land of Tarkhus"?) throw doubt on this, and it is therefore possible, after all, that the name is to be attached to the stem Aska, from

which Ascanius and the name of the tribe Aska-ênı were derived. At any rate the place or people must have been in the neighbourhood of Gamir, and the fact that Jeremiah (51 27) associates Ashkenaz with Ararat and Minni indicates the vicinity of Armenia.

About Riphath we know nothing; even the reading is doubtful. But the site of Togarmah has now been settled by the Hittite texts. We learn from them that it stood between Carchemish and Harran, though considerably to the north of either. In the cuneiform tablets of Boghaz Keui the name is written Tegarama and Tagarama, and Delitzsch long ago identified it with the Til-Garimmi of the Assyrian inscriptions where the native name has been Assyrianised.

We now come to the sons of Javan. Elishah has been long recognised as the Alasiya of the Tel el-Amarna tablets which is generally believed to be Cyprus, though I am inclined with Mr. Wainwright to see in it the Aleian plain of south-eastern Cilicia. Tarshish is Tarsus, not Tartessos which was at the other end of the Mediterranean. The first mention of it in the cuneiform texts is on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II. where the Assyrian king states that he had captured Tarzi in the 26th year of his reign. Kittim, Kition, is Cyprus, which makes me doubt the identification of Elishah, Alasiya, with that island, and Dodanim must be read Rodanim and identified with the Rhodians. The Hebrew form of the name will have come from an Assyrian Rudânu.

Such were the nations of the Mediterranean world known to the Jewish scholars of Jerusalem. It will be seen that apart from Magog they are confined to Rhodes, Cyprus and Cilicia and the districts south-west of Armenia. The latter, like Magog, were known through their attacks upon the Assyrian empire; the others must have been known through trade. Meshech and Tubal, however, were not only traders; they were also formidable enemies of the Assyrian kings and under the Moschian Mita or Midas had joined with Ararat in a war which at one time threatened Assyria with destruction. This was in the reign of Sargon II. when the name of Meshech would have become familiar to the populations of Western Asia.

It was commerce, on the other hand, which led to acquaintance with "the isles of the Gentiles." The name must have originated when as yet intercourse with them was by sea only, and consequently goes back to an early period of history. Among the islands the Cilician coast would naturally be included; hence the secondary meaning of "coastland" given to the Canaanite word *'î*.

The sons of Ham were better known than the sons of Japheth, and the fact that Canaan is made a brother of Cush and Mizraim indicates that the geography is that of the period when Canaan was united to Egypt. The French excavations at Jebêl have shown that, in the time of the earliest Egyptian dynasties, the Egyptians were already in possession of Gebal where they were building sanctuaries and shipping the timber of the Lebanon to the Nile. In the age of the Twelfth dynasty the princes of Gebal were proud to call themselves the vassals of the Pharaoh; when the Hyksos conquered Egypt the union between Egypt and Palestine became closer than before, while under the Eighteenth dynasty, and, as recent discoveries have proved, under the Nineteenth also, Canaan was practically an Egyptian province. Ramses III. of the Twentieth dynasty still claimed sovereignty over the country; it was only after 1200 B. C. that the age was past when Canaan and Egypt could be termed brothers.

Ludim is made the first-born of Mizraim. If the name is not corrupt it is difficult to see what it can represent except the Lydian mercenaries of Psammetichus I. and his successors. In this case it ought to be conjoined with that of the Libyan mercenaries or Lehabim instead of *'*Anamim (possibly "the people of On," a name, however, differently spelt elsewhere). But these again are separated from the other native populations of the country, the Naphtuhim of Memphis,—the city of Ptah—, the Pathrusim of Upper Egypt, the Casluhim and the Caphtorim. There must, therefore, be something wrong with the text unless we fall back on the old suggestion that Ludim represents the Egyptian word for "men" (*r-tu*). But this will not explain the insertion of the Libyans between the *'*Anamim and Naphtuhim; moreover *'*Anamim with a superfluous *m* (supposing On is meant) indicates a corrupted text, and in v. 22 we

have a Lud which is certainly incorrect. The mention of Caphtorim is borne out by Sir Arthur Evans' discoveries which show that an intimate intercourse existed between Egypt and Krete from a very early date and make it probable that Kretan colonies were established in the Delta; indeed this would certainly have been the case if his view is right that the submerged harbour found by Jondet at Alexandria is of Minoan origin. As for Casluhim the name is found among the geographical cartouches on the walls of the temple at Kom Ombo.

It is noticeable that while Sidon is "the first-born" of Canaan no mention is made of Tyre. Does this point to a period when the power and trade of Tyre were under eclipse? It will be remembered that Homer also knows of Sidon to the exclusion of Tyre. Abibal, the father of Hiram I., seems to have founded a new line of kings at Tyre; it is therefore possible that the city had previously been for awhile under the dominion of Sidon. However this may be, the mention of Heth as the second son of Canaan is in accordance with what we now know to be historical fact. As far back as the Abrahamic age Canaan and Syria had been overrun by Hittite armies; Damascus was captured by the Hittite king Telibinus (about 1800 B. C.) and Hittites came to settle in the conquered land. When the Tel el-Amarna correspondence was carried on, Canaanite towns were governed by Hittite officers and defended or attacked by Hittite soldiers. The Hittite element in the population was almost as important as the native Canaanite.

Even more important were the Amorites, who are represented on the Egyptian monuments as a blond race with blue eyes. I have lately given reasons (in *Ancient Egypt* Sept. 1924) for believing that they were related to the Mitannians of Mesopotamia and had come from the highlands of Asia Minor, and many years ago in my Presidential Address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association I pointed out their racial connection with the blond, long-headed Libyans of northern Africa. I should now identify them also with the neolithic population of Palestine. Though Jerusalem, it will be remembered, was in "the land of Canaan," its father was an Amorite and its mother a Hittite (Ezek. 16 3).

Jerusalem was in the hands of the Jebusites when the Israelites entered Palestine and for a time was known to the latter as the city of Jebus. There is no trace of such a name in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence; at that time Jerusalem still retained its old Babylonian title Uru-Salim "the City of Salim," and it was governed by a prince who seems to have been of Mitannian, that is, Amorite, lineage, if we may judge from the fact that the name of Kheba, "the queen of heaven" and goddess of Aleppo, was involved in it. The point, however, is uncertain, since Kheba or Khebe was incorporated by the Hittites into their own pantheon. At the time Jerusalem was threatened by the Khabiri, who we now know were mercenary Hittite troops, some 1200 of them formed the body-guard of the Hittite kings at Boghaz Keui. It is probable that the city was captured by them eventually; in this case they will have been the Jebusites of the Old Testament. The name Jebus, with final *-s*, has a Hittite appearance, and it will be noticed that in the list in Genesis the Jebusite is coupled with Heth.

"Girgashite" has been compared with the Egyptian Karkesh, the name of one of the northern tribes who attacked Egypt in the Mosaic age; but the name should more probably be read Kalkesh and identified with Cilicia. On the other hand a suggestion made to me by Dr. Cowley is attractive, that the Hivite is the Akhæan of Greek history. We have learned from the Hittite records that in the 14th and 13th centuries B. C. a prominent part was played in the politics of Asia Minor by a people called Akhkhiyawas who came from the West and at one time possessed a fleet of 100 vessels. I believe Dr. Forrer is right in identifying them with the Akhæans, and it is tempting to see the same name in the Hivites, or rather the Ha-Khiwwî, of Scripture.

However this may be, the selection of the four names which typify Phoenicia is curious and can be explained only on the supposition that they represent a confederacy which had its centre in the naval port of Arvad. If so, we are taken back to the Tel el-Amarna age or earlier, before the place of Arvad had been taken by Sidon and Tyre. Zemar, too, which occupies a conspicuous place in the Tel el-Amarna letters, almost

disappears from sight in later history. On the other hand, Arka and Sin are unknown to the letters, while along with Zemar the western campaigns of the Assyrian kings made their names known to the Assyro-Babylonian world. The rise of Hamath appears to belong to the age of the Nineteenth Egyptian dynasty.

The sons of Shem introduce another difficulty. The excavations at Susa have shown that Elam was Semitic before it was "Anzanite"; Asshur had become a Semitic capital before the days of Khammurabi, and about the "Semitic" character of Arphaxad and Aram there has never been any question. But who was Lud? The introduction of this name among the sons of Shem in the region of the Tigris can be accounted for only on the supposition that the text is corrupt. I would suggest that ולוד is due to the inadvertence of a copyist who has transferred the ילד of the preceding line to the line below. Cp. also v. 13.

The ethnographical Table, it will be seen, is geographical, not ethnological or philological. The various places and peoples enumerated in it have been cleverly grouped under the three sons of Noah who, like the three sons of Adam or the three sons of Lamech, must belong to old Semitic tradition. Just as the three sons of Adam, Cain, Abel and Enosh, represented the three classes of primitive Babylonian society—the artisan, the agriculturist and the "gentleman" called *amêlu*, "the man," in the Cappadocian tablets—so the three sons of Noah represented the three zones of the known world which were repeopled after the deluge. In Sumerian Babylonia the zones were four in number, but the Western Semite had the Mediterranean on the west side of him and accordingly divided the continent into three zones only.

Iapetos, we learn from Stephanus of Byzantium, was a Cilician deity, and was therefore marked out as a representative of the North, though it is possible that the signification of the Babylonian *ibbu*, *ibbitu* "white" had some influence on the selection. Shem is the Samu, Sumu of the First dynasty of Babylon, the god from whom the Aramæans and south-eastern Arabs traced their descent. The name of the founder of the Babylonian dynasty was Sumu-abi, "Sumu is my father." *Sâmu*

meant "red" in Babylonian, a colour suggested by the sun-burnt skins of the Semites.

In Ham the Egyptian Qem, "Egypt," is usually seen; if this is correct, the change of the initial letter would be due to the influence of the Semitic *khâm* "hot," not inappropriately associated with Cush and Mizraim. From the words of the old song, however, quoted in Gen. 9 26, 27, we may gather that Canaan and not Ham was originally the representative of the third geographical zone. Canaan was to be "the servant of Shem" which was fulfilled in the days of Khammurabi, if not in those of Sargon of Akkad and his grandson Naram-Sin, while Japheth from Asia Minor was to "dwell in the tents of Shem" and make Canaan his servant. Since the geographer of the tenth chapter makes Heth a son of Canaan it is clear that in his belief, at any rate, this could not refer to the Hittites of the first Hittite empire; we must therefore see in it a reference to the second Hittite or Moschian empire, the Cilician empire of Solinus, which arose about 1200 B. C. Then for the second time the armies of Asia Minor occupied the Aramæan "tents" of Syria and Mesopotamia and reduced Canaan to servitude (cp. Judg. 3 8).

I conclude, accordingly, that the geographer of the tenth chapter of Genesis lived after this date. The mention of Tarshish points to the same period; so, too, does the mention of the Philistines as well as of Hamath, the rise of which to importance was not earlier than the close of the Nineteenth Egyptian dynasty. But it does not follow that he must have lived as late as the time of Gyges. This would ignore an important characteristic of ancient (and also modern) oriental literature, modifications, namely, of their language and insertion of new facts. It is a characteristic which is too often neglected by Biblical critics, in spite of plain evidences to the contrary. The Psalms, for instance, have undergone repeated changes, sometimes resulting in an unintelligible text, like the Babylonian psalms where in many instances we can now compare the earlier and later texts, while Isaiah expressly tells us (16 13, 14) that he had been quoting an older prophecy, uttered concerning Moab "long ago," to which he "now" made an addition suitable to

his own time. The ethnographical table of Genesis, originally accompanied, perhaps, by a map similar to the early Babylonian map of the world in the British Museum, was just the document to which additions were likely to be made with increasing knowledge.

That such additions were actually made we know. It has long been recognised that the passage relating to Nimrod is a later insertion. The Cush who begat Nimrod was not the Cush of Southern Arabia; he was the Kassite who in the Tel el-Amarna age had come to denote Babylonia, not the Kas of an earlier geography which came from an Egyptian source.

But insertion though it is, the passage belongs to a period when Nineveh still existed and was in fact at the height of its power. It was "a great city" for it included Calah and other suburbs as well as Resen from which Sennacherib derived part of his water supply. The insertion, therefore, cannot be later than the first half of the seventh century B. C. And before that time the rest of the chapter must have already assumed substantially its present shape. If we were inclined to speculate, we might conjecture that Nimrod and Gyges owe their introduction into it to the same hands and that the scribes who were busy re-editing the old texts in the royal library of Jerusalem in the reign of Hezekiah (Prov. 25 1) continued their labours in the reign of his son.

SOME NOTES ON ZECHARIAH 11 4–17[1]

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11 4a. "Thus said יהוה אֱלֹהָי"

According to the Massoretic text we have here "Yahveh my God", an unusual phrase in the Prophets. The LXX has instead of יהוה אֱלֹהָי Παντοκράτωρ=צבאות. The commentators propose an original יהוה אֵלָי "Yahveh to me" (Marti, Ehrlich, Sellin, ICC, Moffatt). This reading is based on the parallel phrases in verses 13, 15 ויאמֶר יהוה אֵלָי, and is supported by 𝔖 LU which adds ל and Kenn. 246 which has אֵלָי[2]. But the parallel verses cannot be considered, since in them there is a continuation while here is the beginning of the address. Compare Hosea 3 1. The original text seems to have been יהוה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת. Compare Amos 5 14, 15, 16. The LXX omitted אֱלֹהָי under the influence of the other passages in Haggai and Zechariah. Compare Hag. 1 2, 5, 7, 9; 2 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 23; Zech. 1 3, 4, 6, 16, 17; 2 12, 15;

[1] This chapter is regarded as one of the most original in the O. T. (Marti.) It has been a matter of wide discussion by the various commentators. Those to whom references are made in these notes are: Marti, *Das Dodekapropheten*, pp. 437—442 (1904) in "Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament"; H. G. Mitchell, *Zechariah*, pp. 302–316 (1912) in "The International Critical Commentary" (abridged ICC); D. E. Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, pp. 509—517 (1922); J. Moffatt, *The O. T., A New Translation*, vol. II, pp. 476b—477a; also the Hebrew commentators of the Middle Ages: Rashi, Eben-Ezra, Qimhi, etc. Their speculations to interpret the events indicated in this parable, are of the same character as the modern commentaries. Of special interest among the modern Hebrew commentaries is Ehrlich, מִקְרָא כִּפְשׁוּטוֹ vol. III, pp. 483—484.

For introductions compare Driver (1913), pp. 347—348; H. Wiener, *The Prophets of Israel*, p. 113; S. Bernfeld, מבוא לכתבי הקדש vol. II, pp. 504–506 (1923); B. Duhm, *Israels Propheten*, pp. 423—425 (1916).

[2] ICC, p. 311.

3 7, 10; 4 6; 5 4; 6 12; 7 4, 9, 13; 8 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 14, 18, 20, 21, 23; 13 7; 14 16, 17, 21. For a similar reason the word אֵלַי was added in some of the Syriac MSS, as well as in one of the Hebrew MSS, because the personal address אֵלַי is frequently used in Zechariah. The Massoretic text can, however, be correct as it is, only אֱלֹהַי is not "my God," but only "God;" compare Hosea 9 8 צֹפֶה אֶפְרַיִם עִם אֱלֹהָי. The verse, therefore, has to be translated, "Thus said Yahveh God," like יהוה אֱלֹהִים or "Jahveh, God of the hosts."[3]

11 4b צֹאן הַהֲרֵגָה "flock of slaughter."

The word הַרֵגָה is a synonym of טִבְחָה (Jer. 12 3). This expression צֹאן הַהֲרֵגָה seems to be used for regular profane flocks sold in the market for the shambles. The opposite of this is apparently צֹאן קֳדָשִׁים, flocks belonging to the temple.

11 5a אֲשֶׁר קֹנֵיהֶן יַהַרְגֵן וְלֹא יֶאְשָׁמוּ "Whose buyers kill them and do not become guilty." In this verse comes a description of "flocks of slaughter" with distinction of holy flocks. The holy flock cannot be slaughtered by any one. If one kills it he has to bring a sacrifice, אָשָׁם, because he profited from the sacrificial property.[4]

11 5b וּמֹכְרֵיהֶן יֹאמַר בָּרוּךְ יהוה וַאֶעְשַׁר is usually emended to יֹאמְרוּ.[5] But this emendation is not necessary. The flocks are bought retail by many persons, therefore, we have plural, but the one merchant of flocks can supply for many. We have, therefore, to translate "and their seller used to say: Thank Yahveh, I became rich." Also here we have the description of the profane herd, that the man who sells it becomes rich, while the holy flock does not bring any profit to its possessor.[6]

[3] The prophet used the phrase, "Thus said Jahveh God, feed the flock of slaughter," not that he believed that the teaching of the parable had the divine sanction (ICC, p. 303), but because he obtained his position as ruler from God, being a high priest.

[4] Marti and Sellin translate the words וְלֹא יֶאְשָׁמוּ "und die sich nicht verschulden," namely, they do not regard themselves guilty, as Hosea 5 15. ICC, p. 304 translates "uncondemned." Eben-Ezra, Qimhi and Ehrlich translate exactly as Marti. The Syriac לא מתחיבין, as the New Hebrew, may have the meaning "do not become guilty."

[5] Marti, ICC with G. V. S. T., Sellin, Moffatt. The versions translate in plural, but it is a free rendering for finer diction.

[6] The expression "Blessed God, I became rich," (Sellin) (not "I am

11 5c וְרֹעֵיהֶם לֹא יַחְמֹל עֲלֵיהֶן. Here יַחְמֹל is emended to יַחְמְלוּ[7], but also this emendation is not necessary. One shepherd is enough for a whole herd. The profane flock is not pitied by their shepherd while the holy flock is mercifully fed.[8]

Who is symbolized by the shepherd, and what is the flock of slaughter? It seems that the shepherd is one of the hierocratic rulers of that time, a high priest. To his hand was entrusted not only the holy flock of the temple, namely the priesthood, but also the profane flock, the common people. But while no complaints were made by the priests, in spite of the fact that they do not contribute anything to the high priest, the people had to complain. This is personified in this parable.[9]

11 6 This verse is an interpolation of a later editor who explained the preceding verses. He was from a later time and did not understand the sense of the simple parable and tried to explain it in an eschatological spirit.[10] The word מַלְכּוֹ means

rich," ICC and Moffatt) served as proof that the buyers and sellers are not representing foreign authorities (Marti and Sellin). It is regarded as hypocrisy (ICC). But there is no proof of this, since it is not intended here to express anything but the description of the profane flock. Bernfeld מבוא לכתבי הקדש, vol. II, pp. 504–6 reads וְאֶעְשֹׂר "I will pay teeth," but this is not probable.

7 Marti, Sellin, Moffatt. But ICC translates it correctly, "their shepherd." For the plural of the versions, see note 5.

8 The distinction between buyers, sellers and shepherds has been interpreted as referring to the foreign and the native rulers (Nowack), the families of Onias and Tobias and the high priest (Marti), the native tax collectors and Ptolemy III (ICC), the higher classes and the officials (Sellin). It seems, however, that the story did not intend anything but a description of the profane flock.

9 The commentators agree that the parable tells about two different shepherds. One is good (vv. 4–14) and the other is bad, (vv. 15–17; ch. 13 7–9); or one is careless, the other cruel (ICC). They differ only in the identification of each of them. Marti thinks the first is Onias IV, the second Alkimus; ICC sees in them Ptolemy III and IV; Sellin, the shepherd of God and the bad shepherd, regarding the whole parable as an eschatological vision. But this conception is not certain. We have, rather, in this chapter the evolution of a shepherd from a good to a severe and finally to a cruel one.

10 Thus Marti; Duhm, Sellin, Moffatt, ICC, regard it as original. If Marti is right, that the verse represents the conditions under the Diadochs,

"possessor" rather than "king."[11] Compare Ecclesiastes (5 8) מֶלֶךְ לְשָׂדֶה נֶעֱבָד. Compare *lugal a-šàg-ga-ge* "the owner of the field" in Sumerian.

11 7a לָכֵן עֲנִיֵּי הַצֹּאן is corrupted from לִכְנַעֲנִיֵּי הַצֹּאן.[12] The corruption was due to the older ן in the middle of the word, which remained unnoticed by a later copyist and was regarded as two words. The כְּנַעֲנִיֵּי הַצֹּאן are the merchants of the herds who deliver the flocks to a shepherd for feeding. The same meaning "merchant" for כְּנַעֲנִי occurs in another passage of this book (14 21). The merchants of the flocks symbolize here the leaders of the people who gave authority to this high priest to rule over them. This would fit in a time when the high priesthood was not yet sanctified by heredity through generations.[13]

11 7b וְלֶאֱחַד קָרָאתִי חֹבְלִים. The other staff is usually translated "binders."[14] But, how can a staff bind? We have here rather the usual meaning of this word in the Mishnah "to injure." The shepherd undertook the job. For this purpose he took two staves: one is "graciousness" in case the herd behaves well; the other is "injurers" in case they are stubborn. In the beginning the high priest was human, but not weak.

11 8a וָאַכְחִיד אֶת־שְׁלֹשֶׁת הָרֹעִים בְּיֶרַח אֶחָד. This phrase is re-

we may think that this interpolation was made in that time, while the parable is from an older age.

[11] Much stress cannot be laid on the word "king," as the ICC does.

[12] The reading has the support of the 𝔊 (ICC). This is the accepted reading of all commentators. The Syriac has ܟܢܫܐ in v. 7 and ܡܟܝܟܐ in v. 11. The ܟܢܫܐ may be a corruption for ܟܢܥܢܐ. ܡܟܟܠ can easily become ܡܥܥܠ.

[13] Marti, ICC, Sellin, identify the traders with the seller and buyers mentioned in v. 5. But there is no necessity for this identification. The trader is naturally a seller as well. The traders here do not play a harmful role but a foolish one.

[14] Thus Marti, Sellin ("Verbindung"); ICC ("bonds," "unity," representing the relations with one another); Moffatt ("union"). This meaning of the word they derive from v. 14, where the breaking of the brotherhood is spoken about. But this verse cannot serve as an argument because it is an interpolation. The two trees of Ezekiel 37 15-28 have nothing to do with this parable. For the translation "Injurers" compare Rashi and Qimhi, and especially Bernfeld. Eben-Ezra connects it with תַּחְבּוּלָה, Duhm "Eintracht."

garded by some commentators as an interpolation;[15] by others, as removed from its place.[16] Neither supposition, however, is necessary. From the Early Babylonian legal literature we know that the shepherd had helpmates who were called *Ka. Bar*, Semitic *kaparum*. These helpmates were given by the possessors of the herd. The head shepherd is responsible for the flight of such helpmates. Compare *YBC* 5944: 18—21, I: *Ni-id-na-tum ka-pa-ra-šú ú-da-pa-ar-ma a-na ḫi-ti 5 še gur Da-da-ja Ni. A g. E.* "If *Nidnatum*, his helpmate, will run away for the damage *Dadaya* (the head-shepherd) shall pay 5 kors of barley." In our case the same happened. The shepherd caused the three helpmates given to him to flee.

The use of אֶת־שְׁלֹשֶׁת הָרֹעִים, "the three shepherds," does not necessarily imply that they were mentioned before. It may be the usual number of helpmates in a large herd.[17] The helpmates were designated by רֹעִים while the head was called אַדִּיר. The root כחד means "to disappear, to hide." The causative means "to make to disappear," "to cause to flee."

11 8 b, c וַתִּקְצַר נַפְשִׁי בָּהֶם וְגַם נַפְשָׁם בָּחֲלָה בִי. This phrase does not refer to the flocks. We should expect בָּהֶן, נַפְשָׁן as in v. 5.[18] But it refers to the רֹעִים. He gives here the reason why they fled. "I lost patience with them and they detested me." The three helpmates symbolize the representatives of the people who had to assist him with their counsel, but also to

[15] ICC, Sellin, Moffatt and others.

[16] Marti placed this phrase after v. 7 a. The reason for this speculation is that they translate וָאַכְחִיד "destroyed" and thought it as an action of God. But really it is the head shepherd who made his helpmates flee. For the Babylonian chief herder and his subordinate shepherds, compare *RA* XXI, p. 13, No. 13, where we have an *utullum* complaining to the king for a wrong done to the *rē'e*^{pl} who are under his hand. These shepherds were supplied to him by the owner of the flocks, the palace, for which service they obtained a certain garden. This was taken away by a certain Arwium and caused the complaint of their master. Eben-Ezra interpreted correctly that the three shepherds were helpmates of the head herder.

[17] This is one of the arguments for being an interpolation or that it has been mentioned before. The interpolator, moreover, should not use the article as well.

[18] For the ם in ורעיהם 18 MSS as well as 𝔖 𝔗 have ן (ICC).

control him that he shall not use his power to the disadvantage of his people. The high priest did not like their interference and caused them to resign in a very short time. Soon after he changed his policy towards the entrusted flock, namely the ruled people.[19]

11 9 After getting rid of the controlling helpmates, the shepherd ceased to take care of the flock. Three results are noted: death, loss, and injury, caused by continual fighting one with the other. In the above mentioned text of the Yale Babylonian Collection two of the last events are mentioned, and the shepherd is responsible for them. *A-na pi-ḫa-at ... i-za-az ù ḫa-li-iq i-ri-a-ab* (*YBC* 5944: 14—17), "for the damages he shall stand; and the lost ones he shall restore." The unfaithful shepherd caused all the damages to his flock. וְהַנִּכְחֶדֶת תִּכָּחֵד is applied to the lost by flight, as ואכחיד in v. 8.[20] This description symbolizes the anarchy which arose in the land through misjudgment of the tyrant.

11 10 a He cut off the staff of gentleness. This symbolizes that the tyrant ceased to show good will any more. He used only the staff "injurers," being always severe.

11 10 b—11 a This is an interpolation of the same glossator who interpreted this simple parable as an eschatological vision of breaking the covenant of Israel with all the nations.[21]

11 11 b וַיֵּדְעוּ כֵן עֲנִיֵּי הַצֹּאן. This is surely וַיֵּדְעוּ כְנַעֲנֵי הַצֹּאן The owners of the flock learned of the injuries he caused to the flock as well as the flight of the helpmates.

11 11 c הַשֹּׁמְרִים אֹתִי. This word has been interpreted "those who watch me."[22] But if they would watch him they would hardly allow this negligence in the fulfilment of his duties as a shepherd. The word here is either to be read הַשֹּׂכְרִים אֹתִי "who hire me,"[23] or הַשֹּׁמְרִים אֹתִי has the meaning "who appointed

[19] The three shepherds have been identified with historical personages, kingdoms, kings, high priests, etc. See ICC, pp. 306 f. All these speculations are superfluous.

[20] Thus Sellin. ICC translates "destroyed." But in this case it would be the same as "the dead."

[21] It seems obvious that a staff cannot serve as a sign of a covenant.

[22] Marti, Sellin ("beobachtende").

[23] ICC, Moffatt, following Hoonacker.

me as a watcher." Compare the third stem in Arabic. But we expect rather הַמְּשׁוֹמְרִים. See Gesenius-Kautzsch 28, p. 159.

11 11 d כִּי דְבַר יהוה הוּא The Hebrew text is difficult. How did the merchants know that it is the word of Yahveh? Is a faithless shepherd such an impossibility that this must be regarded as a divine event? It seems, therefore, that this phrase is an interpolation of the same glossator because he did not see the simple sense of the parable. The intention of the story is, that in spite of the unfaithfulness of the shepherd, he was not dismissed, but on the contrary, they paid him.

11 12 a "And I said to them: If I am good in your eyes give me my reward," וְאִם לֹא חֲדָלוּ, "and if not cease." It does not seem very appropriate for any workingman to propose such an alternative. It seems that the original text was וְאִם לֹא אֶחְדָּלָה "and if not I will cease," namely, he will give up his job. One א was lost by a copyist. Since חדלה had no meaning it was amended to חֲדָלוּ. We have here the malicious humor of the shepherd ("If I am good in your eyes"), and the foolishness of his masters.

11 12 b "And they paid out my wages thirty (shekels of) silver." Commentators regard this to be a small payment to indicate the worthlessness of his work. They paid him the price of a slave[24]. But this seems to be baseless. The shepherd is not a slave, he is not sold. Thirty shekels of silver as an annual payment is a great reward. According to the Code of Hammurabi (§ 261) the usual rate for a shepherd is only 8 kors barley a year. Such an amount of barley is surely less than 30 shekels. In an early Babylonian text we have a promissory note, that a certain man promises to pay in 20 days 2-4/5 kors of barley. In case he fails to do so, he has to pay only 1-1/6 shekel of silver (*YBC* 4334). We see that a kor of barley amounts to less than a shekel. Thirty shekels is, therefore, a tremendous amount as an annual payment to a hired shepherd. The parable intends to indicate the enrichment of the ruler on account of the people who are foolish enough to submit to all his wishes, instead of revolting against him.

[24] Marti, Sellin.

11 13a "And Yahveh said to me, throw it into the treasury." The word הַיּוֹצֵר is a corruption for הָאוֹצָר.[25] The ruler had deposited the money in the temple treasury, as was usual in all ages. The use of the contemptuous הַשְׁלֵךְ "to throw" seems to indicate the richness of the shepherd. But it may be a technical term to distinguish a simple deposit from a consecration to God הַקְדֵּשׁ. The entire story about the deposit of the money is introduced to hint where this treacherous ruler hides the robbed property of the people.

11 13b אֶדֶר הַיְקָר אֲשֶׁר יָקַרְתִּי מֵעֲלֵיהֶם. This phrase seems to be a conglomeration of words. אֶדֶר is regarded the same as הדר "splendid." יְקָר is "dear," the same meaning. יָקַרְתִּי does not fit and is emended to יָקַרְתָּ. What meaning has "the splendid dear thing which I (or you) have taken from them?" The solution of this difficulty seems to be that אֶדֶר means the "wages" of an אַדִּיר. The אַדִּירֵי הַצֹּאן were the head shepherds like the Babylonian *utullum*, to distinguish them from the usual רוֹעִים. The reward of such an אַדִּיר is called אֶדֶר like שָׂכָר the reward of שָׂכִיר, "hireling" in general. אֶדֶר הַיְקָר means, therefore, "the dear payment of a shepherd."[26] If the Massoretic יָקַרְתִּי is correct,[27] the whole phrase would fit in just after the words שְׁלֹשִׁים הַכֶּסֶף. It is more fitting for the prophet than for God to mock. The original verse was perhaps: "And Yahveh said to me: 'Throw it into the treasury!' And I took the thirty (shekels of) silver (the dear wages that I dearly charged them) and I threw them into the house of Yahveh, into the treasury."

11 14a "And I cut off the second staff, the Injurers." Even though he was paid he did not become more careful, but on the contrary, he turned out to be a merciless shepherd, so that even the "Injurers" were not enough for him.

11 14b "To break the brotherhood between Judah and Israel" is an interpolation of the same glossator. The emendation

[25] Thus 3 Kenn. 530. (ICC, pp. 313 f.). Compare Qimhi.

[26] Marti suggested an emendation שכר. Ehrlich interprets correctly אֶדֶר from אַדִּיר. For יקר he suggests the Arabic وَقِير "some kind of a herd."

[27] All commentators emend to יָקַרְתָּ, Marti, ICC, Sellin, Moffatt. Ehrlich regards this word as a denominative from the herd יקר = وَقِير.

of the commentators יְרוּשָׁלָם instead of יִשְׂרָאֵל is not necessary.[28] The glossator may have had in mind Ezekiel 37 15 ff.

11 15 a "And God said to me again." Compare Hosea 3 1 a. "Again" looks back to the words of God in vv. 4, 13.[29]

11 15 b "Take to thee an instrument of a foolish shepherd." Here he intends to instruct the faithless shepherd to become very cruel and to exchange the cut off "staff of Injurers" for a harmful instrument. The broken staff could do no more than injure, while the new instrument can kill entirely.[30]

11 16 Here follows the interpretation of the whole parable: "Because behold I am setting a shepherd over the land who will not count the lost ones, will not seek the missing ones, and will not heal the injured," etc.

11 16 a הַנִּכְחָדוֹת לֹא יִפְקֹד. The translation of this phrase is, according to ICC, "The one that is being destroyed he will not visit." Sellin: "Um das Zugrundegehende kümmert er sich nicht." Moffatt: "Who will not look after what is missing." All agree that הַנִּכְחָדוֹת should be read in the singular, as in the coördinate cases (Marti, ICC with 4 Kenn. MSS and 𝔊). But there is no necessity for this. The meaning of הַנִּכְחָדוֹת is not "destroyed" but "disappeared," "fled ones" as in vv. 8–9. יִפְקֹד here is not "visit," "take care," "seek," but "count." He will not count the lost ones, as though he is not at all responsible for the loss, and therefore the plural is more fitting.

11 16 b הַנַּעַר לֹא יְבַקֵּשׁ. Marti and others emend הַנַּעַר to הַנִּדַּחַת, which is not probable. Some other emendations are, הַנָּעָה or הַנֶּעֱדָרָה (ICC, Sellin). The translation of the phrase is, then "the one that is wandering he will not seek" (ICC, reading הַנָּעָה), "das Verlorene" (Sellin הַנֶּעֱדָרָה), "the scattered" (Moffatt, reading הַנִּדַּחַת). Although the meaning "missing" fits the context, yet there is no absolute need for the emendation. The "young" sheep is more apt to remain behind the herd so that the shepherd has to look for it. However, הַנֶּעֱדָר can easily look like הַנַּעֲרָר (double ר) which was corrected to הַנַּעַר. The male is more inclined to leave the herd than the female.

28 Marti and others with 𝔊ᴸ. Against it ICC, Sellin and Moffatt.

29 ICC, Sellin, Moffatt translate "take thee again."

30 This is the opinion of some commentators. See ICC, p. 315.

11 16c וְהַנִּשְׁבֶּרֶת לֹא יְרֻפֵּא. The word "broken" is a technical term for injury caused by a beast (Ex. 22 9, 1 Kings 13 26). The Syriac has ודתבירן לא נעצב ודכריהן לא נאסא, namely, it restores הַנִּשְׁבָּרוֹת [לֹא יְתַקֵּן וְהַחוֹלוֹת] לֹא יְרֻפֵּא. Perhaps נעצב is used here in the meaning יְרֻפֵּא, the following words being a marginal explanation.

11 16d הַנִּצָּבָה is emended to הַנֶּחֱלָה, "Kranke" (Marti and others). But why not הַחוֹלָה? ICC and Sellin הָרֵעָבָה. But why not הַנִּצָּבָה, "which stands sound on its feet," namely, he does not give any food to the sound one, and starves her? Cf. Rashi, Syriac וּדְקָיְמִין.

11 16f וּפַרְסֵיהֶן יְפָרֵק. This phrase has been interpreted as "spalten der Klauen" because he feeds them in stony regions, etc. (Marti). ICC translates according to $\mathfrak{S}^{31}$ "their legs he will gnaw." Sellin emends וּפַרְצֵיהֶן and translates "Und reißt ihnen ihre Stücke ab." But the Massoretic text is correct. The meaning of this phrase is: "And their hoofs he breaks up," for a sign to show that it was left from a wild beast. Compare Amos 3 12.

11 17 The prophet feels himself too weak to do anything against the tyrant, and satisfies himself with a curse.

The opinion current since Ewald, that 13 7–9 belongs to the same parable, is open to question. The parable by itself as delivered in Zechariah 11 4–17 is complete in itself. The three verses 13 7–9 may have been written by the same author at a later date after some reflection, but they are not organically connected with the parable.

Who this tyrant was is hard to know. At any rate he is a local personality, not an emperor. A priest, *e. g.*, Joshua or Eliashib or somebody else, could well be the object of this sarcastic parable.[32]

The following is a translation of the original text according to the above notes. Verses 6, 10b, 11a, 11d, 14b, being interpolations, are omitted in this translation.

[31] The Syriac has וכרעיהן נערק. Since we have in Hebrew הָעוֹרְקִים (see Gesenius, *s. v.*), it is possible that our text had יערק. On the other hand נערק may stand for נעקר, "tore out."

[32] That Joshua had opponents can be seen from Zechariah 3. Eliashib was an opponent of Nehemiah.

11 4 Thus said Yahveh God: "Feed the flock of slaughter,
5 whose buyers kill them and do not transgress, and their seller says:

Blessed is Yahve, I became rich! and their shepherd does not pity them." 7 And I fed the flock of slaughter for traders in flocks. And I took for myself two staves; one I called "Gentleness" and one I called "Injurers", and I fed (thus) the flock. 8 And I caused to flee the three helpmates in one month because I lost patience with them and they detested me. 9 Then I said: "I will not feed you: what is dying let it die, and the lost let be lost, and let the survivors devour one the flesh of the other." And I took my staff "Gentleness" and broke it. And the traders in the flock who hired me (or who appointed me!) took notice of that. 12 And I said to them: "If you please, give me my wages, but if not I will stop!" And they paid out for my wages thirty (shekels) of silver. 13 And Yahveh said to me: "Throw it into the treasury!" And I took the thirty (shekels) of silver (the dear shepherd wages which I took from them) and I threw it into the house of Yahveh, into the treasury. 14 And I broke my second staff, the "Injurers." 15 And Yahveh said to me again: "Take for yourself an instrument of a foolish shepherd.

16 For I am setting a shepherd over the land
Who will not count the lost ones,
Who will not seek the missing one,
Who will not heal the hurt one
And the sound one he will not feed,
But he will devour the flesh of the fat one,
And their hoofs he will break off.
17 Woe, worthless shepherd, who neglects the flock!
May the sword be on his arm and right eye.
May his arm be thoroughly dried out,
And his right eye entirely blinded."

LEXICAL NOTES ON LUKE-ACTS. I.

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THERE can be no doubt that the present time is an auspicious one in the history of New Testament lexicography. Five Greek dictionaries of importance are in process of publication. There is Walter Bauer's greatly enriched edition of † Preuschen's *Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des N.T.* (Giessen, 1925—), which in its explicit references both to ancient parallels and to modern commentators will apparently surpass any New Testament lexicon. There are two general unabridged dictionaries of the Greek language,—W. Crönert's revision of Passow (Göttingen, 1912—) and H. Stuart Jones' revision of Liddell and Scott (Oxford, 1925—). All these three have at the moment not progressed beyond the letter *α*. They take account of the Greek papyri, but not so fully as two special works, one a general dictionary to the Greek Papyri by † Fr. Preisigke (Heidelberg and Berlin, 1924—); and the other a special study of the *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Nonliterary Sources* by † J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, London and New York (1914—). At the present writing (June, 1925) these two works have been published as far down the alphabet as ἔχω and ὀψώνιον respectively.

These works, together with others in preparation, should stimulate an interest in lexical research, but it may not be out of place to offer from time to time detached and unsystematic notes parallel to those larger collections. Certain New Testament words deserve more special study. Furthermore, there

are ways in which the ἰδιώτης can somewhat supplement the regular lexicographer. In the first place, the papyri already published deserve repeated search and new papyri are constantly becoming available. What gleanings have been missed we have had lately indicated in the case of the word ἐπιούσιος. This word, appearing as it does in no less important and familiar a passage than the Lord's Prayer (both Matthew and Luke), uncertain in meaning, and absolutely unknown in any Greek passage of non-Christian origin, is a word whose discovery in any secular writing would naturally excite the interest of all scholars. A papyrus containing the word was published in 1889, but it apparently was not included in any dictionary or brought to the attention of New Testament scholars until just recently[1]—thirty-five years later!

In the second place, light on New Testament semantics is afforded by thorough study of the Hellenistic writers. Some of these have recently become more accessible, and those that have always been known yield something to the diligent student. The new Wettstein that is projected will doubtless recover and arrange much valuable information of this sort, but no generation can quite exhaust the possibilities, and our generation has much to do if our sympathy with the nuances of contemporary Greek is to match even that of the Eighteenth Century scholarship which produced the *Observationes* literature. In this field, also, any independent worker may perchance find gleanings which the reapers have left.

In the third place, the New Testament text itself offers suggestions of new insight into its meaning to one who acquaints

[1] See A. Debrunner in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, March 7, 1925, col. 119, citing Preisigke *Wörterbuch*, Fasc. 2, 1924, col. 567. The papyrus was originally published by Sayce in Flinders Petrie *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe* (London, 1889), p. 34, as No. 245, and was republished by Preisigke in his *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten* I (Strassburg, 1915), as No. 5224. Unfortunately the passage—an entry in a memorandum of expenses of a half obol paid for ἐπιούσια—gives little clue to its meaning. Moulton and Milligan evidently examined for New Testament parallels, without noticing this, the collection in which the papyrus was originally published. I must confess to having overlooked the word in the same way.

himself with the whole spirit and character, interests and modes of expression, of the several authors. There are certain habits of language which both in individuals and in human speech generally are easily overlooked until attention is drawn to them, as, for example, the fading of the etymological meaning, to mention but one of them.

In the fourth place, detached notes afford opportunity for fuller discussion of the connotation, literary quality and usage of the word than is possible in the restricted space of even the most elaborate lexicon or is appropriate in the continuous exposition of a commentary. Such selected word studies give the author the comfort of ample space for more or less relevant observations on usage and in some cases, as for example in F. Field's *Notes on the Translation of the New Testament,* can make a permanent contribution to the work of both lexicographer and commentator.

The following notes are intended to suggest rather than to supply the lexical supplementation that is possible along such lines. I confine myself to a single writer of the New Testament and begin with that part of the alphabet which the most advanced of the newer lexica has just reached.

ὁμοθυμαδόν.

There has been considerable debate whether this word still means "with one accord" in Acts, or simply "together." E. Hatch in his *Essays in Biblical Greek,* 1889, pp. 63 f. makes it plain that in the Septuagint "a) it is used to translate Hebrew words which mean simply 'together,' b) it is interchanged with other Greek words or phrases which mean simply 'together,' c) it occurs in contexts in which the strict etymological meaning is impossible," and he declares that in none of the N.T. passages is there any reason for assuming that the word has any other meaning than that which it has in the Greek versions of the O.T., viz., 'together.' In reply T. K. Abbott in his *Essays,* p. 96, and Moulton and Milligan *s. v.* in *Lexical Notes from the Papyri* and in their *Vocabulary* attempt to place the burden of proof on those who deny the etymological force of the word. It is doubtful, however, whether it is fair

to give either the Septuagint or etymology any strong advantage in the discovery of Luke's meaning. The alternatives are not quite so extreme.

The ten passages in Acts are not decisive from their context. None of them has an impersonal subject, yet there is none of them that demands the stronger meaning of 'with one mind,' or 'with one purpose.' There is rather association of place, time and action. The word represents what is done 'simultaneously' or 'alike,' or the being (5 12 *ἦσαν*; 15 25 *γενομένοις*) or moving (12 20 *παρῆσαν*) of persons 'together.' It could scarcely be used of unanimity of persons separated in time or place. In 2 46 (*cf.* 5 42) being together in the temple (*ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ*) may be contrasted with distribution to their homes (*κατ' οἶκον*). Probably no one English word or phrase expresses its exact meaning. It strengthens other words in its context. Hence it is found associated with *πάντες* in Acts (1 14; 2 46) as in other writers, but never with such phrases as *ὑπὸ μιὰν φωνήν* (Aristeas 178), *ἐκ μιᾶς γνωμῆς* (Demos. 147 1), *ἐν ἑνὶ στόματι* (Romans 15 6). In Luke's own vocabulary it appears to have what is almost if not quite a synonym in *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* (Acts 2 1 with *ὁμοῦ*, T. R. *ὁμοθυμαδόν*; 2 44 &c.), rather than in *ἀπὸ μιᾶς* (Luke 14 18) or the more definite *ἦν καρδία καὶ ψυχὴ μία* (Acts 4 32). It is doubtful, moreover, whether in the more classical writers the etymological emphasis on internal feeling had not given place at least in Hellenistic times to external action. Translators are often misled by etymology in languages in which they are not perfectly at home. Thus the Vulgate translates (except 15 25 *in unum*) by *unanimiter* or *uno animo,* but we may prefer to follow the old bilingual lexicon which reads: *ὁμοθυμαδὸν universi, una pariter, gregatim, simul.* The LXX certainly had no reason to use it for יַחַד or יְחָדָו unless it meant in the *κοινή* 'together.' These Hebrew words are elsewhere in the LXX rendered by *ἅμα* or *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό.*

Convincing evidence that in Acts or elsewhere the word had lost its psychological reference is naturally difficult to secure since, as has been said, the etymological force is never absolutely impossible. References to riots, however, in Acts 7 57; 18 12; 19 29 do not imply regulated purpose. A passage

in the papyri mentioned by Moulton and Milligan without full citation appears on examination (the reading is not absolutely certain) to bear unmistakable evidence of the absence in ὁμοθυμαδόν of consent or accord. In P Par 63, 93 (B. C. 164) (= P Petr. III p. 26) complaint is made that a group of people not liable for taxes had been dunned for them, "as though the tax determined by decree had been assessed on all the persons in the country without exception" (*ὡς τοῦ διὰ τοῦ προστάγματος ὡρισμένου κεφαλαίου πᾶσι τοῖς κατὴν (sic) χώραν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπιγεγραμμένου*). Here the subject of the sentence is quite impersonal. Further, it is a subject on which Egyptians acted by necessity rather than with one accord—the payment of taxes! The passage calls for a translation such as "alike."

No doubt the author of Acts believed there was harmony in the early church, but his use of ὁμοθυμαδόν is not the best evidence of it.[2]

ὀπτάνομαι.

Moulton and Milligan show that this word (Acts 1 3) can no longer be called Biblical, and they refer to Knowling as indicating that the word is not limited to unreal visions as distinguished from actual sight. That it can be used of superhuman appearances is not merely suggested by Luke's own noun ὀπτασία in Luke 24 23 (ἀγγέλων), Acts 26 19 (οὐράνιος), but is proved by its use in Tobit 12 19 of Raphael *πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ὠπτανόμην ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγον οὐδὲ ἔπιον, ἀλλὰ ὅρασιν ὑμεῖς ἐθεωρεῖτε*, and in the magical P Par 574, 3033 *ὁρκίζω σε τὸν ὀπτανθέντα τῷ Ὀσραὴλ ἐν στύλῳ φωτινῷ καὶ νεφέλῃ ἡμερίνῃ*. Its use in 3 Kingdoms 8 8, "the ends of the staves of the ark were seen in the holy place, but they were not seen outside

[2] The impressive 'with one accord in one place' of the King James version in Acts 2 1 had already disappeared since the revisers followed the better MSS in reading ὁμοῦ for ὁμοθυμαδόν with *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*. We may perhaps set it down as a rule of Hellenistic Greek that short words tend to give up their meaning to longer words which look or sound something like them but originally had quite a different meaning. Beside ὁμοθυμαδὸν for ὁμοῦ we seem to have in the NT. πληροφορέω for πληρόω, ἐριθεία for ἔρις, &c.

the tabernacle" (*οὐκ ὠπτάνοντο ἔξω*), and in the papyri of the non-appearance of a boy (P Par 49, 33) or other persons (or things?) (P Tebt I 24, 5) that were "wanted," suggest that its distinctive meaning is 'to be visible.'[3] Acts 1 3, then, means not merely that Jesus was seen but that he was to be seen. Its opposite is the equally idiomatic *ἄφαντος ἐγένετο* of Luke 24 31: "he was not to be seen." Secular writers also use the latter of persons who disappear in a sudden manner. The parallel to Acts 1 3 in Acts 10 40 is instructive, *ἐμφανῆς γενέσθαι*. It is a good synonym of *ὀπτάνομαι* also in all its other known occurrences. The English 'being visible' may sound strange in Acts 1 3, but is probably a better translation than 'appearing,' which suggests distinct occasions and appearances at the initiative of Jesus. That there were repeated occasions is not impossible and was maintained by Chrysostom. The author of Acts may have thought of Jesus as becoming visible from time to time during the forty days. But if we could leave out of our minds the gospels and 1 Corinthians, Acts would most naturally be understood as implying continuous visibility for forty days concluded by a definite ascension, and of course followed by later visions of Jesus to Stephen, Paul, &c. Neither the word itself nor the context of Acts 1 3 seems to me to indicate what degree of reality there was in the appearances, or, to use Luke's own expression (Luke 24 37 ff.), to show whether or not they "saw a spirit."

ὁροθεσία.

Acts 17 is a chapter containing several words formerly supposed to be unknown to secular or earlier writers but now found in papyri and inscriptions. *ὁροθεσία* is one of these (*cf. ἀναστατόω, καταγγελεύς, πολιτάρχης*). From each group of non-literary sources it has been attested as belonging to the common vocabulary. It occurs not only in the inscription from Priene mentioned by Moulton and Milligan but also unmistak-

[3] Krenkel, *Josephus und Lucas*, p. 147 is apparently in error in attributing the verb to Josephus. It occurs in Hermes Trismegistus 31, 15 Parthey, and is a fairly well attested variant in Numbers 14 14.

ably in B G U III 889, 17 (151 A. D.). The context of this passage is, unfortunately, missing. In the Priene inscription, which is of earlier date, the word in its two occurrences (Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschriften von Priene,* 42 lines 8 and 12) evidently means the fixing of a boundaryline (*cf.* ὁροθετεῖν in LXX). The nearest parallel previously known was a different word τὸ ὁροθέσιον and was found in Hesychius. There is now no longer any reason for Blass's conjectured reading τὰ ὁροθέσια here. But nothing prevents our finding the same feminine word as in Acts, the inscription and the papyrus in Galen *Definitiones medicae* II (XIX, 349 Kühn), ὁρισμὸς δὲ λέγεται ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ὁροθεσιῶν, though the editors accent ὁροθεσίων. Did the sharp eyes of Hobart overlook this evidence of 'medical language'?

The new evidence, unfortunately, throws little light on the meaning of the Acts passage. The latter is well discussed in Wendt (Meyer[9]), *ad loc.,* and I should be inclined to agree that ὁρίσας προστεταγμένους καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ὁροθεσίας τῆς κατοικίας αὐτῶν is, like 14 17, an appeal to the evidence of God in the experience of man. I have, however, the suspicion that, instead of the first part being temporal and the second geographical (*cf.* LXX Deut. 32 8 ὁρία), as is usually supposed, ὁροθεσία κατοικίας may be temporal also, applying to the "fixation of the term of residence" of each nation (πᾶν ἔθνος). The following considerations may be urged:

1. There is the wellknown tendency of Semitic thought, in contrast with Greek, to use categories of time rather than those of space (*cf.* Dobschütz, *Zeit und Raum in Denken des Urchristentums* in *JBL* XLI [1922], 212 ff.).

2. Luke deals with history and revelation in terms of periods fulfilled or junctures arrived at. This appears throughout,—in his treatment of Hebrew history in the speeches of Acts (*e. g.,* 7), in his outlook on the future (*e. g.,* Luke 21 24 ἄχρι πληρωθῶσι καιροὶ ἐθνῶν), and elsewhere. A few verses later in Acts 17 there is reference to χρόνοι τῆς ἀγνοίας and to the fixing of a day for the judgment.

3. It is a distinct habit in Luke to join with καὶ two synonymous or similar terms. In this passage we have ζωὴν καὶ πνοήν, τέχνης

καὶ ἐνθυμήσεως. With προστεταγμένους καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ὁροθεσίας τῆς κατοικίας αὐτῶν understood as two expressions of time compare Acts 1 3 χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς οὓς ὁ πατὴρ ἔθετο ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ (*cf.* 3 19–21). Even in the phrase of Acts 14 17 ὑετοὺς καὶ καιροὺς καρποφόρους the first word is probably to be understood not as rains in the modern sense but as rainy *seasons* correlative to harvest seasons.

ὄρος, ὀρ(ε)ινή.

Western readers of the Bible are not accustomed to consider mountain and desert as synonyms. We think, for example, of Egyptian deserts as sand without mountains and Palestinian wildernesses as mountains without sand. The papyri (see Moulton and Milligan, *s. v.*) give interesting evidence that in Egypt ὄρος and ὀρεινός referred to the desert (ἐρημός). The latter occurs regularly without its noun and usually in the spelling ἡ ὀρινή (*sc.* διῶρυξ) of the desert canal.

This fact throws some light on the occasional equation in the gospels of ὄρος and ἔρημος (*cf.* my *Style and Literary Method of Luke,* p. 118, note 1). Thus Mark 6 31 places the feeding of the five thousand in a desert place, John 6 3 in the mountain. Luke especially seems to equate desert with mountain. When Mark 5 5 refers to the demoniac as living in the tombs and in the mountains, Luke 8 27, 29 says he was in the tombs and was driven by the spirit into the deserts. Matthew and Luke, following Mark (or Q), both place Jesus' temptations in the desert, but Matthew 4 5 locates one of them on an exceedingly high mountain while Luke 4 5, by omitting all reference to place and changing the order, gives the impression that it was still in the desert. In the parable of the lost sheep Matthew 18 12 says ἀφεὶς (*v. l.*) τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη πορευθείς, Luke 15 1 καταλείπει τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ πορεύεται. This difference in the place is sometimes regarded as one of the principal variants in these parallels, but evidently we have here as elsewhere in Q the use of nearly synonymous terms. They are scarcely evidence of the use of different sources as Streeter, for example, thinks.

Nor within Luke's writings are we to draw much distinction

between them. For example, there are Jesus' prayers. In the sequel to the feeding of five thousand "in the desert" (so all the evangelists) Mark (6 45) adds ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος προσεύξασθαι. Luke (9 18), as at the temptation, gives no change of scene but continues καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν προσευχόμενον κατὰ μόνας. In Luke 5 16 following Mark 1 35 there is reference to Jesus praying ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις. But at 6 12 and 9 28 Luke gives Jesus as praying in τὸ ὄρος where Mark's ὄρος is without mention of prayer. On the night of the betrayal all three evangelists represent Jesus as going (Luke 22 39 adds "according to his custom") to the mount of Olives and praying.

So, too, with the early career of John. Luke 1 65 uses of his birthplace ἡ ὀρεινὴ τῆς Ἰουδαίας (*cf.* 1 39); he says in 1 80 John was ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις until the day of his manifestation to Israel; in 3 2 he says the word of God came to John ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. Probably in these several passages he intends no difference of locality.

I may conclude this note with a suggestion about the familiar crux in the parallel passages called, respectively, Matthew's 'Sermon on the Mount' and Luke's 'Sermon on the Plain.' Unless one of the evangelists is following an indication of locality found in the common source (Q), I think we must explain the place references as due to the different passage or combination of passages in Mark to which each of the later evangelists attached the insertion. In Mark 3 7–19 Jesus first withdraws to the sea and heals a multitude, then goes up into the mountain and chooses the twelve; Luke 6 12–19 reverses these events, substituting for "the sea" (which he avoids) the level place, so that the "sermon" which follows without new allusion to place appears to have the latter location. Matthew, on the other hand, does not follow Mark's outline so faithfully and combines and repeats Mark's general references to Jesus' work and its locations; but I think his introduction to the sermon on the mount, 5 1, "And seeing the multitude he went up into the mountain, and when he was seated his disciples came to him" may be derived from the references to Jesus in the desert place(s) in Mark 1 35 and 45, especially the former where Jesus, avoiding the multitude which seek him (*cf.* Luke 4 42),

goes out into the desert place and is overtaken by Simon and those with him. It will be recalled that other sections of Mark 1 are used in the context by Matthew, Mark 1 16–20 and 1 39 before the Sermon on the Mount, and Mark 1 21 b–22 and 1 40–44 immediately after it. This would constitute another synoptic parallel between desert and mountain. Of course the mountain of Matt. 5 1 may be that evangelist's own addition to Mark, as it seems to be in the similar addition to Mark 7 31 in 15 29 *καὶ ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἐκάθητο ἐκεῖ.* For a different explanation of the pair of parallels last mentioned, together with Matt. 5 1 and John 6 3, see Streeter, *The Four Gospels,* 1924, pp. 412–414.

οὕτως.

In Blass-Debrunner § 425, 6 we read: "Die klass. Freiheit, *οὕτως* zur Zusammenfassung des Inhalts einer vorangegangenen Partizipialkonstruktion zu verwenden, findet sich im NT nur in den Acta." The passages are Acts 20 11 *ἀναβὰς δὲ καὶ κλάσας τὸν ἄρτον καὶ γευσάμενος, ἐφ' ἱκανόν τε ὁμιλήσας ἄχρις αὐγῆς, οὕτως ἐξῆλθεν*; Acts 27 17 *φοβούμενοί τε μὴ εἰς τὴν Σύρτιν ἐκπέσωσι, χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος, οὕτως ἐφέροντο.* Similarly, though not following a participle, we find in Acts 17 33 *οὕτως ὁ Παῦλος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν.*

We may accept the view that this use is limited in the N.T. to Acts (see, however, John 4 6; Rev. 3 5), but its occurrence in the papyri shows that it is no mark of classical culture. In the absence of illustrations in Moulton and Milligan I may add a few. P Lond I. 106, 19 (iii/B. C.), in a complaint of assault *ἐμοῦ δὲ οὐκ ἐκχωροῦντος ἀλλ' ἐπιμαρτυρομένου τοὺς παρόντας καὶ συνδραμόντων πλειόνων καὶ ἐπιτιμώντων αὐτῷ οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη*; P Grenf II. 77, 9 (about 300 A. D.) *ἀλόγως ἀπέστητε μὴ ἅραντες τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὑμῶν ἀλλὰ συνλέξαντες ὅσα εἶχεν καὶ οὕτως ἀπέστητε*; P Strass II 100, 14 (ii/B. C.) *κἀμοῦ τὸν ψόφον ἀκούσαντος καὶ ἐγερθεὶς ἐκάλουν βοηθοὺς οὕτως εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν* (the sentence is scarcely classical!).

πάντως.

πάντως occurs three times[4] in Luke-Acts:

[4] The T. R. reads with D, &c., in Acts 18 21 *δεῖ με πάντως τὴν ἑορτὴν*

Luke 4 23 *πάντως ἐρεῖτέ μοι τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην, ἰατρέ θεράπευσον σεαυτόν.*

Acts 21 22 *τί οὖν ἐστι; πάντως [δεῖ πλῆθος συνελθεῖν] ἀκούσονται [γὰρ] ὅτι ἐλήλυθας.*

Acts 28 4 *πάντως φονεύς ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ὃν διασωθέντα ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ δίκη ζῆν οὐκ εἴασεν.*

In all these instances the adverb occurs at the beginning of a sentence and therefore applies to the whole statement rather than to a single word. It is used in dialogue, not in narrative, and of matters which were not of the nature of facts already known. The word is normally translated "certainly" or "assuredly,"[5] and such a meaning is possible, but it has seemed to me from the context of the passages that a weaker word is more natural. They demand no strong asseveration. The inference or expectation is expressed and is accepted by the speaker as true, as in each case the sequel shows, but to translate the adverb 'probably' or even 'possibly' would suit the context as well if not better.

I must at once admit that I have no 'authority' for this lexical conjecture. I can adduce no unmistakable instance of *πάντως* = 'perhaps.' I may however give some circumstantial evidence.

Such a change of meaning is in accord with the general laws of language. Like other currencies, words have a tendency to depreciation. Words meaning 'immediately' come to mean 'soon,' words meaning 'excessively' come to mean 'somewhat.' It would be natural for 'certainly' to become 'probably' or

τὴν ἐρχομένην ποιῆσαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, but ℵ A B omit. In this passage as in the longer form of Acts 21 22 the *πάντως* with *δεῖ* has presumably its regular meaning of "by all means."

[5] There is an adversative element often in such normal usage, though the dictionaries and commentaries do not always note it. Not "by all means" but "at any rate" is the English equivalent (German *jedenfalls*, French *en tout cas*). Even the less normal meaning proposed herewith does not exclude the retention of that idea. Thus in Luke 4 23 the concessive clause is represented by the favorable reception and wonder which his hearers first gave Jesus; in Acts 28 4 it is though Paul had been saved from the sea. In Diodorus Siculus I. 77, 3 it seems to strengthen *γε*.

even 'possibly.' In French philology such *kenosis* is common; *absolument* is said to have a much weaker colloquial sense. In English 'quite' does not always mean 'entirely,' and 'doubtless' has a sense of 'peradventure' even when used not in sarcasm. These word-biographies are fairly near the proposed degeneration of meaning in *πάντως*. Perhaps similar slipping down the scale from superlatives is seen in 'generally' and 'on the whole,' which do not mean 'universally,' and in the curious 'almost.' See M. Bréal, *Essai de Sémantique,* pp. 256—8 [Eng. trans. 230—2].

Paul is the other New Testament writer to use the word. In Romans 3 9 *v. l.* he has the dialogue negative *οὐ πάντως* (*cf.* 1 Cor. 5 4); but in 1 Corinthians a less positive meaning is appropriate:

9 9 f. *μὴ τῶν βοῶν μέλει τῷ θεῷ ἢ δι' ἡμᾶς πάντως λέγει; δι' ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐγράφη* κτλ.

9 22 *τοῖς πᾶσι γέγονα πάντα, ἵνα πάντως τινὰς σώσω.*

16 12 *καὶ πάντως οὐκ ἦν θέλημα ἵνα νῦν ἔλθῃ, ἐλεύσεται δὲ ὅταν εὐκαιρήσῃ.*

Without a fresh rehearsal of some ancient difficulties involved in these passages the reader will see that a milder word than 'certainly' is quite appropriate in them, even if it is not necessary or even preferable. In 9 10 Paul is asking whether perhaps scripture was written for our sakes; in 9 22 had it not been for his word play on forms of *πᾶς, πώς* would have been as suitable as *πάντως*. In 16 12 if *θέλημα* means the divine will, and even if it means Apollos' will, there was little reason for Paul to assert emphatically that Apollos' coming now was 'in every way' or 'assuredly' not in accordance with the wish of God (or of Apollos). He may be saying resignedly or politely, "Perhaps it was not God's will for him to come now, but he will come when he has a good opportunity."

That *πάντως* does not imply always strong certainty is shown by the fact that Justin Martyr uses it in sentences following the verbs *ὑπονοέω* and *ὑπολαμβάνω* (*Dialogue* 103, 3; 140, 2) and in the expression of his wish (*ibid.* 142, 3). The New Testament versions, Latin and Syriac, show a remarkable willingness to omit the word entirely, *e. g.,* the Vulgate in

Acts 18 21; 1 Cor. 9 22: the Peshitta in every Pauline passage except one (see below). If the word was colorless enough to omit, it must not have seemed so emphatic to ancient translators as to modern ones.[6]

In the two Lucan passages where the weaker sense seemed to me most likely (Luke 4 23; Acts 28 4) I found quite unexpectedly that the Peshitta gave me full support. In both cases it renders initial *πάντως* by initial حصا, which can only mean under the circumstances 'perhaps.' In Luke 4 23 we have the additional support of the Old Syriac for the same rendering. The same Syriac rendering of *πάντως* occurs in 1 Cor. 16 12. There the Sahidic and Ethiopic agree.

For parallels to the dialogue style of the New Testament one naturally looks to the *Shepherd of Hermas* rather than to the more cultivated *Dialogue with Trypho*.[7] Of instances of *πάντως* there, three seem on first sight to admit the rendering 'probably,' 'possibly,' quite as well as the usual one, *viz.*, Mand. 9, 7; Sim. 7, 4; 9, 4, 4.[8] Here again early translators concur in this equivalence. There are two Latin versions of Hermas and both in all three cases render the word as 'perhaps' (usually *forsitan*). In Sim. 7, 4 Dibelius (*Der Hirt des Hermas*, Tübingen, 1923) translates "vielleicht(?)" and gives this note:

> "so ist nach lt[1] *forsitan*, lt[2] *fortasse* wohl zu deuten; statt *πάντως* 𝔊 ist dann *ποτε* (kaum mit Hollenberg *ἴσως*)

[6] *E. g.*, Plummer (*I. C. C.* on Luke 4 23): "*πάντως* is used in strong affirmations." G. G. Findlay (*E. G. T.* on 1 Cor. 9 22) says more wisely that it "varies in sense according to its position and context."

[7] A probable illustration in dialogue of the weakened *πάντως* is PSI 281, 47 (ii/A. D.) *εἶχέ τι πάντως ἡ Φιλουμένη πρός σε δίκαιον. διὰ τοῦτο ζῶσαν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἀπῆτησας.*

[8] The reading of the last passage is not quite certain, as it is not included in the extant parts of either the Codex Sinaiticus or the Michigan Codex (see *Harvard Theological Review* xviii [1925], p. 115), while the reading of the Athos MS is very obscure (see note in Lake, *Apostolic Fathers, ad loc.*, and also his *Facsimiles of the Athos Fragments of the Shepherd of Hermas*, 1907); but the Latin translation seems to me to confirm the older reading *πάντως* rather than Lake's *παντας*(?).

zu konjizieren: die Lesart πάντως erklärt sich aus dem Einfluss des folgenden σ sowie desselben Wortes im nächsten Satz."

Such heroic measures with the Greek text are entirely unnecessary if we may add to our lexicon *s. v.* πάντως an entry like this:

In colloquial and Hellenistic usage, according to a common weakening of language, *perhaps, probably*, Luke 4 23; in tentative explanation of divine purpose Acts 28 4; 1 Cor. 16 12(?); Hermas, Mand. 9, 7; Sim. 7, 4; 9, 4, 4; of the meaning of scripture 1 Cor. 9 10; Justin *Dial.* 57, 2; with indefinite pronoun (= πως) 1 Cor. 9 22; *cf.* in Eusebius πάντως που.

THE LUCAN ACCOUNT OF THE LAST SUPPER

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SINCE the publication of Dr. Hort's famous note (*New Testament in Greek. Notes on selected readings*, pp. 63 f.), on the text of Luke 22 15–20, dealing with the Last Supper, many scholars have been inclined to treat the question as a closed one, believing that the last word had been said. However, the subject has refused to stay decently buried, and the unconvincingness of reasons suggested why it should do so must serve as excuse for this re-examination of the entire subject.

Luke apparently mentions two cups, associating with the first, words which correspond roughly to Mark 14 25, and with the second, those in general similar to Mark 14 22–24. But it is at once noted that Mark connected both sets of words with his single cup, and further combined them in the reverse of the Lucan order. It is obvious that both cannot be authentic reports of what happened. What are the alternatives open to us? Accepting, for the moment, the text as it stands, we can hold either that Luke intended merely a double mention of the same cup, or that the two cups were, in his mind, separate and distinct. (1) Under the first alternative, we must be able to suggest a reason why Luke, with Mark's account before him, should have inverted his order, and further, why he should have divided his words about the cup, placing a portion before the mention of the bread, and the remainder after.

(2) If we lean toward the other horn of the dilemma, then we must ask the further question as to whether it is the first or the second Lucan cups which corresponds to that in Mark.

Once again, both courses lead us into difficulties. (a) If the former identification is favored, we have merely the record that Jesus, presumably after drinking Himself, passed the cup to His disciples adding that He would not again drink of the fruit of the vine until the Kingdom of God should come. There is no reason why this should not have happened, but we must remember that according to Mark, the cup represents Jesus' "blood of the new testament which was shed for many." This symbolism is reflected in the testimony of Paul, and is intimately connected with the celebration of the Eucharist throughout all Christian history. Now no reflection of this can, by any stretch of the imagination, be read into the Lucan account. And on this theory, it is extraordinary to note that the words we should expect here, we actually do find mentioned in connection with Luke's second cup, which, on hypothesis, was different from the Marcan "cup of the covenant." (b) But if we try to identify the second cup with that of Mark, the difficulties are similar and only slightly less cogent. What was the first cup, and how can we account for Mark's appropriation of the words which Luke connected with it? In Christian tradition, it was taken to be one of the cups of the Passover feast, usually the third cup, the so-called Cup of Blessing, which it is observed that Paul calls (1 Cor. 10 16) "the communion of the blood of Christ." Then Luke's second cup would correspond to the fourth and final one of the Paschal meal. But we have observed that according to Luke's account, it is impossible that his first cup should be called "The communion of the blood of Christ," though the second might aptly be so characterized. Further developing this theory, we might say that the two cups of Luke correspond to the second and third of the Jewish feast, and though this has the advantage of putting the bread in the place it occupied in the Passover meal, yet it places the institution in the very middle and not as an adaptation of the end of the Jewish feast, (which is contrary to all Christian tradition) and does not well jibe with the indication of time given in the expression "After supper." (Lk. 22 20). However, arguments along this line are apt to prove ingenuity wasted, for it is the sense of most scholars that even if the Last Supper may con-

ceivably have been a Passover, yet the rite was so altered that close Paschal analogies cannot be pressed.

This bare outline is sufficient to suggest that there is no simple and direct road out of this maze. When one finds such a great inherent difficulty in the text, one naturally would suspect that the various manuscripts would give some indication of being affected by the difficulty which we feel, and would exhibit efforts to eliminate the trouble. And what we are led, *a priori*, to expect, we find with a vengeance, for there are many well attested, typical, and major variations.

For the sake of clearness, we might indicate, roughly, the various types by the following table, in which the verses (on the basis of *T. R.*) are given in the order in which they occur in various forms.

I. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20	*T. R. Aleph, B, c, f, q, Vulgate*
II. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 a	*D, a, ff, i, rhe*
III. 15, 16, 19a, 17, 18	*b, e*
IV. 15, 16, 19, 17, 18	*Syr. Cur.*
V. 15, 16, 19, 17, 18, 20 b	*Syr. Sin.*
VI. 15, 16, 19, 20	*Peshitta (Some MSS)*
VII. 15, 19, 20	*Coptic codex aleph*

We must now see which of these forms of the Lucan text is probably the original one.

Practically all scholars favor either form I or form II. Zahn (*Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. 3, pp. 39 f.), however, endeavors to make a case in favor of the *b, e* type, in which vv. 19 b–20 are omitted and v. 19 a transposed to precede vv. 17–18 (III). However, there is one objection that seems absolutely conclusive apart from other considerations, and that is the impossibility of accounting for our sundry variations on the basis of this as an original. Leaving to one side the Syriac readings, the Western form would be arrived at, on this hypothesis, by inverting the order of the bread and the cup, thus giving rise to a serious difficulty with no advantage whatever to correspond. Then the longer text must be considered as a further revision of this, for the difficulties are such that the derivation of *T. R.* direct from form III is almost inconceivable. Such a change

as this could not be unintentional, and if intentional, then it should serve to remove a difficulty and not to add many new ones, which would be the case here. Form III is easily explained as a variation from form II, which removes a real difficulty by putting the bread and the wine in their proper order. In any case, the whole theory rests on an hypothesis of successive recensions of the gospel, which meets with no special approval. The various objections, which seem to be absolutely fatal, are well summarized by Goguel (*L'Eucharistie*, pp. 113 f.).

A likely relation of the various forms to one another is clearly summarized by Dr. Sanday (*H. D. B.* vol. 2, p. 636), as follows: "To the textual critic, these phenomena are fairly clear. (1) The omission of vv. 19 b – 20 belongs to the oldest form of the Western text (II). (2) The next step (*b, e*) was to transpose the order of vv. 17–18 and 19 a so as to make the sequence of the Bread and Cup correspond to that in the other authorities (III). (3) The next (*Cur.*) was to supplement the words relating to the Bread from 1 Cor. 11 24 (IV). (4) The next (*Sin.*) was to supplement in like manner the part relating to the cup by somewhat free interpolations, partly suggested from Matthew and Mark, but mainly from 1 Cor. (V). In this instance *Syr-Sin* represents a later stage than *Syr-Cur*, though its readings are more often earlier. The omissions of vv. (16), 17, 18 are probably not important. (VI & VII)"—(perhaps due to homoeoteleuton, or, more probably, to an attempt to eliminate the difficulty of the two cups). —"We have then confronting each other the primitive form of the Western text (II), . . . and other authorities which introduce a second cup, or second mention of a cup, and fill out the whole mainly from St. Paul (I). We cannot doubt but that both these types of text existed early in the 2nd century."

Most English scholars since the publication of Westcott and Hort's revised text are inclined to follow Hort in regarding vv. 19 b–20 as "Western non-interpolations," accepting form II, as given in the Bezan codex, as the original. This opinion, which is set forth in the note already referred to, is so important that it must be quoted *in extenso*.

"The only motive that could apparently in any way account

for the omission (vv. 19 b – 20) as a corruption would be a perception of the double reference to the cup. But this explanation involves the extreme improbability that the most familiar form of the words of institution, agreeing with St. Paul's record, should be selected for omission; while the vaguer, less sacred, and less familiar words, in great part peculiar to Luke, were retained. In the case of *D, a, ff, i, rhe* the selection would be improbable likewise as seeming to identify the cup of v. 17, preceding the bread, with the cup of the other records, following the bread. A sense of this discrepancy is presupposed by the transposition in *b, e, Syr. Cur*; and again their reading adds a second difficulty to the supposed selection by involving a gratuitously double process, omission and transposition.

"On the other hand, if the words were originally absent, the order of vv. 17–19 being as in the common text, the two other readings at once explain themselves as two independent attempts to get rid of this apparent inversion of order. In *b e* (*Syr. Cur.*) this is effected by a simple transposition; in most documents by an adaptation of St. Paul's familiar language. When the apostle's account of the cup was being borrowed, it was natural to introduce with it, for the enrichment of the Gospel narrative, the immediately preceding line concerning the bread. The only substantive element not derived from St. Paul, the last clause *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον* causes no difficulty: St. Paul's corresponding sentence being implicitly contained in his *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*, already appropriated, a neater ending was obtained by taking a phrase from Mark (*cf.* Matt.) with the substitution of *ὑμῶν* for *πολλῶν* in accordance with St. Paul's *ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν* of the previous verse. Some trifling variations from his diction are only such as are commonly found to accompany the adoption of additional matter from parallel places. The insertion of *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν . . . ἀνάμνησιν* (without *διδόμενον*) in *Syr. Cur.* was probably independent, and due merely to the desire of making the account more complete."

Hort then goes on to state that both readings, intrinsically, are difficult, though in different degrees. The shorter one involves the change in order of bread and cup, a phenomenon which occurs elsewhere in comparing the third gospel with the

first two (the Temptation, the Trial, etc.). The longer reading he holds to be more difficult because of the appearance of the two cups, dividing between them the words of institution as given in Mark. The conclusion is that "these difficulties . . . and the transcriptional evidence given above, leave no moral doubt that the words in question were absent from the original text of Luke notwithstanding the purely Western ancestry of the documents that omit them." This statement of the case for the priority of the shorter form can hardly be improved upon.

Dr. Hort recognizes the strong patristic support of the longer form, but hardly gives it full weight; and it behooves us to enter into the patristic evidence a little more thoroughly. There is one Father not quoted by Hort, who probably bears on the case, and that is Justin Martyr (*First Apology*, Chapter 66), who reads: "For the apostles in the memoirs composed by them which are called gospels, have thus delivered unto us what was enjoined upon them: that Jesus took bread, and after giving thanks, said 'Do this in my remembrance. This is my body'; and that, after the same manner, having taken the cup, and given thanks, He said: 'This is my blood' and gave to them only."

In the first place, is this a reference to Luke at all (as is assumed in the note *in loco* in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* and also in Migne's edition)? We cannot be certain, but there are indications in that direction. (1) It is likely that the narrative in First Corinthians is excluded as a possible source, as it is doubtful if the term "gospel" would at this time have been used loosely enough to include the epistles of Paul. It is probable that by "memoirs" Justin included three or four gospels (*Ency. Brit.*, art. "Gospels," p. 266 c). In any case we are certain that by the time of Tatian, Justin's disciple, the term included and was limited to the canonical four. But even if the term's meaning will not bear pressing, the verbal similarity to the Lucan account is at least as close as to the Pauline. (2) Luke is the only one of the *gospels* from which the phrase "Do this in my remembrance" could have come. Now if this reference is really from Luke, as seems very likely, it is obvious that Justin possessed the longer text, a) because of the order and b) because of the inclusion of "Do this in my remembrance."

The quotation from Tertullian (*Against Marcion*, Bk. 4, Ch. 40) is as follows: "When He earnestly expressed His desire to eat the Passover He considered it His own feast . . . . Then having taken bread and given it to His disciples, He made it His own body by saying 'This is My body' . . . . He likewise when mentioning the cup, and making the new testament to be sealed 'in His blood,' affirms the reality of His body." It is obvious that this does not follow with verbal accuracy any text that we possess and we must assume that it merely purports to give the general sense. The quotation is probably based on Luke, for this is the only gospel accepted by Marcion and used by Tertullian in refuting him. Now we cannot be absolutely certain whether this quotation bears evidence to the text of Tertullian or of Marcion, or of both. Doubtless, it at least represents that of Marcion, as the whole point of Tertullian's argument is that he refutes the heretic out of his own mouth, and if he mentioned anything which the latter did not have in his text, it would greatly weaken his own case. Our evidence for the exact text of Marcion, beside this passage, is very limited. Epiphanius (Migne, vol. 41, 316) is explicit in stating that Marcion excised verse 16, which reads: "For I say unto you that I shall not eat it until it is fulfilled in the Kingdom of God." But as it is generally recognized that Epiphanius did not mention everything that Marcion omits, it is supposed that he probably omitted verses 17 and 18 as well, as there is no trace of either in Tertullian, and anything that would be objectionable in the verse which Epiphanius says he did eliminate would apply with equal force to verse 18.

Adamantius (*Dialogues,* V, 870 E) quotes verses 19–20 from Marcion. Harnack (*Marcion,* p. 215), Hahn (*Evangelium Marcionis,* p. 207), and most scholars favor the view that Marcion's text corresponded to type VII (*i. e.,* vv. 15, 19, 20). But whatever doubt there may be as to the exact form of his text, we note (a) that the order given is first the bread and then the wine; and (b) that the "new testament sealed in blood," which is in verse 20, is mentioned. Therefore there seems no doubt as to the presence of verses 19–20, thus bearing conclusive evidence that Marcion did not use the Western reading or

form III. So, notwithstanding his mutilations, we can be fairly sure that the text which Marcion originally possessed was of form I. Probably we cannot be sure of that followed by Tertullian himself; however, we might note in passing that his own witness in favor of the longer form becomes more definite just in so far as we feel bound to agree with certain scholars who suggest that Tertullian was not following Marcion's text closely.

The reference in Origen (*Commentary on St. Matthew*, no. 823 in Migne) is a casual one and is as follows: "As it was written in the gospel, 'The cup of the new testament' etc." Now it is unlikely that this is a direct quotation, but it is doubtless given from memory, for it is a purely incidental reference and does not follow exactly any of our accounts. We have already noted the probability that the term "gospel" for Justin Martyr would exclude the Epistle to the Corinthians, but there is no question that this would be so with Origen. And we cannot fail to note that among the gospels, it is only in Luke that there is the expression "This cup is the new testament," whereas Matthew and Mark have "This is my blood of the testament." Now in Luke's gospel, this expression occurs in verse 20, which would not be present if Origen was using the Western text. While by no means conclusive, it seems more likely than not that Origen's text was of the longer form. This gives a possible indication as to the local text of Caesarea, for the *Commentary on St. Matthew* was not written in Alexandria, but in Caesarea, and Dr. Streeter has shown that for this work Origen used a text belonging to what he calls "Family *theta*," which is distinct from the text of Alexandria. (*The Four Gospels*, chap. 4).

Turning now to the *Canon* of Eusebius, there remains not the slightest doubt as to the text which this Father was following. He places Luke vv. 19–20 in his canon *b*, which comprises those verses which, in their essentials, occur in the three synoptists. Now had Eusebius been following the shorter text, then the verses in question could not have been in this canon but must have been placed in that comprehending verses found only in Matthew and Mark. While the text used by Eusebius

does not invariably represent the ancient *theta* text—though it is based directly on it (Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 91)—yet it should be noted that it differs chiefly from that of *theta* in that it has many readings found only in *D;* but at this point in question, Eusebius takes sides against *D*, and therefore it is very probable that here, at any rate, Eusebius represents the text of *theta.* Thus his testimony, coupled with the evidence of Origen for what it is worth, combine to make it likely that the original text of family *theta* was of the longer variety, and this family Streeter ranks with *B* and *D* as the three primary evidences for the gospel text.

Of course, it might well be objected that the reference in Origen gives no reflection of the text of Caesarea, but is a reminiscence of the one to which he was accustomed in Alexandria. This is by no means improbable, but we must not forget that, in any case, the text of Alexandria was surely of the longer type. The reference in the Syriac version of Cyrill's *Commentary on St. Luke* to this passage is explicit testimony in favor of the fuller form. Conclusive evidence is afforded by codices *Vaticanus* and *Sinaiticus,* coming from Alexandria probably early in the fourth century, and reinforced, if reinforcement is necessary, by the Coptic version, reaching back to a somewhat later date, which survives in both the Sahidic and the Bohairic dialects. There cannot be the slightest ground for doubt but that the textual tradition centering around Alexandria is wholly in favor of the inclusion of the doubtful verses.

But we must turn, before leaving this part of the subject, to a study of the Sinaitic and the Curetonian Syriac. In this, no attempt is made to go behind the facts stated by Dr. Burkitt (*Evangelion da Mepharreshe*), though certain of the conclusions which he draws from the evidence he presents seem contestable.

If the Curetonian and the Sinaitic Syriac texts are placed side by side, one might well feel that the latter was an attempt to harmonize the former with the longer Lucan text. The Sinaitic Syriac presents the following changes, as compared with *Cur.:* (1) Adds "I give" after "my body that . . ." (2) Adds "after they supped" before "he took a cup . . ."

(3) Adds "This is my blood, the new covenant," after "divide it among yourselves." (4) Adds "for" before "I say unto you . . ." (5) Substitutes "fruit" for "produce of the vine."

Now for No. 1, Luke, in the longer form, has *διδόμενον*, but as none of the other accounts of the Last Supper have anything, it is safe to suggest that the author may well have known the *T. R.* reading of Luke, and to this view the change of form is by no means a fatal objection. No. 2 comes directly from Luke's longer text, or Paul. No. 3 does not correspond closely with any of the accounts, but it might well represent an attempt to assimilate the Curetonian text somewhat closer to Luke's account, probably the exact language being influenced by the *Diatessaron*. No. 4 exactly reproduces the form in Luke and differs from that in all the other accounts. No. 5 is probably not of major importance. Burkitt points out that the Syriac word translated "produce" (*Cur.*) is more colorful and appropriate than that corresponding to "fruit" (*Sin.*). He suggests that "of the vine" dropped out when *Sin.* was revised from *Cur.* If one is derived from the other, then the less colorful (*Sin.*) would be more likely to be the original. But as in general it is assumed, in the passage we are considering, that *Cur.* is more primitive, it is not impossible that the two are both independent translations from the same Greek word. Thus of these five changes, we see that two are unimportant, and the remaining three are in the direction of harmonization with the *longer* Lucan text, for *all* of them are paralleled in verses 19 b–20, which would be omitted in the Western text of Luke. From this study, it seems to me not unlikely that the longer form of the Lucan text was in circulation and in good standing in the locality where the Sinaitic Syriac arose, and before this was compiled.

But if we see distinct traces of the presence of Luke's longer form in the Sinaitic text, is it not possible that the Curetonian which is, in general, later, may also have known it? Dr. Burkitt (*Evangelion da Mepharreshe*, vol. 2, pp. 300 f.) suggests that the translator of *Cur.* knew the *Diatessaron*, and also, probably, a liturgical text resembling *Aphraates* 221, in addition to the underlying Greek text of the original *Evangelion*.

Now though the text of the *Diatessaron* is doubtful, variations would probably not affect the main course of the argument. The Arabic (xlv, 12—16) of the *Diatessaron* gives as the text Matt. 26 26–29 (his complete account) followed by Luke 22 19 b "and so be doing for my memory."

Aphraates reads "He took bread and blessed and gave to His disciples, and said to them, 'This is My body; take, eat of it, all of you.' And also over the wine thus He blessed and said to them, 'This is My Blood, the new covenant that for many is shed to forgiveness of sins. Thus be ye doing for my memory whenever ye are gathered together.'"

Assuming, as Burkitt does, that the writer was thoroughly familiar with at least the *Diatessaron*, we must ask the question whether it would be easier to account for the existence of our Curetonian text on the basis of a Greek *Evangelion* which corresponded with the Western, or with the longer, or with some other form. Let it be said at once that a type similar to form III would have great advantages over both the more usual forms, but we have no record of the existence of any such text as this outside of the West, and the *Evangelion* was almost certainly of definitely Antiochian ancestry (*cf.* Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, p. 75).

Burkitt thinks that this task is easier with the Western text, but his conclusion cannot but be influenced by his opinion, following Hort, that the shorter is the original authentic form of the gospel narrative. He argues that "Which is for you" must be dependent on Paul, because Luke connects with it *διδόμενον*. This Pauline element would probably come through the medium of the *Diatessaron*, and the further expression "so be doing for my memory" would be similarly accounted for. Without these expressions, there are then no signs left of Luke 22 19 b – 20, and therefore he concludes that the underlying text was similar to the Western, and that the translator, noting the reverse in the order of bread and cup from that of the *Diatessaron* or *Aphraates*, placed vv. 17–18 after v. 19 a, thus, in a simple manner, correcting the error he noted. Finally he suggests that both *Sin.* and *Cur.* may have been independently assimilated to the *Diatessaron*, and that the original text of the *Evangelion* was even closer to that of Westcott and Hort.

Let us now see what is involved on the assumption that the translator had before him the longer form of Lucan text. As he read this, he would note that the cup came first, but as this was contrary to the order he knew, he therefore skipped over verses 17–18 and took verse 19 intact where the bread was described. Except for the omission of the *διδόμενον* above noted, there are no alterations. Then, in describing the cup, he took verses 17–18, which *Cur.* gives with only minor variations from Luke (none of which variations, be it noted, are in the direction of assimilations towards any of our other primary narratives). Then he was through; he had the bread, he had the cup, and his account ended with something roughly similar to the latter part of the *Diatessaron*, and perhaps he did not notice the further description of the cup following the bread, or if he did notice it, deliberately passed it by, and pushed on to new material.

In comparing the two possibilities, it is seen that in neither case are we completely free from difficulties. But we have noted that Dr. Burkitt traces what corresponds to Luke v. 19b to Paul, and he pushes on further to assign the entire description of the bread to First Corinthians. But it is precarious thus arbitrarily to assign a Pauline element (for which there is no evidence) to the *Diatessaron*, which was a harmony of the gospels. He finds also that while the Curetonian account is based on a combination of Luke and Paul, the Sinaitic calls for the further introduction from Matthew of "This is my blood, the new covenant." Now this hypothesis seems to me complicated and arbitrary, especially when we note, in comparison, that by assuming the longer text of Luke, nothing more must be postulated from Paul or any of the gospels to account for *both* the Curetonian and the Sinaitic forms. Further, we must remember that we have already noted the possible existence of the longer form at the time and place of compilation of the Sinaitic Syriac, which probably preceded the Curetonian. Also, we are studying verses that are part of the gospel of *Luke*, and so we should look to it first of all for our sources and not to a polyglot combination based on the indefinite text of the *Diatessaron*. An inversion of order is called for in each case,

and in each, this is traced to a knowledge of the *Diatessaron*, (or *Aphraates*, or both) and the omission calls for similar explanation under both hypotheses.

If this theory is sound, some interesting conclusions follow. We have already noted that the Sinaitic Syriac showed evidence of being assimilated toward the longer Lucan text and, at the time, we assumed that it was assimilated from the Curetonian. But this is rather unlikely, for generally the former is the earlier and more original, so that, at this point, the theory above suggested would be open to criticism. But why should not we consider the two Syriac forms as independent attempts to deal with the problem that the longer Lucan text afforded, for the Sinaitic form is similarly and quite as easily explained on this basis as on the one we suggested? Then both authors would he familiar with the *Diatessaron*, perhaps *Aphraates*, and something close to the *T. R.* of Luke. The Sinaitic would here as elsewhere prove itself the more original, solving the difficulty by keeping close to his text of Luke, while the Curetonian takes greater liberties. Thus we have a perfectly good explanation to offer why the Sinaitic, generally the more primitive and reliable, appears to be later in this case, even though probably it is not so. Therefore it is by no means impossible that the *Evangelion*, representing the ancient Lucan text of Antioch, followed the longer form, agreeing with that of Alexandria and Caesarea.

We have already noted that the text of the *Diatessaron* is very uncertain, but there is one further bold speculation which might be offered on this score, which can only be judged as a leap in the dark. If we turn to the *Diatessaron*, (Hill's edition 44 : 41—43 and 45 : 12—16), we note that Luke 22 15–16 comes at the beginning of the Passover meal, more than a page removed from the institution of the Eucharist, and that in this page is described the departure of Judas; this is contrary to the order of events given in Luke. Having preferred this order, it was natural to prefer Mark and Matthew for the contents of the institution. It is only in the very end that we have an indication of Luke in a phrase peculiar to his gospel: "and so do for my remembrance." It is, of course, possible that this phrase may have come from the account in I Corinthians, but

this conjecture is by no means required, and the *a priori* probability is in favor of Luke, just because the *Diatessaron* was a harmony of the *gospels*. It is true that there are similar words in *Aphraates* which indicate a possible dependence on Paul's account; but even though this dependence should be proved, yet Burkitt points out that *Aphraates* is not directly based on the *Diatessaron*, and so it is not required to trace the origin of these words to this source. But the reader will at once recognize that the words in question are not only peculiar to Luke among the gospels, but further, that they occur in a portion that the Western form would not have. We have already observed that Justin, Tatian's master, probably possessed the longer form of text. Is it impossible that these two indications taken together permit us to add Tatian as a further possible witness in support of this form?

Let us now summarize our findings. We can tell with certainty that the longer text was the ancient form centering in Alexandria, with almost certainty that it was that of Caesarea, and with what seems to be a distinct possibility that it was that of Antioch as well; even if this last point seems going ahead of the evidence, none the less, it is absolutely futile to call on the Syriac texts as a support for the Western form. Turning to the West, we find indications of the longer text almost certainly in Marcion (140 A. D.) and Justin (150 A. D.), representing the tradition of Rome, and also possibly Tertullian (207 A. D.) from North Africa, probably dependent on Rome. Further there are the Latins *c*, *f*, and *q*, and the Vulgate. In favor of the Western form are *D* and *a*, *ff*, *i*, *rhe*, all Old Latins, *b*, probably from Gaul, and *e*, from Carthage. We will leave the question now for the moment, noting only the definite and universal support of the longer form in the East, and its strong and early support in the West as well.

Turning now from the patristic evidence to the intrinsic probability of the two types, we will do well to heed the advice of Canon Streeter (*The Four Gospels*, p. 142), who warns us of the fallacy of assuming that Hort's Western non-interpolations must stand or fall together. He says "No manuscript or group of manuscripts is even approximately infallible; all have suffered

from some accidental omissions. It is more probable that in some cases *B* is correct in retaining the words, even if, in the majority, *D* is right in omitting them. The real case against the genuineness of these readings rests, I must repeat, not on their omission in one line of the manuscript tradition, but in the fact that they look like attempts at harmonization." Each case must be judged on its own merits.

We have, therefore, reached the point of comparing these two primitive types on their intrinsic merits, determining which account is inherently the more likely. The case for the primacy of the shorter form as given by Hort, has already been quoted, and cannot well be improved upon; but certain serious difficulties with this view must be elaborated.

First of all, let us consider critically the words of verses 19 b – 20 which, it is supposed, came from Paul's account. Taking First Corinthians as the basis we find that the Lucan variations are as follows: (1) *διδόμενον* is added. (2) *ὡσαύτως* is in a different position. (3) *ἐστιν* is omitted. (4) *μου* is substituted for *ἐμῷ*. (5) *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον* is added. (6) *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε . . . ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν* is omitted. None of these variations are of major importance. No. 2, No. 3, and No. 4 need no comment. No. 1 corresponds with the addition of *ἔδωκεν* in verse 19 a. No. 5 is somewhat stranger. It might be explained as added to fill out the parallelism with *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον* in verse 19 b. However, the coincidence of *ἐκχυννόμενον* with the Marcan account is probably not accidental and suggests the likelihood of some connection, even though the Marcan account has *πολλῶν* instead of *ὑμῶν*. At any rate, this addition presents an obstacle to the derivation of these verses from the Corinthian account *exclusively*. No. 6 also presents some problems. It is extremely unlikely that No. 5 should have been substituted for it, as some suggest, or again that repetition of its thought was unnecessary because already contained in verse 19 b; there would appear to be no very satisfactory reason for its omission, if the Lucan section came from Paul at all directly. In summary, there are altogether 32 words in this section, or an average of about one variation to five words, though of the six variations, three at least are insignificant.

Now let us compare the words of the first half of verse 19 in the same way. There are thirteen words, with the following Lucan variations from Paul: (1) λαβών instead of ἔλαβεν. (2) ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς is added. (3) λέγων is substituted for εἶπεν. (4) μου occurs in a different position. Of these, No. 4 is trifling, No. 1 and No. 3 are due to the grammatical structure of the sentence, and No. 2 alone is of any significance; here Luke may be following Mark, who has the same expression, or merely be making more explicit what was the obvious sense of Paul. In other words, verse 19 a is quite as close to Paul as are verses 19 b – 20.

There is one further point which calls for study, and that is the relative closeness of verse 19 a to Mark and to Paul. Most of the variations are unimportant, on the whole, the more interesting ones being as follows: (1) Luke follows Paul in having εὐχαριστήσας whereas Mark has εὐλογήσας. (2) Luke follows Mark in having ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς for which Paul has nothing to correspond. (3) Luke follows Paul, in not having Mark's λάβετε. (4) Luke, in the Western text, follows Mark in stopping with τὸ σῶμά μου whereas Paul adds τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν etc., though in the longer text he agrees with Paul against Mark. The most significant of these is No. 4; it is indeed interesting that the Western text of Luke should stop just at the point where Mark stops. However, if the theory which is here suggested, namely that vv. 19–20 are to be kept as a unit, derived chiefly from Paul, can be sustained, then this fact is by no means to be ignored, but becomes of considerable significance in attempting to explain how, granted the longer text was original, the Western text ever came into existence; and also how, if it is a shortened form, it came to end at just the place it did. But at this point, we cannot appeal to No. 4 one way or the other, for it begs the question at the very point at which we are concerned: namely, what the original Lucan text was. So we see that verse 19 a is rather closer to the Pauline account than to the Marcan. Of course it is possible that verse 19 a is part of an independent version and there are theories such as that of Dr. Rashdall (*Idea of Atonement*, pp. 41—44) which argue that the shorter form of the Lucan text is a direct and very reliable witness of tradition, independent of and earlier than both Mark and Paul.

But his extremely arbitrary treatment of the various accounts seems most unconvincing. And, as a matter of fact, most scholars who favor the Western form consider that, as it stands, it is not an independent witness, but is mainly secondary to Mark. The conclusion of such a position is perhaps well represented by Dr. Plummer (*HDB.* Vol. III, p. 146); he inclines toward the reading of Hort, but says "in the accounts of the institution, the whole passage should be treated as at least doubtful."

Thus we have found on the one hand that verse 19 a is at least as close to Paul as are verses 19 b–20, and, on the other, that it is distinctly closer to Paul than it is to Mark. There is no *a priori* reason why vv. 19 b–20 should not be derived from the same source as v. 19 a, and *vice versa.* No serious obstacle forbids our considering the whole as derived from First Corinthians, or, more probably, from Pauline practices for which First Corinthians is itself our sole surviving direct witness. Of course, we must note that under all hypotheses, Luke had Mark before him as he wrote, and this would in itself be quite sufficient to account for the minor agreements with Mark and against Paul, which we have already noted, and none of which are of major importance.

Again, the position taken by Blass (*Philology of the Gospels*, pp. 179 f.) is interesting in part because it is put forward on purely stylistic grounds, and apart from any theory of interpretation. He argues that verse 19 a should be omitted as well as verses 19 b–20, frankly recognizing that this leaves no account of the institution at all in Luke. With great acumen, he suggests that it is possible that Luke intended either to have no account, or to have a full account, but it is impossible to imagine that he intended to give a mutilated account, which is what the Western reading really gives us. Taking this hypothetical text as a basis, he says "Later readers did not understand his (Luke's) intention, and either inserted both bread and cup from St. Paul (verses 19–20), or, wrongly imagining that the cup was already there (in verses 17 f.), they inserted the bread from Mark." Such a theory, he holds, gives us an original text which was at once irreproachable from the author's

point of view, and which also provides adequate explanation of the variations which we find in existence. The chief objection is that the theory is utterly devoid of the support of any manuscripts, but if the alterations are pushed back early enough, this is not quite insurmountable.

As a matter of fact, no one can read the Lucan account without noticing the marked break that appears to come after the Last Supper. In the longer text, this is not so obvious, for there does seem to be a genuine connection between "My blood which is shed for you," and "the hand of him that betrayeth Me." The thought passes from Jesus giving His life voluntarily for others to the traitor who is responsible for the shedding of innocent blood. The change in thought is not so great as to make it unlikely that a person writing a running narrative should have left the text as we have it.

However, when we turn to the Western text, the break is far more evident. It would read, "This is My Body. But the hand of him that betrayeth Me," etc. The connection is much more difficult to trace. Even if the transition itself were not so abrupt, it would be hard to think of the first phrase as itself a satisfactory conclusion of a description of the institution of the Eucharist.

Now one of the points in favor of the text of Blass that we have mentioned is that the transition from the Eucharist to the Betrayal is far more natural and easy than with either the Western or the longer form. It runs: "For (γάρ) I say unto you I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine until the Kingdom of God shall come. But, (πλήν), behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table." This is simple and straightforward. We can well imagine the surprise to which Jesus' first statement gave rise in the minds of His disciples, for throughout the gospel story, they were never able to bring themselves to believe that He must die. In consequence of their questioning glances, Jesus went on to show how His apparently extreme statement was literally true, for the betrayer was close at hand. Blass notes in support of his contention two other cases in Luke where the same general transition in thought occurs: in 18 8f., "(γάρ) I tell you that...

Nevertheless (πλήν) when the Son of Man," etc.; and again in 19 26 f., "For (γάρ) I say unto you that . . . But (πλήν) those my enemies," etc.

Now there is one further observation that is not without its significance. In all the accounts which we have of the Last Supper, there is a fairly close parallelism between the two parts of the rite. For instance, Mark reads "He took bread and when He had blessed, He brake it, and gave to them and said, 'Take ye; this is My body.' And He took a cup and when He had given thanks, He gave to them; and they all drank from it. And He said unto them, 'This is My blood,'" etc. Matthew is roughly similar. With Paul, the similarity is not so obvious, but it is implied in the very use of the word ὡσαύτως—"In like manner"—in connection with the cup. Also he adds in the case of the bread, "Do this in My remembrance;" and of the wine, "Do this, as often as ye shall drink it, in My remembrance." Therefore on *a priori* grounds we might well expect to find a similar parallelism in Luke.

As a matter of fact, we do find verse 16, "For I say unto you I will not eat it until it be fulfilled in the Kingdom of God," closely parallel to verse 18, "For I say unto you I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the Kingdom of God shall come." Thus there would be at least one strong point in favor of any theory that attached these two expressions to the two parts of the rite. And in the latter verses of Luke's account, following more or less that of Paul, there is a rough correspondence between verse 19 and verse 20, which deal with the bread and the cup respectively. But if we take the Western reading, there is no possible parallelism between verses 17 and 18 which deal with the cup, and verse 19 a which tells of the bread. This arrangement gives the impression of putting together what does not belong together, and keeping apart verses which seem to be intimately connected with one another. So we find from this totally different line a further support for the theory that verses 19–20 should be kept intact; and it further suggests that in some way these two verses should be separated from what goes before, for if vv. 19–20 are

omitted the parallelism between verses 15–16 and verses 17–18 stands out very clearly.

Let us consider, finally, the question of the order of the bread and the wine. On the one hand, we have the universal custom of Church practice, present and past, and this is supplemented by all the accounts in the New Testament (leaving, for a moment, the Lucan text out of consideration). On the other hand, we have the testimony of St. Paul (1 Cor. 10 16) where the "Cup of Blessing that we bless" precedes the "bread that we break," and that of the *Didache* (chap. 9).

The Pauline reference does not seem upon closer examination to bear much weight. If, as is sometimes contended, the order here given is that which Paul followed and taught in his churches, we would have expected to find some reflection of it in contemporary record or in later custom, but of this, there is none. Furthermore, we must not forget that in this same chapter there is no doubt that Paul is referring to the Eucharist where he speaks of partaking of spiritual meat before he mentions spiritual drink (1 Cor. 10 3 f.). Finally, there is an express statement (1 Cor. 11 23 f.) where the apostle describes the record which he received from the Lord of the institution of the rite, and in this the bread comes first. And it would seem preposterous to argue that the Pauline practice was contrary to his own express teaching on the Last Supper, especially as no indication of any such practice beyond this casual reference can be pointed out.

What are we to do, then, with the passage in question? It seems to me that if we read it in connection with its context there is no great difficulty. We must remember that this epistle was not a carefully transcribed and accurately corrected thesis, but a more or less hasty letter. At this point, Paul is using the Eucharist as an analogy in his argument about the heathen feasts; and in them, the cup was given the prior place; so naturally, Paul would adapt his illustration to the thing illustrated (10 21). To have had the order different in the two cases, or to reverse that of the heathen feasts, would only weaken the force of his argument, and serve to "drag a red herring across the trail."

But there is another possible explanation that might be suggested. There is no sentence supplementary to that about the "Cup of Blessing," but to that about the bread is added "seeing that there is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread" (R. V. *margin*). Now if Paul desired to add a comment to one part, it is most natural that the part to which the comment was to be added should come last, so that the general flow and sense of the passage should not be interfered with. On the whole, it is likely that either of these suggestions is quite sufficient to account for something which is, at most, but casual witness to the order of the two elements.

Let us turn now to the *Didache.* It reads "And as regards the eucharist, give thanks in this manner. First for the Cup . . . And for the broken bread . . ." It seems evident at first sight that this refers to the Eucharist. The name εὐχαριστήσας would seem conclusive. It is further to be noted that if not at this place, then nowhere in the treatise would this sacrament receive the full consideration which one might naturally expect, especially in view of the ample treatment of baptism. But on the other hand, MacLean believes (*The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles,* pp. 24f.) that this whole account more probably refers to the *agape* than to the Eucharist. He points out: (1) The order of elements is unusual for the Eucharist. It is to be noted that in verse 5 we have "let none eat nor drink of your eucharist . . ." Of course that cannot be used as an argument for our main point, which is simply the value of this testimony to the order. (2) The word κλάσμα—"the breaking"—is distinctly unusual as a word for "the bread," and without any parallel in patristic usage, though, of course, "the breaking of bread," "to break bread," are common as titles of the Eucharist. (3) If this is not an account of the *agape,* then there is none given, though the existence of the rite is recognized (11 9). (4) The meal described is one of which it may be said that those who partake of it are "filled" (10 1). That such a word is inappropriate for the Eucharist is evidenced by the author of *Apostolic Constitutions* (7 26), who, in adapting this prayer for communicants, alters it to read "after the partaking."

(5) We are given, in chapter 10, a grace to be said after "being filled," which is much more suitable after an *agape* than at the conclusion of a Eucharist. Especially is this so of the closing verse: "But suffer the prophets to give thanks as they will." (6) There is no reference in any of the prayers to the Last Supper, to our Lord's death, or any of the eucharistic associations.

How, then, could we explain the use of the word "eucharist"? It is suggested that just as for Ignatius (*Smyrn.* 8) the word *agape* includes both rites, so here "thanksgiving" serves the same purpose. (*Dict. of R. and E.,* art. "Agape," gives a resume of the whole matter.)

Dr. Robinson (*Barnabas, Hermas, and the Didache,* p. 92) follows a completely different line, holding that the Eucharist is really being referred to in this passage, but as to the order, he believes that the author is merely following Paul's allusion in First Corinthians which we have already examined. He says: "We have seen enough of our author to be ready to believe that this is a piece of literary perversity on his part, and does not represent the practice of any Christian community." At the moment it is unnecessary for us to go further than to note that, whichever line is followed, the result for us is the same, namely that the value of the *Didache* as an authority for the existence of other than the usual order is practically nil.

Now we must turn to the Lucan text. According to the reading preferred by Westcott and Hort, the order is the cup followed by the bread, and the cases we have just examined are pointed out as supporting evidence. However, we have found that this evidence will bear no weight, and if the Western text be the correct reading, we must realize that it is the *sole* reliable witness in literature or tradition to the order which it gives. Now if we assume that this unusual order is correct, how can we account for the wide-spread error? Is such a universal transformation of record and practice as this theory requires conceivable? There really can be no two answers to this question. To answer in the affirmative would involve the destruction of every atom of historical reliability of all our sources. Therefore it seems to me we are forced to admit

that, granted the Western text is the true one, it must be bearing a false witness; and this conclusion is such as to cause us to question the reliability of the account itself. It is comparatively pointless to call attention to the various cases, especially in connection with the Passion, where Luke inverts Mark's order. In most cases, Luke's order seems to be preferable, and to be due to a separate source (Streeter, *Four Gospels,* p. 202). Can we postulate that this generally reliable source presents us with an order for which there is absolutely no other evidence in its favor, and much against it? It is strange procedure to call a special source to our rescue and condemn it when we get it. Is it not much more reasonable to suppose that the longer text gives us the correct reading, and that Luke falls into line with all the rest of our testimony? I see no escape from this dilemma; either the Western text is a false reading, or it bears false witness.

Now the objections which we have found to the Western text are as follows: (1) It divides verse 19 in a way that is unconvincing, for we have seen, from a critical comparison with the parallel accounts in Mark and Paul, that there is good reason for treating the verse as a unit. (2) It takes no account of such contentions as those of Blass, who points out indications in favor of a still shorter text. (3) It completely destroys the expected parallelism between the two halves of the rite. (4) It requires an inversion of the order of the elements which is without the slightest support.

No mention has been made before of attempts that have been made, granted the priority of the Western text, to arrive at the longer version, because I have felt them to be singularly unconvincing. It is all well enough to say that it was a filling out with the familiar Pauline form, but if this is so, why was such a bad job done, and why were the two mentions of the cup left as they are? It would be easier to explain these difficulties on the supposition that the text had been left strictly alone, but if it is once admitted that it was altered, then we have a right to ask why the alteration was not at least reasonably well done? It is striking that *all* the variants from the *T. R.* agree in but one point, namely the elimination of the

double mention of the cup. This would seem to indicate that this point was the crux of the trouble. Texts of form III (*b, e*) which, as we have seen, are dependent on the Western text, in themselves bear evidence that the latter is not entirely to their satisfaction. It is probable that the advocate of the Western text would note the difficulties as we do, and would explain the longer reading as itself an attempt to remove the trouble. But is it not an extraordinarily inadequate and unsatisfactory attempt? Goguel (*L'Eucharistie,* pp. 108 f.) has outlined in considerable detail the possibility of accounting for the various forms (he follows the usual view as to *Syr. Sin.* and *Syr. Cur.*) on the basis of one or another as the original, and arrives at the definite conclusion that the Alexandrian text is the most primitive form.

In summary, it seems evident that, inherently, the longer form is much preferable, indeed that the Western form is practically impossible, and, in addition, there is the extremely strong support which the patristic evidence affords. The longer form seems certainly prior to the Western. Even if it is not possible to meet all the objections which may be raised against it, yet the difficulties on the other side are far more cogent, and practically insurmountable. But there are two important questions which any one proposing to support this hypothesis must stand ready to answer. (1) What are we to say of the double mention of the cup? (2) Why and how did the alternative versions, and especially the Western text come about? In so far as any answer is convincing, just so much more likely will it render our conclusion.

Canon Streeter's theories (*The Four Gospels*) as to the origin and development of the third gospel supplement admirably the conclusion which we were reaching on our topic, along wholly different lines. He holds that back of our gospel was a document also written by Luke, the author of the gospel, which he calls *proto*-Luke, and which later was combined with Mark to give us our canonical gospel. Now this *proto*-Luke was itself formed from *Q*, and probably from notes or a document denoted by *L*, which, he suggests, Luke secured during the imprisonment of Paul at Caesarea (a "we" section of Acts

starts at 27 1, indicating that Luke left Caesarea with Paul). He quotes with approval the work of Perry (*The Sources of Luke's Passion Narrative*), who finds a special passion source which would correspond with part of Dr. Streeter's *L*.

Now if, in *L*, verses 19–20 were not present, and the narrative ran as suggested by Blass, full weight would be given to all his observations, and an explanation offered for the weakness of his theory: namely, that no documentary support survives. It gives a consistent, coherent narrative, with a description of *some* rite in which the two parts are in close parallel.

It is true that Perry includes verse 19 a in his reconstruction of the special source (*op. cit.*, p. 118), but we must note that when the author discusses the problem briefly (p. 39), though he rather inclines to the view that verse 19 a should be omitted also, he considers it outside the province of his work to go behind the text of Westcott and Hort. He suggests that verses 19–20 are probably drawn from the oral tradition, or from some ritual rather than from any document, and were inserted, by some later hand, or by Luke himself. The possibility that this latter offers the true explanation is also suggested by Lagrange, who says (*Evangile Selon Saint Luc*, p. 547): "It seems, taken all in all, that the words in question are taken from Paul. But why should this not have been done by Luke himself?"

Returning to Dr. Streeter's outline, verses 19–20 might well have been added by Luke, probably in the course of the compilation by him of *proto*-Luke, thus actually giving what I believe to be two partial, but independent accounts of the same event, put side by side. Luke, who was not an eye-witness, and who was probably unfamiliar with details of the Jewish Passover, may well have thought that the Last Supper had been such a feast, possibly in consequence of a misunderstanding of 22 15 ("With desire have I desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer". The suggestion of Drs. Burkitt and Brooke (*J. T. S.*, vol. 9, pp. 568 f.) that this is a genuine *logion* of Jesus, and implies an unfulfilled desire, has met with wide approval). But from his journeys with Paul, Luke must

have become familiar with the formula used in the churches, which was traced back to the lips of Jesus at the Last Supper. So, feeling that his account was seriously deficient without these important words of Jesus, possibly in editing our gospel, but more probably in preparing *proto*-Luke, (which was itself a complete narrative), the evangelist added, at the point at which it would naturally come, namely at the end of the "Passover" meal, an account of the institution of the Eucharist by Jesus, based on Pauline practices. The two cups caused no difficulty for him, for he may well have assumed that both of them belonged to the Passover, to which feast, indeed, the account in our gospel taken as a whole, does bear a certain superficial resemblance. But in any case, we must bear in mind that it was the custom of Luke to avoid conflation of his sources (Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 275). Then if it is felt that there are traces in *T. R.* which call for a dependence on Mark, this opportunity is easily supplied in the course of the process of combination with Mark which resulted in our gospel. Dr. Streeter (p. 216) has shown Luke's preference for his own source over Mark, and if *proto*-Luke had an account much as it stands in our gospel, there is nothing in Mark that would call for a major alteration. Thus we have a development every stage of which is reasonable and consistent and which fits well into an outline of the literary history of the gospel.

But we must face the second question, as to how the Western variant ever came into being. Of course, this is a question which, in its very nature, can probably never be conclusively settled, and especially is this impossible at the present, in view of our ignorance of the genesis of Western readings in general. But let us consider the Christian world during the second century and ask ourselves where there would be likely to be the least knowledge of Jewish customs and traditions. There were large Jewish colonies in Egypt, in the vicinity of Palestine, and more or less all over the East; but in the West it would probably be only in the large cities, especially Rome, where there was a considerable Jewish group. Now it has been suggested above that to Luke the longer text caused no difficulty, for he very probably connected the first mention of the cup with the Passover,

and this connection might also be made by those who knew about the Jews and their rites. However, the difficulty would be most acutely felt where the knowledge of the Jewish ceremony was least, and therefore it would be in such places that we might expect to find attempts to change the text. Now we cannot but note that our Western readings all come, so far as we can know, from places where this knowledge would be likely to be meagre. In Italy, there is good evidence of both the longer and the shorter forms, the latter of which attempted to remove what seemed to be a mistake of some sort, by omitting the second cup. Now this Western reading itself was rightly considered to be unsatisfactory, and especially where the original difficulty was not felt, we might well expect attempts to improve on it. And it is interesting that two manuscripts from two sections of the West far removed from Rome, namely, *b*, from Gaul on the one hand, and *e*, from Carthage, on the other, represent apparently independent attempts, by inverting the order, to improve on the Western reading which they had received. The correction from the Bezan form is such an obvious one that there is no trouble at all in considering the two independent.

We may consider that the excision of verses 19 b – 20 was either accidental or deliberate. The former of these possibilities has been so strained in much recent critical study, and so much responsibility for things that could not otherwise be explained has been foisted onto the shoulders of a "careless scribe," that it seems hardly worth while to dwell long on this alternative. Of course, the omission may perfectly well have happened by accident; anything may have happened by accident, but unless we can suggest some definite and positive support for this hypothesis, it is much safer frankly to admit our ignorance.

But if it was by deliberate intention, why should it have been? It has been pointed out that the double mention of the cup caused no difficulty to Luke because he believed that one, at least, was connected with the Passover, but in later years, especially in localities where knowledge of and regard for Jewish customs would be very slight, the difficulty which the presence of the two cups occasioned would be a very grave one, and the simplest solution would be to suppress one.

Dr. Salmon (*Some Criticisms of the Text of the New Testament*, p. 100) suggests the possibility that scrolls were of a definite maximum length, and that as copyists feared they would be pressed for space to complete their works, they were imbued with a mind predisposed in favor of compressions. He notes in support of such a possibility the large number of omissions in the Western text toward the end of Luke. Though admittedly made out of whole cloth, it is not impossible that something of this sort actually did happen. Especially is it easier to assume some such origin as this for a reading when we remember that the Western text originated very early indeed, at a time when there would be little tendency to check up texts with one another, and when, we can well imagine, literal verbal accuracy was not expected, and minor variations would cause no comment. It was only with the further development of the Church and the necessity of extensive use of the scriptures in the rebuttal of heretics that we would expect to find any very thoroughgoing attempt to prevent further errors in copying (much less to correct texts which were already old) and so bring about a uniform book for the entire Christian world.

But even so, why should it not have been the first, rather than the second mention of the cup that was omitted, for with the latter were connected words that were almost certain to be the more familiar? Though we probably must admit that, on the whole, it would seem to us better to have done so, yet this does not constitute an insuperable obstacle. The coincidence that the Western texts ends with "This is My Body," just as does the first half of Mark, has already been noted. Now let us imagine a scribe copying the text of Luke who was very familiar with that of Mark. He would copy on till he had written v. 19 a and, with the memory of Mark fresh in his mind, this would seem a likely stopping place. He glances at the manuscript he is copying and, seeing the mention of the other cup, realizes that he has already written about a cup and passes on to new material.

We have now completed our survey of the problem of the Lucan text as such. We have examined carefully the patristic and other external evidence as to the most primitive form of

the text; we have compared the intrinsic probability of the readings; we have suggested possible answers to objections that might be raised and endeavored to link up our hypothesis with a critical scheme for the origin of Luke's gospel, which, at least in its main points, commands the general assent of scholars. There may be places where the argument is unsound, and some "lacunae" which, with the material at present available, cannot be filled, but, none the less, the priority of the traditional form of the Lucan text seems to have been conclusively established.

But beside Luke's account of the Last Supper, there are three others: Matthew, Mark, and Paul, in First Corinthians. These all purport to describe the same event, and though there are many important similarities, yet a critical examination reveals certain marked divergencies. These demand explanation. Each account must be seriously treated, and not lightly dismissed as an irresponsible aberration. The plan that is hereinafter outlined aims to suggest how all the various accounts took their rise, and insofar as it is held to be satisfactory, it will be just one final argument in favor of Luke's longer text, for it is a curious fact, generally overlooked, that most critics who favor the Western form either do not try to fit it in with the other accounts at all, or else adopt the unjustifiable expedient of summarily condemning one or more of the narratives as unhistorical.

A cursory glance at a synopsis is sufficient to show that Matthew, in his account, shows no signs of having access to any first-hand information other than Mark, and therefore in a reconstruction of the scene, his minor variations are without historical significance. Similarly, Luke's second account (vv. 19–20) is probably most safely to be considered as derived from Paul or Pauline practices, and therefore not a primary authority.

Thus we are left with Paul, Mark, and Luke's first account (vv. 15–18) for our primary evidence. These three narratives are by no means similar, but all of them have an excellent ancestry. Paul's account was written only about twenty years after the event occurred; the testimony of Mark is generally of the very best; and Luke, incorporating as he probably does a genuine *logion* of Jesus, reaches far back in history; in fact, Perry suggests as the author of the Passion Source, a man

writing from Jerusalem about 45 A. D. (*op. cit.*, p. 98), and not impossibly one of the Twelve (p. 91). Thus it would be most uncritical to rule out as impossible or even as unlikely anything in any of the accounts without the strongest evidence to support such a step.

We note that there is in Mark a fragment, (verse 25), "Verily, I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the Kingdom of God," which corresponds closely with Luke (verse 18), "For I say unto you, I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine until the Kingdom of God shall come." It is possible that Luke is dependent on Mark, though unlikely, for the verse is an integral part of Luke's account, which, as a whole, is clearly independent of Mark. More probably, this Marcan verse is a small section detached from a tradition which is represented more fully in Luke. If Mark wished to incorporate this saying in his account at all, the place which he has chosen is the natural, almost the inevitable one.

It is a further significant point that, with this verse detached, Mark is a good deal closer than before to Paul, and it is evident that the two give an essentially similar account of the same event, and this, for convenience, we shall call the "memorial account," in contrast to the "eschatological account" of Luke. It is almost certain that Mark is not at all directly derived from Paul, nor Paul from Mark, for in some cases, one seems the more primitive, and in some, the other; much more likely is it that they are divergent lines from a common source. But what would be a likely common source behind Mark and Paul? One instinctively thinks of Peter, for we know from Papias that Mark "having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately everything that he remembered," etc.

Paul's testimony is that he received his account "from the Lord" (I Cor. 11 23). Without entering for the moment into the intricate question of just what Paul meant by the phrase, it is obvious that he was intending to give the highest possible authority to his words. In his Epistle to the Galatians, where he is in the heat of controversy and at a time when anything he said would be certain to be used against him, Paul says (1 11)

that the gospel he preaches is not after man, "for I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." But a few verses later, he says that he did not confer with flesh and blood, but came into Arabia, and then after three years he went to Jerusalem and conferred only with Peter, after which he began the active work of his ministry. Therefore, it seems that Paul must have accepted the possibility of a divine revelation through a human medium, and this is probably what he meant when he said of the account of the Eucharist that he received it "from the Lord" (see Guy, *Was the Holy Communion instituted by Jesus?*, pp. 98 f.). Barring a direct revelation, he might have gotten his information from the disciples at Damascus after his conversion (Acts 9 19). But it is much more probable, both historically and psychologically, that he would get his information at the period when he would begin to need it, and from the most reliable source that was available, namely Peter, who had first-hand knowledge, and with whom, as we have already noted, Paul actually did confer at an early date. Thus it is not impossible that our two great strands of tradition, the Marco-Pauline, and the Lucan both reach back to eye-witnesses of the Last Supper. And therefore, though there will be details of which we are uncertain and always must be, yet of the main points, we can be as certain as of any fact in the whole gospel history.

There is thus not the slightest justification for accepting one strand as true and rejecting the other as false. It is, of course, conceivable that the two accounts are of two different events, one of which was at another time than the Last Supper; but this seems extremely unlikely, for each account would lose most of its meaning apart from this occasion. For in Luke, Jesus says that he has taken food and drink for the last time; in Mark, he mentions His blood being shed on the disciples' behalf; and in Paul, He further tells them to perform this rite in memory of Him, all of which suggest His death as immediately imminent.

While it is true that in Luke, there is no mention of the bread, yet there are certain things we must notice. (1) The parallelism between verse 16 and verse 18 suggests a similar

parallelism between what has just been eaten and the wine that has been consumed. (2) It is not impossible that Luke, feeling that the description was of a Passover, edited out a more definite reference to the bread which may have been in the tradition as he received it. (3) The term πάσχα (we would expect ἄρτον) included not only the lamb, but the entire meal, and might loosely be applied to any part of it. (4) If we are forced to put both accounts during the Last Supper, it is almost inconceivable that there should have been two separate and distinct rites with words attached to both looking forward to Jesus' approaching death, in both of which a cup was blessed and distributed, and in both of which this was preceded by the first half of the rite in which something was eaten. One can start on no other hypothesis than that the two strands are independent, and thoroughly trustworthy accounts of the same event. (On this whole problem, see Blakiston, *J. T. S.*, IV, pp. 548 f.)

There seem to be insurmountable difficulties in the way of holding that the two strands which we have distinguished come from a single account of which we have no traces; it would be difficult to imagine how the various bits of what was once a consecutive description could ever get so twisted about and combined in strange ways as we find them in our accounts; and much the most likely theory is that the common origin of the two streams is none other than the actual words and actions of Jesus Himself at the Supper.

There are various ways in which the strands can be combined. The eschatological portion might come, with both the bread and the wine, before the memorial portion, as Blakiston suggests. But it seems to me more likely that in each case, it came after. Perhaps after Jesus had blessed and distributed the bread as described in the "memorial account", He added by way of further explanation, possibly in answer to some questioning glances of the disciples, who failed fully to comprehend why He should be giving His body for them, words corresponding to the first part of the "eschatological account", which make explicit the immediate imminence of His death. Then with the wine, the two parts would be joined similarly. The framework

as to what was *done* is roughly similar in both strands, and we might speculate that in the "memorial account", those words were inserted into this framework which especially impressed themselves on the mind of Peter, while in the "eschatological account", we find those that were particularly striking to the disciple who is the immediate or ultimate source of the strand we see in Luke.

Thus all five of our narratives are easily explained. Matthew, following Mark, represents the first tradition, with a remnant of the second attached to the cup only. Paul has preserved the first, probably having received it from Peter, and adds what is perhaps a faint reflection of the spirit of the second in "Ye do show forth the Lord's death until He come", which gives an eschatological turn to the thought. It is interesting to note that apparently these words are not included in those which Paul received "from the Lord", but represent his own conclusion which has not for him the same weight. Probably we will do best to assume that Paul found a certain eschatological connection attached to the rite in the early Church; and thus bears an indirect testimony to the widespread influence of a tradition corresponding to the Lucan strand which we possess. Luke set the two accounts side by side, probably with certain minor alterations which could easily have come about in the course of successive editings by the evangelist.

Proceeding from some such critical analysis, one can reconstruct with some degree of assurance the words and actions of Jesus, and thus lay a sound basis for the important, study of the significance of this rite for Him, and so for us.

ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST

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THE fact that the New Testament in its entirety has been translated into English a round hundred times is not generally known. Only special research reveals that, with the exception of the seventeenth century, scarcely a decade has passed from the time of William Tyndale until the present without some new translation being published. There is a common feeling that the King James Version was universally accepted until the English Revision of 1881 and that any modern translator who would improve upon it is a dangerous innovator.

The means of correcting these misunderstandings are not readily accessible. Most writers on the history of the English Bible have paid scant attention, if any notice at all, to other than the dozen or so commonly accepted translations. The efforts of many sincere scholars lie dust-covered in the archives of libraries, unused and unknown, though ofttimes possessed of unusual merit.

In compiling this bibliographical list of translations an effort has been made to discover every possible item. The libraries of the city of Chicago were searched carefully and their contents noted. In addition, bibliographical catalogues were gleaned. The Combination Catalogue of the University of Chicago gave the data for such translations as may be found in the Library of Congress. Every clue to further information was eagerly followed, until we have been unable, for several months, to make any additions.

Rather definite limitations were of necessity imposed upon the material to be noted. Paraphrases were excluded because they are not, in the strictest sense, translations. So, likewise, rearrangements of the text of any version were not given a place. Many translations of a book or section of the New Testament form parts of commentaries, and commentaries would afford a field for special study. Only those translations of parts have been noted which were of particular interest because of the translator, their bearing upon the subsequent history of translation, or some other equally valid reason.

The list is compiled in chronological order. In addition to the year of publication, the name of the translator and the place of publication are given. An indication is made as to whether the translation is of the "Bible," "N. T.," or of a "Part" of the New Testament. Then follows an exact reading of the title page. In addition to a bibliography of the catalogues and histories of the English Bible which have yielded items for the list, an alphabetic index is prefixed.

Perhaps a word of explanation needs to be offered, also, for opening the list with Wm. Tyndale, instead of some earlier translator; and because it does not include those translations of parts which antedate John Wycliffe. All translations previous to Tyndale's circulated in MS form. Wycliffe's alone, being printed, had any very great importance. It is listed under the date of 1850, when Forshall and Madden printed their critical text. Although Wycliffe, and possibly his predecessors, may have influenced Tyndale, nevertheless the real history of the English Bible as it enters the life of the common people begins with Tyndale.

The value of this list lies chiefly in its exhaustiveness — within the prescribed limits — and in its uniqueness. There are items here which will not be found in so thorough a list as the British Museum Catalogue. Much that is included there is here excluded. In fact this list is unique in its separation of versions from a maze of editions, and in that it carries the matter down to date. The history of translation is thus made much more accessible. A cursory perusal of the list will disillusion one concerning the sanctity with which

certain translations have been held, and give an appreciative understanding of the all but unknown history of the continuous effort to give the people the New Testament, with its exact shades of meaning, in their own tongue.

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Cone, J. H. 1851
Conquest, J. T. 1841
Conybeare, F. C. 1907
Cookesly, W. G. 1859
Coverdale, Myles 1535
Crickmer, W. B. 1881
Cummings, J. A. 1827
Cunnington, E. E. 1919
Cutler, Ethel 1918

Darby, J. Nelson 1872
Davidson, Samuel 1875
Dickinson, Rodolphus 1833
Dillard, W. D. 1885
Doddridge, Philip 1745
Driver, S. R. 1885

Ellicott 1857—1861
English Bible, Revised 1877
English Revised Version 1881
Etheridge, J. W. 1843, 1846, 1849

Fenton, Ferrar 1883, 1895
Firth, F. N. 1901
Folsom, N. S. 1869
Fulke, W. 1589

Genevan Version 1560
Godbey, W. B. 1902
Goodspeed, E. J. 1923
Goodwin, Alfred 1880
Great Bible 1539
Greaves, Alexander 1827
Greene, S. G. 1877
Greene, T. S. 1857

Haak, Theodore 1657
Harris, F. 1918
Harwood, Ed. 1768
Haweis, T. 1795
Heinfetter, H. 1854
Herbert, C. 1882
Highton, H. 1862
Hollybushe, Johan 1538
Humphrey 1857—1861

Jacob, G. A. 1877
Jugge, R. 1552

Keating, Rev. J. 1915
Kendrick, A. C. 1842
Kenrick, F. P. 1846, 1851, 1852
Kent, Chas. F. 1918
King James Version 1611
Kneeland, Abner 1823

Lattey, Rev. C. 1915
Law, T. G. 1874—1878
Layman, A. 1840
Lewis, Agnes Smith 1894
Lingard, John 1836
Lloyd, Samuel 1905

Mace, W. 1729
Macknight, J. 1795, 1818, 1845
Macrae, David 1799
Marchant, J. 1743—45
Matthew, Thos. 1537
McClellan, J. B. 1875
Moberly 1857—1861
Moffatt, James 1901, 1913
Montgomery, Mrs. H. B. 1924
Morgan, Jonathan 1848
Murdock, J. 1851

Nary, Cornelius 1718–19
Newcome, Archbishop W. 1796
Nineteen Eleven Bible 1911
Norton, Andrews 1856
Noyes, G. R. 1869
Numerical, The 1899

Oakley, F. 1874–78
Overbury, A. E. 1925

Palfrey, J. G. 1830
Panin, Ivan 1914
Parker, F. 1854
Penn, Granville 1836–37
Peoples 1925
Philalethes 1819
Pryse, J. M. 1899
Purver, Anthony 1764

Rheims Version 1582, 1750, 1816, 1825
Robertson, A. T. 1923
Rotherham, Jos. B. 1872
Russel, Richard 1719
Rutherford, W. G. 1908

Sadler, Ralph 1892
Samson, Rev. Geo. V. 1828
Sawyer, L. A. 1858
Scarlett, Nathaniel 1798
Scrivener, F. H. 1859
Sharpe, Samuel 1840, 1881
Sherman, H. A. 1918
Shuttleworth, P. N. 1834
Smith, Joseph, jr. 1867
Smith, Julia E. 1876
Southwell, H. 1773
Spencer, Francis A. 1898
Spiritual Version 1850

Taverner, Richard 1539
Taylor, Edgar 1840
Taylor, John 1852
Thomson, Chas. 1808
Thomson, Wm. 1816
Tomson, L. 1576
Torrey, C. C. 1918
Townsend, Geo. 1837
Twentieth Century 1899–1900
Tyndale, William 1525

Variorum Bible 1880

Wakefield, Gilbert 1789
Weaver, S. T. 1909
Webster, Noah 1833
Webster, Wm. 1730
Weekes, Robert D. 1897
Wells, Dr. Edward 1718
Wesley, John 1755
Westminster Version 1915
Wetham, Robert 1730
Weymouth, R. F. 1903
Whiston, Wm. 1745
Whiting, N. N. 1849
Whittingham, Wm. 1557
Williams, W. 1812
Woodruff, Hezekiah 1852
Worrell, A. S. 1904
Worsley, J. 1770
Wycliffe, J. 1850
Wynne, Rev. R. 1764

Young, Robert 1862

III. ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

1525 WM. TYNDALE WORMS
N. T. The Newe Testament.
[1]C., American reprint, 1837.

[1] —C, standing after a title, indicates that the book may be found in the library of the University of Chicago; G, in the library of Garrett

1535 MYLES COVERDALE ZURICH, FRANKFORT, or COLOGNE

Bible. The Holy Scriptures of the Olde and Newe Testamente; with the Apocripha: faithfully translated from the Hebrue and Greke.
N. T. The new testament.
C., early printing Gen. 21 to Baruch 2; also American reprint, 1847.

1537 THOMAS MATTHEW (John Rogers) No place—ANTWERP(?)

Bible. The Byble which is all the holy scripture: In which are contayned the Olde and Newe Testament truely and purely translated into Englysh by—.
N. T. The Newe Testament of our Sauyoure Jesu Christe, newly and diligently translated into Englyshe with annotacions in the mergent to help the reader to the understandynge of the Texte.
C., early printing less Title page and Gen. 1—6.

1538 JOHAN HOLLYBUSHE LONDON

N. T. The Newe Testament both in Latin and Englishe, eche correspondent to the other, after the Text, commonly called St. Jerome's, Faithfully translated by—.
(Note—This work is dedicated to Henry VIII in Coverdale's name. Johan Hollybushe is a pseudonym for Hans von Ruremon, a printer engaged by Coverdale. When his work was rejected, von Ruremon took the material to J. Nicholson and had it published under this pseudonym. The edition, then, is a faulty Coverdale.)

1539 RICHARD TAVERNER LONDON

Bible. The most sacred Bible, whiche is the holy Scripture, conteyning the old and new testament, translated in to English, and newly recognized with great diligence after most faithful exemplars, by—.
N. T. The New Testament of our Sauyour Jesu Chryst, translated in to English: and newly recognized with great diligence after most faythful exemplars.
C., early printing, less title page, closing with I Thess. 1.

Biblical Institute; Mc, in the Virginia Library of McCormick Theol. Seminary; and N, in the Newberry Library. When only a letter is given it is understood that the copy is an original printing. All the versions in the Univ. Library are noted. The other libraries have many of the same, which is not indicated.

1539 THE GREAT BIBLE PARIS and LONDON
Bible. The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye the content of all the holy Scripture bothe of ye olde and newe testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by ye dylygent studye of dyuerse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tongues.
N. T. The newe Testament in Englyshe translated after the Greke, conteyning these bokes,—.
C., ed. 1549.

1552 R. JUGGE LONDON
N. T. The Newe Testament.
(Note—A revision of Tyndale's version.)

1557 WM. WHITTINGHAM GENEVA
N. T. The Nevve Testament of ovr Lord Iesus Christ. Conferred diligently with the Greke, and best approued translations.
VVith the arguments, as wel before the chapters, as for euery Boke and Epistle, also diuersities of readings, and most proffitable annotations of all harde places: whereunto is added a copious Table.

1560 THE GENEVA GENEVA
Bible. The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament, translated according to the Ebrue and Greeke, and conferred with the best translations in diuers languages. With most profitable annotations upon all the harde places, and other thinges of great importance, as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader.
N. T. (See 1557 above, as Whittingham's translation was the first Geneva version. It was supplanted by L. Tomson's, see below 1576.)
C., ed. 1611, L. Tomson's N. T.

1568 THE BISHOPS' BIBLE LONDON
Bible. The Holy Bible, conteyning the Olde Testament and the Newe. Authorised and appointed to be read in Churches.
N. T. The Nevve Testament of our Sauiour Jesus Christ.
C., ed. 1572; also, ed. 1595.

1576 LAURENCE TOMSON LONDON
N. T. The New Testament of our Lord Jesvs Christ, Translated out of Greeke by Theod. Beza. With briefe Summaries and expositions vpon the hard places by the

said Ioac. Camer. and P. Loseler Villerius. Englished by L. Tomson.
C., ed. 1611 in Genevan Bible.

1582 THE RHEIMS VERSION RHEIMS
N. T. The New Testament of Jesus Christ, Translated faithfully into English out of the authentical Latin, according to the best corrected copies of the same, diligently conferred with the Greeke and other editions in diuers languages: VVith Arguments of bookes and chapters, Annotations, and other necessarie helpes, for the better understanding of the text and specially for the discouerie of the CORRUPTIONS of diuers late translations, and for clearing the CONTROVERSIES in religion of these daies: In the English College of Rhemes.
C., American reprint.

1589 W. FULKE LONDON
N. T. The Text of the New Testament of Iesus Christ, Translated out of the vulgar Latine by the Papists of the traiterous Seminarie at Rhemes, with Arguments of Bookes, Chapters, and Annotations, pretending to discover corruptions of divers Translations, and to clear the controversies of these days. With a Confutation of All Such Arguments, Glosses and Annotations as contain manifest impietie, or Heresie, Treason and Slander against the Catholike Church of God, and the true Teachers thereof or the Translations vsed in the Church of England. Whereunto is added the Translation out of the Original Greek, commonly vsed in the Church of England.
N.

1611 THE KING JAMES LONDON
Bible. The Holy Bible, conteyning the Old Testament and the New. Newly translated out of the Original tongues: and with the former Translations diligently compared and revised by His Majesty's Special Commandement. Appointed to be read in Churches.
N. T. The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ Translated out of the original Greek, and with former translations diligently compared and revised by the special command of his Majesty, King James I.
C., 2nd folio, 1613, "She" Bible.
N.

[2]1615 THE KING JAMES LONDON
Bible. (Note—The above, revised with many changes.)
C., no title page.

1657 THEODORE HAAK, Esq. LONDON: 2 vols.
Bible. The Dutch Annotations upon the whole Bible: or, all the Holy Canonical Scriptures of the old and new Testament together with, and according to their own Translation of all the Text: as both the one and the other were ordered and appointed by the Synod of Dort, 1618, and published by Authority 1637, now faithfully communicated to the use of Great Britain, in English. Whereunto is prefixed an exact Narrative touching the whole Work, and this Translation.

1718 DR. EDWARD WELLS OXFORD
Part. An Help for the more Easy and Clear understanding of the Holy Scriptures: Being the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostels, Explained after the following Method,———
C.

1718—19 CORNELIUS NARY DUBLIN(?)
N. T. The New Testament From the Vulgate with the original Greek and divers Translations in vulgar Languages diligently compared and revised. Together with Annotations upon the most remarkable passages in the Gospels, and marginal Notes upon other difficult texts of the same, and upon the rest of the Books of the New Testament, for the better understanding of the Literal Sense.

1719 RICHARD RUSSEL LONDON
Part. The Four Gospels; with moral reflections, translated from the French of Pascal Quesnell.

1727 ——— LONDON
Part. The Gospel of St. Matthew Done into English with additions from the French of Msrs. De Beausobre and L'Enfant.

1729 W. MACE LONDON
N. T. The New Testament in Greek and English. Containing the Original Text corrected from the Authority of the most Authentic Manuscripts: and a New Version

[2] There were other revisions of the Authorised Version. This one is mentioned because it followed so close upon the publication of the original. Other notable ones were: by Dr. Thos. Paris, published at Cambridge in 1762; by Dr. Benjamin Blayney, published at Oxford in 1769.

form'd agreeably to the Illustrations of the most Learned Commentators and Critics: with Notes and Various Readings, and a Copious alphabetical Index.

1730 ROBERT WETHAM DOUAI: 2 vols.
N. T. The New Testament newly translated from the Vulgate text, with Annotations.

1730 WILLIAM WEBSTER LONDON: 2 vols.
N. T. The New Testament of our Saviour Jesus Christ according to the ancient Latin Edition; with critical remarks upon the Literal meaning in difficult Places. From the French of Father Simon.

1743—45 J. MARCHANT LONDON: 2 vols.
Bible . . . with an exposition, in which several mis-translations are rectified.
(Note—a revision of the King James Version bearing its title with the above addition.)

1745 WM. WHISTON LONDON: 4 vols.
N. T. Mr. Whiston's Primitive New Testament.

1745 PHILIP DODDRIDGE LONDON: 2 vols.
N. T. A new translation of the New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, extracted from the paraphrase of the late Philip Doddridge, D. D. and carefully revised. With an introduction and notes.

1749 DR. CHALONER LONDON
N. T. The New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated faithfully into English out of the authentical Latin . . . With some alterations in the text and in the notes.
(Note—A revision of the Rheims Version.)

1750 RHEIMS VERSION (revised) — — —
N. T. The New Testament of Jesus Christ . . . newly revised and corrected according to the Clementine edition of the Scriptures.
Mc.

1755 JOHN WESLEY LONDON
N. T. The New Testament with notes.
C., ed. 1838

1761 — — — LONDON
Part. Divers Parts of the Holy Scriptures (i. e. the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles) done into English chiefly from Dr. J. Mills printed Greek copy, with notes and maps.

1764 ANTHONY PURVER LONDON: 2 vols.
Bible. A New and Literal Translation of all the Books of the Old and New Testament; with notes Critical and Explanatory.
N.

1764 REV. RICHARD WYNNE, A. M. LONDON: 2 vols.
N. T. The New Testament carefully collated with the Greek, corrected, divided, and pointed according to the various subjects treated of by the inspired writers, with the common division into chapters and verses in the margin; and illustrated with notes.

1768 ED. HARWOOD, D. D. LONDON: 2 vols.
N. T. A Liberal Translation of the New Testament; Being an attempt to translate Sacred Writings with the same freedom, spirit, and elegance, with which other English Translations from the Greek Classics have lately been executed.
Mc.

1770 JOHN WORSLEY LONDON
N. T. The New Testament, Translated according to the present idiom of the English Tongue.

1773 H. SOUTHWELL, D. D. LONDON
Bible. The Universal Family Bible; or Christian's Divine Library . . . Illustrated with notes, &c., wherein the mistranslations are corrected.
(Note—The real compiler was Robert Sanders, a hack-writer with a fair knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. Southwell lent his name to the work for a fee of a hundred guineas. See Hist. Cat. p. 299.)

1778 JOHN BROWN EDINBURGH: 2 vols.
Bible. The Self-Interpreting Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments; to which are annexed . . . an introduction, marginal references and illustrations . . . explanatory notes, &c.

1788 GEORGE CAMPBELL LONDON
Part. The Four Gospels, Translated from the Greek, with preliminary dissertations and notes critical and explanatory.
C. ed. Boston 1811, 4 vols.

1795 T. HAWEIS, LL. B. LONDON
N. T. A Translation of the New Testament from the original Greek. Humbly attempted with a view to assist

the unlearned with clearer and more explicit views of the mind of the Spirit in the Scriptures of Truth.

1795 JAMES MACKNIGHT, D. D. EDINBURGH: 4 vols.
Part. A New and Literal Translation from the original Greek of all the Apostolic Epistles, with a commentary and notes, to which is added a history of the life of the Apostle Paul.
C., ed. Boston 1810, 6 vols.

1796 ARCHBISHOP W. NEWCOME DUBLIN: 2 vols.
N. T. An attempt Toward Revising Our English Translation of the Greek Scriptures, or the New Covenant of Jesus Christ; and toward illustrating the sense by Philological and explanatory notes.
C., ed. 1796, 1 vol.

1798 NATHANIEL SCARLETT LONDON
N. T. A Translation of the New Testament, attempted by Nathaniel Scarlett, assisted by Men of Piety and Literature, with Notes.
C.

1798 GILBERT WAKEFIELD LONDON
N. T. A Translation of the New Testament.
C. ed. London 1791, 3 vols.

1799 DAVID MACRAE GLASGOW
Bible. A revised Translation and Interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures, after the Eastern manner, from concurrent authorities of critics, interpreters, and commentators, copies, and versions; shewing that the inspired writings contain the seeds of the valuable sciences, being the source whence the antient philosophers derived them. also the most antient histories and greatest antiquities, and are the most entertaining as well as instructing to both the curious and the serious.

1808 CHAS. THOMSON PHILADELPHIA: 4 vols.
Bible. The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Covenants, Commonly called the Old and New Testament. Translated from the Greek.
C.

1809 REV. THOS. BELSHAM BOSTON
N. T. The New Testament in an Improved Version upon the basis of archbishop Newcome's New Translation with a Corrected Text and Notes Critical and Explanatory.
C.

1812 W. WILLIAMS LONDON
N. T. A Modern, Correct and Close Translation of the New Testament, with occasional observations, and arranged in order of time, with a special explanation of the Apocalypse.
C.

1816 RHEIMS-DOUAY DUBLIN
Bible. The Holy Bible, translated from the Latin Vulgate . . . With Annotations and an Historical and Chronological Index. Revised and corrected according to the Clementine Edition of the Scriptures and approved by the most reverend Doctor Troy, R. C. A. D.

1816 REV. WM. THOMSON, M. A. KILMARNOCK: 3 vols.
N. T. The New Testament, Translated from the Greek; and the Four Gospels arranged in Harmony, where the parts of each are introduced according to the natural Order of the narrative and the exact Order of Time, with some preliminary Observations, and Notes critical and explanatory.

1817 B. BOOTHROYD, LL. D.
PONTEFRACT and LONDON: 3 vols.
Bible. A new Family Bible and Improved Version from Corrected Texts of the originals, with notes, critical and explanatory; and short practical reflections on each chapter together with a General Introduction on the authenticity of the Sacred books; and a complete view of the Mosaic laws, rites and customs.
C., ed. 1824, Huddersfield.

1818 CAMPBELL, MACKNIGHT, and DODDRIDGE
LONDON
N. T. The New Testament, translated from the Original Greek.

1819 PHILALETHES (John Jones, LL. D.) LONDON
Part. The Epistles of St. Paul to the Colossians, to the Thessalonians, to Timothy, and to Titus, and the General Epistle of St. James: A new Version from the Greek, and chiefly from the Text of Griesbach.

1823 WILLIAM ALEXANDER YORK
Bible. The Holy Bible, &c. A revision of the King James Version, with notes.

1823 ABNER KNEELAND PHILADELPHIA
N. T. The New Testament, being the English only of the Greek and English Testament; Translated from the

original Greek according to Griesbach, upon the basis of the fourth London edition of an Improved Version, with an attempt to further improvement from the translation of Campbell, Wakefield, Scarlett, MacKnight, and Thomson.
C.

1825 RHEIMS-DOUAY (revised) DUBLIN and LONDON
Bible. The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate . . . With Annotations, References, and an Historical and Chronological Index. The whole revised and diligently compared with the Latin Vulgate.

1826 CAMPBELL, MACKNIGHT, AND DODDRIDGE BUFFALOE, Va.
N. T. The Sacred Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists of Jesus Christ, commonly styled the New Testament. Translated from the original Greek by . . . Edited by Alexander Campbell.
C; also G, ed. 1833, Bethany, Va., called "The Sacred Oracles."

1827 ALEXANDER GREAVES LONDON
N. T. The Gospel of God's Anointed the Glory of Israel and the light of Revelation for the Gentiles, or Glad Tidings of the service, sacrifice and triumph of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God; and the gracious and mightily operative powers of the Holy Spirit, which were the first fruits of that labour of divine love; being a recent version, in two parts, of the Greek Scriptures (commonly called the New Testament) in which is plainly set forth the New Covenant promised by God through Moses and the Prophets.

1827 J. A. CUMMINGS BOSTON
N. T. The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. With an Introduction and Notes.

1828 REV. GEORGE VAUGHAN SAMPSON LONDON
Part. A Literal Translation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, From the original Greek with Copious explanatory notes.
C.

1830 J. G. PALFREY BOSTON
N. T. The New Testament in the Common Version, conformed to Griesbach's Standard Greek Text.
Mc.

1833 NOAH WEBSTER, LL. D. NEW HAVEN, Conn.
Bible. The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testament in the Common version, with amendments of the language.
N. T. The New Testament, in the Common Version, with amendments of the language.
C.

1833 RODOLPHUS DICKINSON BOSTON
N. T. A New and Corrected Version of the New Testament; or, a Minute Revision and professed Translation of the original Histories, Memoirs, Letters, Prophecies, and other productions of the Evangelists and Apostles. To which are subjoined a few generally brief, critical and explanatory, and practical notes.
G.

1834 PHILIP N. SHUTTLEWORTH, D. D.
OXFORD and LONDON
Part. A Paraphrastic Translation of the Apostolic Epistles.

1836 ALDEN BRADFORD BOSTON: 2 vols.
N. T. Evangelical History, or the books of the New Testament with a general Introduction, a preface to each book, and notes explanatory and critical (A New Translation).
C, Vol. I, The Gospels.

1836 A CATHOLIC (Rev. John Lingard) LONDON
Part. A New Version of the Four Gospels, with Notes Critical and Explanatory.
Mc.

1836—37 GRANVILLE PENN LONDON: 2 vols.
N. T. A Critical Version of the text and translation of the English Version of the New Testament, with the aid of the most ancient MSS unknown to the age in which that version was last put forth authoritatively.
C.

1837 REV. EDWARD BARLEE LONDON
Part. A free and explanatory Version of the Epistles.

1837 GEORGE TOWNSEND, M. A.
BOSTON and PHILADELPHIA
N. T. The New Testament arranged in chronological and historical order. A new version.
C.

1840 SAMUEL SHARPE LONDON
N. T. The New Testament translated from Griesbach's Text.
C.

1840 A LAYMAN (Edgar Taylor) LONDON
N. T. The New Testament Revised from the Greek Text of Griesbach.
C.

1841 J. T. CONQUEST LONDON
Bible. The Authorised Version of the Old and New Testament with Twenty Thousand Emendations.
C, ed. 1843. G, undated printing.

1842 A. C. KENDRICK PHILADELPHIA
N. T. The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ being the English Version made by the order of King James I carefully Revised and Amended. The Meaning of the sacred original being given, in accordance with the best translations and the most approved Lexicographers.
(Note—This is the N. T. of an Improved Version of the Bible published by David Bernard.)
C.

1843 JOHN CHEKE LONDON
Part. The Gospel according to St. Matthew, and part of the first chapter of St. Mark; translated into the English from the Greek, with original notes, by Sir. John Cheke: with an introductory account of the translation by J. Goodwin.
(Note—the translation was made prior to 1557, the date of Sir Cheke's death.)
N.

1843 J. W. ETHERIDGE LONDON
Part. Horae Aramaicae: comprising concise notices of the Aramaean Dialects in General, and of the versions of the Holy Scripture extant in them; with a translation of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, and of the Epistle to the Hebrews, from the ancient Peschito Syriac.
Mc.

1845 NEW TESTAMENT HARTFORD, Conn.
N. T. The New Testament translated from the Original Greek, the four Gospels, by George Campbell, D. D.,

the Epistles by James Macknight, D. D. and the Acts and Revelations of the Common Version.
C.

1846 J. W. ETHERIDGE LONDON
Part. The Four Gospels, literally translated from the Peschito Syriac; printed in "the Syrian Churches".

1846 BISHOP F. P. KENRICK NEW YORK
Part. The Gospels, Translated from the Latin Vulgate and Diligently compared with the Original Greek text, being a revision of the Rhemish translation, with notes critical and explanatory.
C.

1848 JONATHAN MORGAN PORTLAND
N. T. The New Testament . . . Translated from the Greek into pure English; with explanatory notes on certain passages.

1848 FRANCIS BARNHAM LONDON
Bible. The Bible Revised; a carefully corrected translation of the Old and New Testaments.

1849 J. W. ETHERIDGE LONDON
Part. The Apostolic Acts and Epistles from the Peschito, or Ancient Syriac to which are added, the Remaining Epistles, and the Book of Revelation after a later Syrian text: Translated, with prolegomena and indices.
Mc.

1849 N. N. WHITING BOSTON
N. T. The Good News of our Lord Jesus the Anointed, from the critical Greek text of Tittmann.
C.

1850 SPIRITUAL VERSION NEW YORK
N. T. "Dictated by the Spirit"—
(See, Wright, p. 109.)

1850 J. WYCLIFFE (Forshall & Madden, Editors)
OXFORD: 4 vols.
Bible. The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal Books, in the earliest English versions made free from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers.
(Note—Wycliffe's translation of the N. T. was completed by 1382, but of course was not printed. It was revised by John Purvey in 1388. This revision was first published

in 1731 by Lewis, and again in 1810 by Baber, appearing later in the English Hexapla. The original Wycliffe version was first published by Lea Wilson in 1848; by Bosworth and Wearing in 1865. The Forshall and Madden edition listed is the first critical text and is based on all extant MSS available.)
C.

1851 J. H. CONE & W. H. WYCKOFF NEW YORK
N. T. The commonly received version of the New Testament, with several hundred emendations.
C.

1851 J. MURDOCK, D. D. NEW YORK
N. T. The New Testament or the Book of the Holy Gospel of our Lord and our God, Jesus the Messiah. A literal translation from the Syriac Peshito version.
C, vol. I, The Gospels; G, ed. 1879.

1851 BISHOP F. P. KENRICK NEW YORK
Part. The Acts of the Apostles, The Epistles of Saint Paul, The Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse, Translated from the Latin Vulgate, and diligently compared with the Greek Text, being a revision of the Rhemish translation, with notes critical and explanatory.
C.

1852 BISHOP F. P. KENRICK NEW YORK
Bible. The Holy Bible, Faithfully Translated from ... &c.
(Note—a revision of the Rheims-Douay version.)

1852 HEZEKIAH WOODRUFF AUBURN, N. Y.
Part. Matthew's Gospel, After the Language of our day.

1852 JOHN TAYLOR LONDON
Part. The Emphatic New Testament, according to the Authorised Version, compared with the various readings of the Vatican manuscript. The four gospels. Edited, with an introductory essay on Greek emphasis.

1854 HERMAN HEINFETTER (i. e., F. Parker) LONDON
N. T. A Literal Translation of the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, on definite rules of translation, from the text of the Vatican Manuscript.
C, 6th ed., 1864.

1856 ANDREWS NORTON BOSTON
Part. A Translation of the Gospels with Notes.
C, Vol. I, The Text.

1857 THOMAS SHELDON GREEN LONDON
N. T. The Twofold New Testament, being a new Translation accompanying a newly formed Text. In parallel columns.
C.

1857–61 ALFORD, MOBERLY, HUMPHREY, ELLICOTT, BARROW LONDON
Part. The Gospel according to St. John, The Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, . . . to the Corinthians . . . The Epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, &c. by Four (Five) Clergymen. (Note—These appeared in separate volumes and were a preparation for the English Revised Version.)
C, The Gospel of John, Romans.

1858 L. A. SAWYER BOSTON
N. T. The New Testament Translated from the original Greek with chronological arrangement of the sacred books and improved division of chapters and verses.
C.

1859 F. H. SCRIVENER
Part. An exact translation of the Codex Augiensis; a Graeco Latin MS. of St. Paul's Epistles; to which is added a full collation of Fifty MSS. with a Critical Introduction.

1859 W. G. COOKESLEY LONDON
N. T. A Revised Translation of the New Testament.

1860 T. J. CONANT NEW YORK
Part. The Gospels. The Common English Version and the Received Greek text with a Revised Version and critical and philological notes.
C.

1861 — — — NEW YORK
N. T. The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ as revised and corrected by the spirits.

1862 H. HIGHTON LONDON
N. T. A Revised Translation of the New Testament, with a notice of the principal various readings in the Greek Text.

1862 ROBERT YOUNG EDINBURGH
Bible. The Holy Bible consisting of the Old and New Covenants, translated according to the Letter and Idioms of the Original Languages.
C, ed. 1881.

1863 H. T. ANDERSON LOUISVILLE, Ky.
N. T. The New Testament Translated from the original Greek.
C, Rev'd ed. 1866.

1863 AMERICAN BIBLE UNION
LONDON and NEW YORK
N. T. The Common English Version Corrected by the Final Committee of the American Bible Union.
C, ed. 1865, Fortieth Thousand.

1867 JOSEPH SMITH, Jr., THE SEER LAMONI, Ia.
Bible. The Holy Scriptures. Translated and corrected by the spirit of revelation by—
Mc, ed. 1920.

1869 NATHANIEL S. FOLSOM BOSTON
Part. The Four Gospels. Translated from the Greek Text of Tischendorf, with the various readings of Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Meyer, Alford, and others, and with Critical and Expository Notes.
Mc.

1869 ROBERT AINSLEE LONDON
N. T. The New Testament translated from the Greek Text of Tischendorf.

1869 G. R. NOYES BOSTON
N. T. The New Testament translated from the Greek text of Tischendorf.
G; C, ed. 1873.

1870 HENRY ALFORD LONDON
N. T. The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ after the Authorised Version. Newly compared with the original Greek, and revised.
C.

1870 JOHN BOWES DUNDEE
N. T. The New Testament: translated from the purest Greek.

1871 AMERICAN BIBLE UNION PHILADELPHIA
N. T. The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The Common English Version corrected by the Final Committee of the American Bible Union. Second Revision.
G.

1872 J. NELSON DARBY LONDON
Bible. The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments Translated from the original texts.
N. T. The Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Book of revelations; commonly called the New Testament. A New Translation from a revised text of the Greek original.
C, ed. 1920.

1872 JOSEPH B. ROTHERHAM LONDON
N. T. The New Testament Newly Translated from the Greek Text of Tregelles and critically emphasized, with an introduction and occasional notes.
(Note—The version of 1897 was adjusted to Westcott and Hort's Greek text.)
C, Second Ed. Rev'd.

1874–78 F. OAKLEY and T. G. LAW LONDON
Bible. The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate . . . with notes, Critical, historical, and explanatory, selected by G. Haydock. Revised . . . with additions by— — ——(with illustrations.)

1874 — — — — LONDON
N. T. The Gospels, Acts, Epistles and Book of Revelation: commonly called the N. T. A new translation from a revised Greek original. (Second ed. revised—G. Moorish, London, printer.)

1875 SAMUEL DAVIDSON LONDON
N. T. The New Testament, translated from the Critical Text of von Tischendorf.

1875 J. B. McCLELLAN LONDON
Part. The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. A new Translation on the basis of the Authorised Version. From a critical revised Greek text, newly arranged in paragraphs, with analyses, copious references, and illustrations from original authorities, new chronological and analytical harmony of the four Gospels, notes and dissertations. A contribution to Christian Evidence.
C, Gospels and Acts.

1876 JULIA SMITH HARTFORD, Conn.
Bible. The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments Translated literally from the original Tongues.

N. T. The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ translated from the original Greek.
N.

1877 REVISED ENGLISH BIBLE LONDON
Bible. The Holy Bible according to the authorised version . . . carefully revised, arranged in paragraphs and sections with supplementary notes . . . chronological tables and maps.
(Note—The N. T., by G. A. JACOB and S. G. GREEN.)

1880 THE VARIORUM BIBLE LONDON
Bible. The variorum edition of the Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, translated out of the original tongues and with former translations diligently compared and revised, etc. . . . Edited with various readings from the best authorities by Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M. A., R. S. Driver, M. A.; and Rev. R. L. Clarke, M. A.; and Alfred Goodwin, M. A.
C.

1881 ENGLISH REVISED VERSION CAMBRIDGE
N. T. The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ translated out of the Greek, being the version set forth A. D. 1611 Compared with the most ancient authorities and revised A. D. 1881
C.

1881 SAMUEL SHARPE LONDON
Bible. The Holy Bible. Translated . . . . Being a revision of the authorised English Version.

1881 W. B. CRICKMER LONDON
Part. The Greek Testament Englished. The Four Gospels and Acts.

1882 AMERICAN REVISED EDITION PHILADELPHIA
N. T. American Revised Edition. The New Testament . . . revised A. D. 1881, with the readings and renderings preferred by the American Committee of Revision incorporated into the text.

1882 REV. C. HERBERT OXFORD
Part. The New Testament Scriptures, in the order in which they were written: a very close translation from the Greek text of 1611, with brief explanations. The Six primary epistles to Thessalonica, Corinth, Galatia and Rome.
C.

1883 FERRAR FENTON LONDON
Part. Paul's Epistles in Modern English from the original Greek.
G, ed. 1884.

1885 W. D. DILLARD CHICAGO, Ill.
N. T. The Teaching and Acts of Jesus of Nazareth and His Apostles Literally translated out of the Greek.
C.

1889 BARTLETT & PETERS LONDON: 3 vols.
Bible. Scriptures, Hebrew & Christian.
Arranged and edited as an introduction to the study of the Bible, by Edward T. Bartlett, D. D. . . . and John P. Peters, Ph. D.

1892 RALPH SADLER LONDON
Part. The Gospel of Paul, the Apostle, being an attempt to render in Modern English the principal writings of St. Paul and the contemporaneous narrative of his trustworthy companion, Luke, the beloved physician. By the Author of Vox Clamantis. Acts and Thessalonians, Ephesians, Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, Philemon. A New Translation.
C.

1894 AGNES SMITH LEWIS, M. R. A. S. LONDON and NEW YORK
Part. The Four Gospels from Syriac of the Sinaitic Palimpsest.
C.

1895 FERRAR FENTON LONDON
N. T. The New Testament in Modern English, being the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Newly translated direct from the accurate Greek text of Drs. Westcott and Hort. With some critical notes.
C, Bible, undated.

1897 ROBERT D. WEEKES NEW YORK
N. T. The New Dispensation. The New Testament Translated from the Greek.
Mc.

1898 VERY REV. FRANCIS A. SPENCER, O. P. NEW YORK
Part. The Four Gospels, a new translation, from the Greek text direct with reference to the Vulgate and Ancient Syriac Version.
C.

1899 F. S. BALLENTINE NEW YORK
Part. The Gospels, The Modern American Bible.
G, 2 vols. Matt. Peter, Jude, James; and Mark.

1899 J. M. PRYSE NEW YORK
Part. The Sermon on the Mount and other extracts from the New Testament. A Verbatim translation from the Greek, with notes on the mystical or arcane sense.

1899 THE NUMERICAL BIBLE NEW YORK
Bible. The Numerical Bible, being a revised translation of the holy Scriptures. Arranged, divided, and briefly characterized according to the principles of their numerical structure.

1899—1900 THE TWENTIETH CENTURY
NEW YORK and CHICAGO
N. T. The Twentieth Century New Testament, A translation into modern English from the original Greek (Westcott and Hort text) by a company of about twenty scholars representing the various sections of the Christian Church.
C, revised ed., 1904.

1901 F. N. FIRTH CHICAGO: 2 vols.
N. T. The Holy Gospel; a comparison of the gospel text as it is given in the protestant and Roman Catholic Bible versions in the English language in use in America, with a brief account of the origin of the several versions.
(Note—This is not a new version, but a printing in parallel columns of the various protestant versions and the Rheims.)
C, ed. 1911, The Gospels; ed. 1912, The Acts, Epistles and Revelation.

1901 AMERICAN STANDARD VERSION NEW YORK
Bible. The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments Translated out of the original tongues being the version set forth A. D. 1611 compared with the most ancient authorities and revised A. D. 1881—1885. Newly Edited by the American Revision Committee A. D. 1901.
N. T. The new Covenant commonly called the New Testament .... newly edited and revised by the New Testament Members of the American Revision Committee A. D. 1900.

1901 JAMES MOFFATT EDINBURGH
N. T. the Historical New Testament. Being the Literature of the New Testament arranged in the order of its literary growth and according to the dates of the documents. A new translation.
C.

1902 F. S. BALLENTINE SCRANTON, Pa.: 5 vols.
N. T. The American Bible. The Books of the Bible in Modern English for American Readers.

1902 W. B. GODBEY, A. M. CINCINNATI, Ohio
N. T. A Translation of the New Testament from the Original Greek.
C.

[3]1903 R. F. WEYMOUTH LONDON
N. T. The New Testament in modern speech, an idiomatic translation into every day English from the text of the Resultant Greek Testament.
C.

1904 A. S. WORRELL LOUISVILLE, Ky.
N. T. The New Testament Revised and Translated, With notes and instructions.
C.

1905 SAMUEL LLOYD NEW YORK
N. T. The Corrected English New Testament, A revision of the authorised version by Nestle's Resultant Text, with a preface by the Bishop of Durham.
C.

1907 F. S. CONYBEARE, F. B. A. LONDON
Part. The Armenian version of Revelation . . . edited from the oldest MSS and Englished.
C.

1908 W. G. RUTHERFORD LONDON
Part. St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians and to the Corinthians. A new translation.
C.

1909 AN AMERICAN PERKIOMEN, Pa.
N. T. The Bible in Modern English. A rendering from the originals by an American, making use of the best scholarship and latest research at home and abroad.

[3] Republished 1924, greatly revised.

1909 S. TOWNSEND WEAVER PHILADELPHIA, Pa.
N. T. The University New Testament, in modern historical and literary form, for the church, the school and the home, embracing the life of Jesus Christ in the words of Mark, Matthew, Luke and John, and the church of the Apostles according to the Acts, the Epistles and Revelation, historically harmonized.

1911 THE 1911 BIBLE NEW YORK and LONDON
Bible. The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testament, Translated out of the original tongues . . . by King James's special command, 1611; the text carefully corrected and amended by American Scholars, 1911. With a new system of references.

1912 AMERICAN BIBLE UNION PHILADELPHIA, Pa.
N. T. The New Testament, An Improved Version. (Note—one edition reads "immerse" for the Greek "baptizo".)
C.

1913 JAMES MOFFATT NEW YORK
N. T. The New Testament, A New Translation.
G.

1914 IVAN PANIN NEW HAVEN, Conn.
N. T. The New Testament from the Greek text as established by Biblical Numerics, Edited by—
G.

1915 THE WESTMINSTER VERSION LONDON
Part. The Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures. General Editors: The Rev. Cuthbert Lattey . . . The Rev. Joseph Keating . . .
C, ed. 1915, Vol. IV, part III The Apocalypse of St. John; ed. 1918, Vol. I, part II The Gospel According to St. Mark; ed. 1921, Vol. III St. Paul's Epistles to the Churches.

1918 H. T. ANDERSON CINCINNATI, OHIO
N. T. The New Testament translated from Codex Sinaiticus.

1918 E. S. BUCHANAN, M. A., B. Sc. LONDON: 3 vols.
Part. Luke, John, The Acts. Unjudaized Version from the Huntington Palimpsest. Deciphered and translated from the oldest known Latin text.
C.

1918 CHAS. FOSTER KENT NEW YORK
N. T. The Shorter Bible. The New Testament Translated and arranged by Chas. Foster Kent with the collaboration of C. C. Torrey, H. A. Sherman, F. Harris, and Ethel Cutler.
C.

1919 E. E. CUNNINGTON LONDON
N. T. The New Testament, otherwise called: The New Covenant of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. A revision of the version of A. D. 1611.
G.

1922 CHAPLAIN (F. S.) BALLENTINE
JERSEY CITY, N. J.
Bible. A Plainer Bible for plain people in plain American.
N. T. The New Testament from the original Greek.

1923 WM. G. BALLANTINE BOSTON, Mass.
N. T. The Riverside New Testament, translated from the original Greek into the English of today.
C.

1923 A. T. ROBERTSON NASHVILLE and NEW YORK
Part. A Translation of Luke's Gospel with grammatical notes.
C.

1923 EDGAR J. GOODSPEED CHICAGO
N. T. The New Testament, An American Translation.
C.

1924 HELEN BARRETT MONTGOMERY, A. M., D. H. L., LL. D. PHILADELPHIA, Pa.: 2 vols.
N. T. Centenary Translation of the New Testament. Published to signalize the completion of the first hundred years of work of the American Baptist Publication Society.
C.

1925 CONCORDANT VERSION LOS ANGELES, Cal.
N. T. Concordant Version, The Sacred Scriptures, Designed to put the English reader in possession of all the vital facts of Divine revelation without a former knowledge of Greek by means of a Restored Greek Text, with various readings conforming, as far as possible, to the inspired autographs, A Consistent Sublinear based upon a Standard English equivalent for each Greek Element, and An Idiomatic, Emphasized English Version

with notes which are linked together and correlated for the English reader by means of an English Concordance and Lexicon and a complementary list of the Greek Elements.
(Note—This work has been published in Semi-annual installments beginning with "Ephesians to Philemon" in Jan. 1921. The final installment is now in process.)

1925 ARTHUR E. OVERBURY MONROVIA, Cal.
N. T. The People's New Covenant (New Testament) Scriptural Writings Translated from the Meta-physical Standpoint by—. Being a revision unhampered by so-called ecclesiastical authority. This version interprets the New Covenant . . . Scriptural Writings from a spiritual or meta-physical standpoint, and recognizes healing as well as teaching as a component part of true Christianity . . . &c.

THE HEXAPLARIC STRATA IN THE GREEK TEXTS OF DANIEL[1]

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AN extensive and, in consequence of many other duties, protracted study of the text of Daniel has brought me to definite views upon the Hexaplaric elements in the Greek MSS and the Versions dependent upon Origen's work. As these

[1] Symbols used in this essay and in those by Drs. Benjamin and Gehman following:

A Codex Alexandrinus
𝔄 Arabic Version
B Codex Vaticanus
𝔠^{B} Coptic-Bohairic Version
𝔠^{S} Coptic-Sahidic Version
c Θ text of the Chigi MS
𝔊 Septuagint
𝔥 Hebrew-Aramaic text
h Θ text in Hippolytus
𝔏 Old Latin Version
Lu Lucian
Or^{C} Constantinopolitan-Origenian text (A-group)
Or^{P} Palestinian-Origenian text (V 62 147)
Q Codex Marchalianus
𝔖 Syriac Version ("Peshitta")
V Codex Venetus (HP 23)
𝔙 Vulgate
Γ Codex rescriptus Cryptoferratensis
Θ Theodotion

The MSS figures as in Holmes-Parsons (HP), except 23 = V. In Dr. Benjamin's essay **a b c** represent respectively V 62 147.

results affect all the uncial Greek MSS for that book except B (i. e., A Q Γ and V = Holmes-Parsons 23), the Lucianic group, and the Bohairic-Coptic and Arabic Versions (doubtless the Armenian), they are far-reaching and, if corroborated in the other biblical books, will go far in providing a genealogical scheme for the tracing of the Hexaplaric influence. While the writer finds similar results when he has experimented with the text of other O. T. books, e. g., Job, the evidence he presents here is entirely confined to Daniel. This is a brief and compact book which appears to have been handled as a unit by the translators. Also, paradoxically perhaps, its simplicity of diction in the first half and its obscurity in the second have both tended to fidelity on the part of translators, barring 𝔊 (Septuagint), so that it is an admirable subject for critical experimentation.

In the present chaos of O. T. literary criticism no general positive results have been attained either as to the placing of the Greek uncials (which are often most sophomorically cited as *implicite* prime documents, without critical treatment of them in their groups), or in regard to the authority of the secondary Versions and their affinities with the Greek groups; so that they are either over-appreciated as prime authorities or on the other hand ignored for the one thing for which they have value, i. e., as evidence for the respective Greek groups which lie back of them. As for the Greek cursives, they are almost entirely ignored; *vide* the commentaries, among which Cornill's *Ezechiel* stands out as a notable exception. Only when a scholar like Lagarde puts out a composite text of a group of minuscules (his "Lucianic" text), are those MSS generally considered, and then on the great man's authority and because he has prepared a convenient manual text. I have come to wonder whether the accepted custom of symbolizing uncials and Versions with capital letters and cursives with small, has not had a most unfortunate psychological effect upon not only young students but also scholarship. Without doubt, if we say V instead of HP 23, the MS will be far more imposing; it will find place in critical apparatus, attain aristocratic rank. But the tag does not make it of any greater

worth. Even such an admirable apparatus as that of Swete's has an unfortunate effect; it is swallowed uncritically and as exclusive of other evidence. For this line of criticism I would refer the reader to the capital remarks made by G. F. Moore, *AJSL* 29 (1912–13), pp. 39, 56.

All Greek MSS of the "Theodotionic" family (Θ) are affected by the Hexapla. Even the comparatively pure text of B has its occasional contaminations from that source. But leaving aside this unique uncial authority, with its near congeners, e. g., 89 130 h^2 and particularly the Old-Latin and Sahidic-Coptic, sisters of B,[3] the balance of the MSS fall into three groups, which also must include the dependent Versions.

1) I begin with the Lucianic group, because it is a fairly definite quantum. This group has been determined by Lagarde, Field,[4] and others in their study of other books, and consists, for Dan., of 22 36 48 51 231; to these should be added 229 (a MS of Theodoret's Commentary) and the Chigi Theodotionic text (= c^5). This text exhibits the well known characteristics

[2] I so symbolize the citations of Dan., some two-thirds of the whole book, contained in Hippolytus's Commentary, now accessible in full in Bonwetsch's edition in vol. 1 of the Berlin Fathers.

[3] The Syriac (vulgarly, Peshitta) is antecedent to Origen; see Wyngaarden, *The Syriac Version of the Book of Daniel*, Univ. of Penna. Thesis, Leipzig, 1923.

[4] See Field, *Hexapla*, i, pp. lxxxiv, seq., and the summary given by Yerkes for the Prophets in his Univ. of Penna. Thesis, "The Lucianic Version of the O. T. as illustrated from Jeremiah," *JBL* 37 (1918), pp. 163 ff.

[5] With thas symbol I indicate the Chigi Theodotionic text—Holmes-Parsons 88, those editors using the same symbol also for the unique Septuagintal text appearing in the same MS, which is best indicated by 𝔊. The latter is the one presented in Swete's edition of the Greek O. T. on the lefthand page, on the basis of Cozza's final presentation of it in his *Sacrorum Bibliorum vetustissima fragmenta graeca et latina*, Rome, 1867, which also gives the Theodotionic text; the latter is omitted by Swete in his apparatus for Θ (Theodotion), as he lists there only uncials. For earlier printed editions of both texts see Simon de Maîtres (de Magistris—the editorship of the anonymous publication is disputed), *Daniel secundum Septuaginta ex tetraplis Origenis nunc primum editus e singulari chisiano codice*, Rome, 1762; and the anonymously published reprint of the same by J. D. Michaelis, Göttingen, 1773 (also 1774). An

of Hellenistic refinements and fresh translations, a large number of which appear as doublets, which, in c, are often asterisked. It aims at including the quantum of 𝔐 (i. e., the Hebrew-Aramaic text), without rejecting the additions or readings of earlier origin.

2) A text represented by a group, members of which have occasionally been recognized to be Hexaplaric, although without the extended criticism that such an important attribution should involve. This group includes, to name the more important members, A Q Γ 106 35 230 42 *et al.* (the order of the numerals expressing my empirical judgment of their relative standing in the group), and the Arabic (𝔄) of the Paris and London Polyglots, and the Bohairic, Tattam's ed. (𝔅^{B}). Of these A and 106 run most closely together, the one can well be used to correct its partner; faulty productions as they are, they are the best representatives of the group in the Greek. But the faults of A (as well as of 106) are so glaring that it cannot be used as authority except with most stringent criticism. Indeed the list of capital errors is formidable and appalling. And the present writer regards it as most unfortunate, if the same conditions exist elsewhere in the O.T. (as in his experience they do), that A is taken by critics and critical apparatus as an immediately usable authority for text. But fortunately we possess in the Arabic Version, which is derived from this group, by far the best testimony to its text. This result, which had become my opinion in studying the group, is corroborated by Dr. Gehman's intensive treatment of 𝔄 which follows this essay. 𝔅^{B} also certainly belongs to this group, so far as my

unfortunate confusion arose through the existence of two copies of the Chigi Θ in Parsons' hands; s. Field, ii, 766, 904; Nestle, in Tischendorf's Greek O. T., ed. 6, p. xxxvii; Swete, vol. 3, p. xii; Cornill, *Ezechiel*, pp. 16 f. and esp. the latter's animadversions. Parsons had indicated both the 𝔊 and the Θ text with 88; but Field replaced this number with 87 for 𝔊. This confusion has been perpetuated by Swete in his apparatus, in which 87 is the symbol of Parsons' 𝔊 text; however, in his list of MSS, *Introd.* 106, Swete enumerates 87 and 88 and identifies the latter with the 𝔊 text. It may be added that the presence of several printed editions of the Chigi Θ enables us to obtain a view of a Lucianic text with comfort and convenience.

study of it in translation gives me a right to speak; it demands an intensive study for itself. Q runs along with the group, with however the independence in readings which characterizes it elsewhere, and which renders the Marchalianus still an enigma; if we accept the hypothesis of Hesychian origin, then Hesychius adapted the Hexaplaric revision to a variant basal form of Θ current in Egypt.

This group exhibits all the characteristics of the Origenian revision, so far as we may argue to the latter. It contains, as a superficial examination will show, the many plusses inserted to make up the Hebrew quantum as over against the abbreviating fashion of Θ (= B); for the brevity of Θ is most often, I believe, his own doing, is not due to his Hebrew copy. The group contains further earmarks of Origen's operations; his rather pedantic, literalistic rendering of the Hebrew, after the style of his master Aquila, e. g., word order (improving even upon the literalistic Θ, who nevertheless often preserves a real translator's independence), the careful use of particles and the article (e. g., avoidance of the article with a noun whose original is in the construct case), along with often a rectification of Θ's barbarous grammar. It is distinct from Lucian, for often the Hebrew plus is represented by different complements in the two groups. On the other hand, Lucian often and in the large, when variety of translation is not concerned, agrees with the A-group, leading us to argue that Lucian made use of Origen's apparatus, an operation we should have expected. In a word, Lucian having been identified elsewhere, we must assume for this group, whose readings are far the most extensive in both Greek MSS and Versions, a source which ultimately goes back to Origen, the biblical master of the Greek Church. But is it the closest we can get to Origen? The conflate text we may prepare from the group—for none of the Greek MSS may be taken alone—is not at all consistent in the Origenian characteristics. I confess that with my growing conviction of its Hexaplaric character I increasingly felt a reluctance to ascribe it to Origen's hand in any immediate way.[6]

[6] Cornill (pp. 49 ff.), following Rosenmüller, *Scholia* to Eze., I, p. 35, came to exactly the same conclusion that I have reached as to the

3) There is another group of Greek MSS to be taken into consideration, one which has not the honor of a place in the usual apparatus, nor has it hitherto been studied with definite results, although two of the MSS have been an object of keen interest to certain text-critics in other books of the O. T. These MSS are HP 23 62 147. In an essay following this Dr. Benjamin presents a collation of these MSS from photographic copies obtained from Oxford and Venice especially for our work, the first such copies to be made. He presents the necessary statements to be made. Suffice it here to say that, subsequently to the time of Holmes-Parsons, 23 has come to be recognized as an uncial, and now takes its proper place with the capital letter V (Venetus), and so it is accordingly symbolized below.[7]

intimate relation of 𝔄 with A. My own judgment cannot be better expressed than in his comment, p. 55: "Wir sehen also auch bei 𝔄 eine reinere und unverfälschtere Gestalt der ägyptischen Rezension, als bei A"—with one exception. His characterization of the group as "Egyptian" and "Hesychian" (s. at length pp. 66 ff.) is entirely fallacious. The position in the group of the Coptic, by which he means particularly the Bohairic, and the Ethiopic (pp. 35 ff.), does not involve Egyptian origin as to text; it is to be explained best by my hypothesis of the Melchite origin of the group (see below). As for the Ethiopic, Abyssinia had its political bonds with Byzantium.

[7] The whole of the Venetian Codex, containing Job 30 8—4 Macc., now exists in photographic reproduction in the Library of the Philadelphia Divinity School, and is at the service of scholars. The Daniel texts of 62 and 147 are similarly at hand there. These valuable reproductions,—in the case of V the first to be made—were secured through the interest of the Trustees of the Yarnall Library of St. Clement's Church, deposited in the School, and of the Faculty, who administer the fund of the Yarnall Library. I would express my particular obligations to Mr. Cowley, Librarian of the Bodleian Library and to the Librarian of St. Mark's Library at Venice, for their interest and helpfulness, as also to the excellent photographers they procured for me. It does seem passing strange that no effort was made to procure a photographic copy of the codex for Swete's edition, which has used it on basis of a collation by Klostermann for the Books of the Maccabees alone; it was excluded otherwise, because the rule of the edition allowed only the use of such MSS "as are accessible in published facsimiles and photographs" (*O. T. in Greek*, 3, p. xv).

As for 62 and 147, Field included them in his Lucianic group which he discovered in the Prophets (*Hex.* i, p. lxxxviii). He was followed in this by Klostermann, Nestle, Liebmann; see the very full summary by Yerkes, *op. cit.*, pp. 104 ff. Klostermann made a special study of the idiosyncrasies of the two MSS for Hab. 3 and came (*Analecta zur Septuaginta*, 1895, p. 51) to the conclusion that they belong in their basic text to Lucian but are decidedly contaminated from the Hexapla. Cornill in the introduction to his *Ezechiel*, pp. 104 ff., diagnosed the peculiarities of 62 as over against the Lucianic group (the same as in Dan.), with the result that it contains a large number of unique readings which manifestly betray the hand of Aquila. W. O. E. Oesterley in his *Studies in the Greek and Latin Text of the Book of Amos*, Cambridge, 1902 (unnoticed by Yerkes), also treats these two MSS, pp. 9 ff., 17 ff., and comes, for that book, to no positive conclusion; he holds that 𝔊 "almost invariably goes against them in their singular element"; but while he believes that Cornill is justified in regarding 62 as non-Lucianic, nevertheless he ultimately, p. 15, classes the two in the Lucianic group, not knowing where else to place them. Dr. Yerkes came to the conclusion that they stand at the end of the Lucianic development. Thus most of the critics come to the conclusion of Lucianic origin for the two MSS. Cornill is the exception, claiming for 62 Aquilanic character, treating it under the caption "Aquila", p. 104.[8]

V has been parsimoniously treated by the critics. Lagarde notes in his famous edition of the Lucianic text, *Librorum Veteris Testamenti canonicorum pars prior graece*, p. iv, that he

[8] This group may well have different characteristics in different books, and the similarities of the MSS may equally vary in proportion. Cornill finds 147 far less characteristic than 62; cf. what he says at length on 62, p. 104 ff., and the brief comparison with 147, p. 64; but in Dan. the two run closely together. Burkitt, *Rules of Tyconius*, p. cviii, observes that "the MSS 62, 147 contain Luc. readings, but their singular element is often akin to the Old Latin." And Ranke in his *Par palimpsestorum Wirceburgensium* (containing 𝔏 for Dan.) observes (p. 410) the identity of 𝔏 with 62 and MSS of Lucianic character. For some remarks on this "Lucianic" element in 𝔏 see the conclusion of this paper.

had copied almost the whole of 23 in 1869, doubtless to be used in the Second Part which never appeared. Cornill, pp. 15, 65, assigns 23 offhand to the Lucianic group. Oesterley does not treat it. Its relation to 62, 147 is treated below. As Dr. Benjamin notes, the collation of it in HP is very inadequate.

My own first position, taken independently, agreed with Cornill's judgment. But I have to come to see that this group, along with V to a less degree, is a unique and perhaps generally faithful representative of Origen's own revision.[9] The Aquilanic earmarks (e. g., the use of συν = את) are just such as we know were introduced by Origen in his revision. If the A-group manifests in an inconsistent way the Aquilanic-Origenian literalness of translation, this small group carries it out consistently, so that the critic can usually predict what the readings of the group will be. The peculiar Aquilanic vocabulary is not largely represented—for it seems that Origen eschewed most of those etymological solecisms—but such cases of vocabulary occur, and these words are corroborated as doubtless Aquilanic in some other MSS.

For the character of this text, represented variously by those three MSS, I refer to Dr. Benjamin's full and exact collation which, especially in the case of V, is far more complete than that of Holmes-Parsons. He has presented them, in collaboration with the present writer, not only in their relation to 𝔏 and to Θ but also to the A-group and to Lucian. I will here but summarize my position, leaving the proof of my thesis to the demonstration of those data.

As over against my predecessors, who hold to a Lucianic *plus* Hexaplaric origin, I maintain that the group is Origenian ("Hexaplaric") with no Lucianic characteristics; and that where Lucian agrees with this group, he is dependent upon the family text of the latter—thus exactly reversing the order hitherto

[9] Whether the text is that of the Tetrapla or the Hexapla remains to be established, and this problem is beyond my purview; we must bear in mind that the Origenian problem is complicated by his two editions, of the temporal and substantial interrelations of which we are ignorant.

assumed. The demonstration of my position lies in this: that where the A-group and Lucian agree, they agree with the group under consideration, i. e., the latter represents the common basis of the other two. And when those two groups part company with ours, generally the reason is obvious. The one or the other is affected by stylistic reasons which abhorred the pedantry of our group; or the A-group deliberately falls back upon the elder "authorized version," that of Θ, presenting I think it may be said, no readings of evident Origenian origin which are not found in our group; or Lucian introduces fresh translations, but these largely appearing in doublets (for Lucian's text was evidently a "marginal Bible").

Of these three MSS, 62 and 147, both comparatively late and poorly written, run very closely together, but with differences indicating an extensive history behind them, a token of the infinite variety that can develop between closely related congeners. They contain besides their errors many contaminations, e. g., glossed citations from 𝔊 (common in all Θ MSS). V, a finely written MS, is by no means so consistent; it has made its deliberate selection of such readings from the family tree as it preferred, and is a far less constant witness to the group. Many of its variant readings from the received text of the Church are marked with the asterisk, indicating that it possessed a good literary tradition. Accordingly even within this small group we find varieties: V, although an uncial and much older as a MS, is not nearly as important for the determination of the text of the group as its far less respectable sisters. But it must have extracted its readings from the common progenitor or stock of 62 and 147.

In the course of a larger work on which I am engaged I have adopted the symbol Or^{P} for this group, i. e., "Origen-Palestinian," use of the coefficient symbol allowing room for Origen's name in other symbols. For the other, the A-group, I have for several reasons come to the conclusion that it represents the revision made by Eusebius of Caesarea for Constantine. That worthy tells the story, *Vita Constantini,* iv, 36, 37, how he was ordered by his royal patron to prepare fifty copies of the Scriptures in the finest and most exact form

for the use of the Christian throngs in his new capital, Constantinople. For this text, which I hypothetically identify with that prepared by Eusebius, I have adopted the symbol Or^{C}, i. e., "Origen-Constantinopolitan." For the collateral reasons which have led me to this hypothesis and the use of the corresponding symbol I refer to a footnote.[10]

[10] When I had distinguished Or^{P} as primarily Origenian from the A-group I cast about for a hypothesis to place the latter group properly. It must be given a place in the history of the Bible text as an authorized version since it is the dominating group. My friend Prof. Max L. Margolis, from whom I always receive great stimulation and who has been engaged in a most rigorous piece of work on the text of Joshua, came to my help with the suggestion that I call the group Constantinopolitan, a term he had already applied to a group of his MSS; for he, too, had come to the hypothesis of a fourth revision, identical with Eusebius' work for the Emperor. At my request he has very kindly given me a statement of his results, which I here give:

"The Fourth Recension [postulated by the writer for Joshua—vs. Hexapla, Lucian, Hesychius] is C, at home in Constantinople and Asia Minor. We are helped in localizing the recension by the Armenian version (see Conybeare, Scrivener-Muller, ii, 151). The version is mixed, the Syro-Hexaplar entering into the make-up; but the basis is C. Jerome is ignorant of a fourth recension; but perhaps he was inexact, or the recension was in his day in process of constitution. Conybeare suspects relationship to the 50 copies ordered by Constantine from Eusebius. [The note then enumerates the members of the group for Joshua, in which appear the uncials A M V W and the Armenian.] The recension made use of Origen's Hexapla by passing over asterized elements. So far the procedure is mechanical. Elsewhere thought and skill are shown. What makes this recension noteworthy and gives it rank beside the three principal recensions, is the circumstance that the proper names often appear in a form which must have been the original antecedent to the corruptions in the *koine* present in the texts used by Origen. I suspect that C made use of the *koine* prevalent in Palestine, which naturally remained freer from corruptions; this Palestinian *koine* was only slightly touched by Theodotion; Urtheodotion is accordingly nothing but this Palestinian *koine*."

Dr. Margolis' statement, most interesting in many ways, serves me in corroborating my distinction of the A-group as one for which we must devise a hypothesis more exact than the too general name "Hexaplaric." Of course the attachment of the group to Eusebius' labors in preparing his 50 copies for Constantine is hypothetical, for we have no testimony to his handling of the text of Origen. I find that the text

While indeed we possess no detail as to the text of the Eusebian edition, we may be authorized to make the hypothesis that in the continuation of Origen's labors by Pamphilus and his younger friend Eusebius some revision of the master's text was effected. If our assumed Or^{P} represents the latter's text it could hardly have been acceptable to the Church for ecclesiastical use, with its variations from the received text and its literary uncouthness. We have reason to think of the Eusebian Authorized Version as a revision backwards of Origen's work, an assimilation of its more weighty gifts of scholarship, especially in regard to the plusses which brought up the Greek text to the quantum of 𝔊; with at the same time the salvage of as much of the elder text as was possible.[11]

And the A-group, Or^{C}, is, as we have seen above, just such a composition, an Origenian text assimilated to the elder Bible. If this thesis is correct, we can then identify the Bible of Constantinople, as we find the Bible of Antioch in Lucian's text, both originating about the same time for similar practical purposes. And these two converge back for their Origenian background to a text which is best represented for us in Or^{P}.

critics in Old and New Testament only sporadically treat that illustrious event of the Eusebian edition. Credner, in his *Gesch. des neutestamentl. Kanon*, 1860, pp. 205 ff., gives the most extensive study of the episode that I know of; he holds that the edition was meant to determine the authoritative canon of the Church. Tischendorf held to the view that his Codex Sinaiticus is one of Eusebius' copies, and so Gregory, *Einleitung*, 434 ff. Cornill is the only O. T. critic, so far as I find, who assigns a group to "Eusebius und Pamphilus," pp. 79 ff., but he discovers it in a very different group from mine, namely in Q, the Chigi text (my c) and the Syro-Hexapla. However we may explain its origin, it is necessary to accept Dr. Margolis' view of a "Fourth Recension" in order to explain the strata of the Hexaplaric tradition.

[11] Just as Lucian, Pamphilus' contemporary, preserved the old along with the new. We have the same process in modern English versions. The Revised Version, not being largely approved by Church people, the American Episcopal Church authorized a "Marginal Readings Bible," in which the lector might use at his choice selected variants from the RV, given in the margin. The admirable Jewish Version has fallen back upon AV for literary style in contrast to the comparatively radical treatment of AV by RV.

One result of wide scope for all biblical criticism arises if this thesis can be corroborated for other books of the Bible, New as well as Old Testament. Codex Alexandrinus can finally be assigned for its parent text to Constantinople, and that text can be fixed as to age and genealogy—a far more important point than the fixation of the date of the MS. At present the voices of scholars are hesitant on the subject. May they become more definite for the attribution not only of A but at least of all the uncials in their proper group connections!

On the other hand Codex A is not, I believe, physically Constantinopolitan; it is Egyptian, an Alexandrian copy of the Textus Receptus of the Melchite Church in Egypt, the faithful daughter of Byzantium. A proof of this origin is found in the fact that the usual Βαλτασαρ = Belteshazzar appears in the Codex as Βαρτασαρ, i. e., the change of liquids after the rule of the Egyptian vernacular.[12] Corroboration of this view comes from 𝔄, the sister, but after a better master text, of A. For A is best referred to the Melchite Church in Egypt. My position was reinforced by the monograph of the Rev. J. F. Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch* (Thesis at the Catholic University of America, 1921), who, in discussing (pp. 21 ff.) the rise of the Arabic Versions, attributes their origin to the needs of the Melchite Church. For further development of this argument I refer to Dr. Gehman's essay, in which he presents most interesting evidence for the extremely early origin of Arabic versions of the Bible.

If the above results be justified, we are placed in the happy position of being able to identify the two strata of the Origenian work, the original Tetrapla-Hexapla, witnessed to approximately by Or^{P}; and the subsequent, Eusebian (?),

[12] We may suppose that Daniel's second name had become current in the Coptic speech and so the change was naturally entered into the Egyptian codex. The exchange is maintained also in 5 1 in representing Belshazzar's name (which all other Gr. MSS represent equally by Βαλτασαρ); but after that point A uses the common Βαλτασαρ for both the king and Daniel, e. g. 5 12. Similarly in 1 11 Αμερσαρ appears for Αμελσαρ; and so 106.

revision, which became the authoritative text of the imperial Greek Church. And consequently we can locate, for Dan., the uncials A V Γ, also in large part Q, which, if they are to be used critically, must first be given their genealogical assignments. Only one stratum of the great Christian movements towards revision of the Bible text would then remain obscure, the assumed Hesychian version.

The results outlined above might be carried out indefinitely, with attempt to re-create the master text in each group by intensive study of all the Greek MSS and attendant VSS. A *caveat* however is to be entered against the ease of such an exact operation. For there must be postulated, as my experience shows, the presence of a variety of forms of the pre-Origenian text of Θ. For we discover, in addition to the revisions introduced by Origen and Lucian, a considerable number of minor variations which appear to represent variant texts of Θ, as used respectively by Origen and Lucian. There might be postulated three such varieties: the basal texts of the B-group (the eldest, Egyptian?), of Origen (Palestinian), of Lucian (Syrian). I am firmly convinced of an origin of Θ previous to the traditional assignment of "Theodotion" to the second Christian century; in which case there would be an extensive early history of that text, which may have divided into several distinct groups. This primitive element of variation must accordingly be allowed for in diagnosing the differences among the later major groups. For instance, as has long been remarked, there exist similarities between the Lucianic (or Antiochene text) and Western readings, i. e., of the Old Latin (𝔏). The same is true of Daniel. There are minor identities between Lucian and 𝔏, hardly sufficient, however, to demand the hypothesis of any thoroughgoing pre-Lucianic revision. The variations among the primitive texts of Θ are those of local crystallization, similar to the phenomenon of the Oriental and Occidental texts of the Massoretic Bible. For such agreements between Lucianic readings and 𝔏 I would argue to an origin of the latter's text from Syria. The condition is similar to the phenomenon of the so-called Western readings in 𝔏 of the New Testament with their counterparts in the text of the

Eastern Scriptures, e. g., the Syriac. Antioch rather than Egypt would then have been the distributing point of the Scriptures for the West.[13]

[13] For the problem of the relation of Lu and £ cf., e. g., L. Dieu, "Retouches lucianiques sur quelles textes de la vieille version latine (I et II Samuel)," *Revue biblique*, 16 (1919), 372—403; he holds the theory that the agreements are to be explained in part by a common primitive text, and that in addition Lucianisms have been inserted by a gradual process—a complicated theory. But we have first to identify Lucian's *Vorlage* and then his own contributions. For an account and criticism of recent studies on the Lucianic text s. G. F. Moore, *AJSL* 29 (1912—13), pp. 37—62, "The Antiochian Recension of the Septuagint."

COLLATION OF HOLMES-PARSONS 23(VENETUS)-62-147 IN DANIEL FROM PHOTOGRAPHIC COPIES

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A fresh collation of Holmes-Parsons 23(Venetus)-62-147, designated a b c respectively, in Daniel made from photographic copies is here offered. Such a collation was needed not only because of the imperfect and inadequate treatment of these MSS in the past, but also because of a new view of their critical importance to the history of the text of the Old Testament in Greek, which is presented in a preceding paper by Dr. James A. Montgomery. With the exception of V, and then only for the four Books of Maccabees where B fails, these MSS are not given a place in critical apparatus. We may expect to find the cursives thus ignored. The MSS 62 147 are summarily dismissed with but brief notice in the catalogues. V was collated for Holmes-Parsons in 1789 by Geo. Zoega and Nich. Schow. The editors of that great edition however treated the MS as a cursive and numbered it 23.[1] This view of the MS was subsequently corrected, and in Swete's Manual edition of the LXX, V is cited in the apparatus of the four Books of Maccabees, largely on the authority of Dr. E. Klostermann. Where differences existed appeal was made to the old collation of Holmes-Parsons; *vide* H. B. Swete, *The Old Testa-*

[1] Holmes-Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum graecum cum variis lectionibus*, Vol. IV, Oxonii 1827, Praefatio ad Librum Danielis, "23, Saec. IX non designatur a me per numerum in charactere majore, quia non a monitu Collatoris ullo resciveram Codicem hunc in majusculis literis scriptum fuisse, Rem vero ita se habere mihi jam ab alio teste pene persuasum est. Hoc ergo animadvertet Eruditus Lector."

ment in Greek according to the Septuagint, Vol. III, ed. 2, Cambridge 1899, pp. xiv ff.

For such critical study as has been made of these MSS, I refer to Dr. Montgomery's article where full and complete reference is given. When treated and where definite conclusions have been reached, these MSS have been largely assigned to the Lucianic group, while 62 147 have even been placed at the very end of a long development. There is an entire absence of reference to the MSS in the articles on the subject in the various dictionaries of the Bible.[2]

This new collation was made possible by the excellent photographic copies of V 62 147 now in the Library of the Philadelphia Divinity School, for V entire, and for 62 147 for Daniel. They were obtained by Dr. Montgomery through the Trustees of the Yarnall Library of St. Clement's Church, which is a part of the Divinity School Library. These are the first copies of V to be made, although Alfred Rahlfs in his *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments,* Berlin, 1914, p. 272, notes that a facsimile of Jer. xix—xxi appears in Wattenbach's *Scripturae graecae specimina,* Berlin, 1883 and 1897, tab. ix; cf. *ib.* pp. 4, 5.

Of the three MSS here collated, V alone is an uncial. For this reason, some account of it is given along with other uncial MSS of the Old Testament in Greek. It is quite generally accepted, upon the authority of Dr. E. Klostermann, *op. cit.* pp. 9 f., 33 f., that codices N[3] and V[4] were originally one. V

[2] For such study of them as has been made *vide:*—Field, *Hex.* i, p. lxxxviii; Klostermann, *Analecta zur Septuaginta,* 1895, p. 51; Cornill, *Ezechiel,* pp. 104 ff.; Lagarde, *Librorum Veteris Testamenti canonicorum pars prior graece,* p. iv; Burkitt, *Rules of Tyconius,* p. cviii; Oesterley, *Studies in the Greek and Latin Text of the Book of Amos,* Cambridge, 1902, pp. 9 ff., 17 ff.; R. K. Yerkes, "The Lucianic Version of the O. T. as illustrated from Jeremiah," Univ. of Penna. Thesis, *JBL* 37 (1918), pp. 163 ff.; Ranke, *Par palimpsestorum Wirceburgensium,* p. 410.

[3] For N *vide* Brooke and McLean, *The Old Testament in Greek,* Vol. I the Octateuch, Cambridge, 1917, Preface to the Octateuch, p. xiii; A. Rahlfs, *op. cit.* pp. 270 ff.; H. B. Swete, *An Intro. to the O. T. in Greek,* ed. 2, Cambridge, 1914, pp. 131 f.

[4] For V *vide* Rahlfs, *op. cit.,* pp. 271 f., 396; Swete, *Intro.* p. 132 and *O. T. in Greek,* Vol. III, pp. xiv f.

is described as a large folio vellum MS, consisting of 164 leaves $41^1/_2 \times 29^1/_2$ cm., containing two columns of 60 lines, written in an uncial hand of the VIII.—IX. century. Beginning with Job 30 8 (*και κλεος*) it continues through Job, Prov., Eccl., Cant., Sap., Sirach, the Minor Prophets, Isa., Jer., Bar., Lam., Ezek., Daniel, Tobit, Judith, 1—4 Macc.

Examination of the photographs reveals V as a well-written MS. Like many other MSS, its copies show more or less clearly the rulings for lines and for margins made with a stylus or other blunt instrument; *vide* E. M. Thompson, *An Intro. to Greek and Latin Palaeography,* Oxford, 1912, pp. 54 f. A short chronological table appears after Daniel and again in a longer form after 4 Macc. Some various readings are marked with the Hexaplaric asterisk, sometimes in the margin as well as in the text. There are two possible occurrences of the obelus. These signs are noted in the collation in full.[5] Numerous large letters in the margin, often an inch long, indicate the beginning of new sections. A few chapters, viz. 3, 8, and 9, are indicated by an abbreviated *ορ* = *ορασις* in the margin opposite a large initial letter, or above the first letter of the first word; chapters 4, 5, 7, and 12, by a mark in the margin and an enlarged initial letter.

MS 62 receives the following brief notice in Rahlfs, *op. cit.* p. 340, "62 Oxford, New Coll., 44: XII+IV proph., Mac. I—IV (XI)." Swete dates it in the XIII. century, probably on the authority of Holmes-Parsons, and adds that it is Lucianic in character; Swete, *Intro.* p. 166. The leaves of this MS contain 46 lines each, written across the page in a clear cursive hand older than that of 147. The accents are bold. The beginning of new sections is indicated by enlarged letters in the margin. Sometimes these correspond to chapter divisions, more frequently not. In such case the division, if indicated, is marked only by a short space in the text.

Rahlfs, *op. cit.* p. 342 catalogues 147 thus:—"147 Oxford, Bodl. Libr. Laud. gr. 30 (A): Cat. in Prov. et Eccl. et Cant.

[5] *Vide* 2 16; 3 22; 4 15; 5 10, 12; 6 4, 5, 21; 7 7, 10; 9 19; 11 36; also 5 5, 8 (possible obeli in the margin).

et Iob; XII + IV proph. (XII)." Swete, *Intro.* p. 167, also lists it among the cursives for the prophetical books, and notes that it is imperfect. For Daniel 147 fails after γυναικων 11 17. This MS judged from its writing is the latest of our group. Each leaf consists of two columns of 36 lines. Lines and columns have been carefully ruled with a blunt stylus. Chapter divisions have been marked with the ορασις, and sometimes given a double enumeration. These are noted *in loc.* There are no marginal letters except the enlarged and often illuminated initial letter of the chapter. There are two illuminations, one of Daniel in the den of lions, placed before chapter six, and the other a conception of the four beasts, before chapter seven.

Of the fifteen *nomina sacra*[6] commonly abbreviated in Biblical MSS, eleven are represented in some or all of their cases: Θεος, κυριος, χριστος, υιος, πνευμα, πατηρ, Ισραηλ, σωτηρ, ανθρωπος, ουρανος, Ιερουσαλημ. The usual abbreviations which occur in cursives generally[7] occur in our cursives 62 147, where και appears as κ-, and we even have κ-ρου = καιρου (147). The endings of words are often indicated by a mere flourish, and final ν by a mere stroke over the vowel or consonant. Itacisms, misspellings, and the usual trivial errors abound. V is more exact than 62 147. The ν-movable in V corresponds quite exactly with B. 62 gives us a case of *iota adscriptum*, 1 3, *vide* Gardthausen, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 242. The errors of our MSS in haplography, dittography, and homoioteleuton are noted in the collation. Our group often corrects such for B. There are also contaminations from other sources as e. g. 𝔊 in 3 2, 3, 17, 26.

For the general characteristics of the group, I refer to Dr. Montgomery's article. V is less characteristic of the group than 62 147. The cursives in this case, although not as well-written as V, are a far more important witness to the text. We have the following cases of the Aquilanic vocabulary:—3 9

[6] *Vide* Thompson, *op. cit.* pp. 77 f.

[7] *Vide* V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaëographie*, Leipzig, 1913, Vol. II, pp. 325 ff.

υπολαβοντες for αποκριθεντες, 6 4 συνεκτικους, 6 4 προσεδοκα = עשית, 6 5 και εκ πλαγιων βασιλειας, 11 45 Σαβα closer to the צבי of 𝔊, possibly also 9 10 νομιμοις, and 9 11 Μωση. Aquilanic mannerisms are to be noted however not so much in the vocabulary as in the syntax. The collation will show these in full, and I will but instance examples, *vide* J. Reider, *Prolegomena to a Greek-Hebrew and Hebrew-Greek Index to Aquila,* Dropsie College Thesis, Philadelphia, 1916, pp. 16 ff., 37 ff. The accusative particle את is represented by συν 8 7, 15, 19 *al.* The preposition ל with the infinitive appears as του with the infinitive 2 10 *al.* The conjunction ו is faithfully given, although it sometimes appears where lacking in 𝔊. The pronominal suffixes are carefully given 2 32 *al.* The Aramaic anticipative pronoun is rendered 2 44 ημεραις αυτων των βασιλεων αυτων. אדני is distinguished from אדנָי 10 16, 17. The present participle אמר appears as λεγει 2 27. The emphatic אנחנו is expressed by ημεις αυτοι 9 18. The article is treated carefully, especially in the construct, 2 9 δογμα, 9 16 αγιου. Particles and compound particles are given 2 25 די = οτι, 7 9 עד די = εως ου, כל קבל די or כל קבל דנה is translated as κατεναντι οτι or κ. τουτου 3 7, 8; 4 15; 6 4, 10. The order of 𝔊 is strictly adhered to 4 26 *al.*

To this collation of V 62 147, Dr. Montgomery has contributed a running comparison with 𝔊 and with the texts of the other groups as he has distinguished them, i. e. with Or^{C} (the "Constantinopolitan" text) and Lu(cian); see his preceding essay. The correspondence has been summarily stated where there is general agreement of all MSS within the group; where there is variation within the usual grouping the important witnesses are detailed, so that the reader can check the attempted comparison. When there is correspondence with odd MSS or with MSS which are not included in the groups as established, these are either named, or it is indicated how many MSS concur. Thus in a general way, not to the degree of *finesse,* the correspondences are exhibited for the groups. In a few cases the comparison has included texts of the Fathers, etc. Also often the errors of B, either alone or in combination with other MSS are indicated, as in such cases our MSS, along with others, simply preserve the original text of Θ. The collation of

groups other than that of V 62 147, is based upon Swete and Holmes-Parsons.

The method by which the material is presented is calculated to show the variants of our group at a glance. The order and enumeration of 𝔐 has been used (Rud. Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica,* Lipsiae 1906), with that of the Greek, when variant, in parentheses. The reading of our group is first given, minor variations in spelling etc. being immediately indicated in parentheses accompanied by the symbol of the varying MS. This is followed by the reading of B in parentheses. Longer variations within our group follow the reading of B, and are accompanied by the proper MS symbol. An addition or an omission is indicated by + or om = omittit, -unt, with sufficient of the context given in square brackets to show the reading at a glance. The hexaplaric asterisk (⁎) and obelus (÷) are given *in loco.* | divides the separate readings. 1°, 2°, etc. indicate the first, second, etc. time the word or phrase occurs in the verse.—is used to indicate material included between two words. *al.* = *alii, -ae, -a.* ⁎ checks a few of the readings where Holmes-Parsons is in error. *v* followed by a number indicates a verse or verses. *vs* = versus. The other symbols used have been given in Dr. Montgomery's paper. The text is arbitrarily broken up into blocks of ten verses, in order that it may be read easily. The apocryphal additions are not included in the collation.

Inscr Δανιηλ 𝔞 δανιηλ κατα Θεοδοτιωνα 𝔟

I 1 superscr ορασις A 𝔟 𝔠 | ηλθε(-ν) 𝔠 | επι (εις) 𝔞 | επολιορκη (-κει) 𝔠 2 εδωκε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | σενναρ (σεννααρ) 𝔟 | οικον (οικου 2°) 𝔟 = A Q^{a} 34 | + του [θησαυρου] 𝔠 = Lu | om Θησαυρου 𝔞 ⁎ | + του [θεου 3°] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 vs B 26 232 ⁎ 3 ασφανεξ (ασφανεζ) 𝔟 𝔠 cf ασφαναξ 91 ασφνεξ 106 | αρχευνουχωι (αρχιευνουχω) 𝔟 αρχευνουχω 𝔠 | om αυτου 𝔟 𝔠 = 230 | αιχμαλωσιας (βασιλειας) 𝔟 | φορθομιν (φορθομμειν) 𝔞 φορθομμιν 𝔟 𝔠 4 + εν [αυτοις 1°] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔐 vs B 232 | + πας [μωμος] 𝔞 = 25 230 232 233 = 𝔐 | οψη (οψει) 𝔟 | γινωσκοντας (γιγνω-) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | νοησιν (φρονησιν) 𝔠 | om εσταναι 𝔠 6 μισαηλ (μει-) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = vv 7 11 19 = Or^{C} Lu 7 αρχευνουχος (αρχιευνουχος) 𝔟 𝔠 = vv 9 10 11 18 | + εθηκε [τω δανιηλ] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔐 | το μεν δανιηλ (τω δανιηλ) 𝔟 τον

μεν δαν. c | το ανανια (τω ανανια) b | μισαχ (μει-) a b c 8 + [ηξιωσε]-ν b = A Q Γ 9 + εις [οικτιρμον] a = Or^{C} 𝔊 * | οικτιρμον (οικτει-) a b c 10 ψυχην (κεφαλην) a = 130 𝔄 11 ειπε(-ν) b c | αιμελσαδ (αμελ-) b Or^{C} forms in -σαρ | + και [ανανιαν] a = Or^{C} Lu | + και [μισαηλ] a = Or^{C} Lu | + και above [αζαριαν] a = Or^{C} Lu 12 πιωμεθα (πιο-) b c 13 ωφθητωσαν (οφ-) c | ιδεαι (ει-) bis a b c = v 15 | εσθιοντων (εσθον-) a b c 14 + [αυτων] του λογου τουτου b c = 𝔊 15 ισχυραι (-οι) a b c | τοις (ταις) c | προξιν (σαρξιν) b | εσθιοντα (εσθον-) a b c 16 αμεσαδ (αμελσαδ) b cf v 11 17 και τοις τεσσαρσιν παιδαριοις (και τα παιδαρια ταυτα οι τεσσαρες αυτοι) a και τοις πεδαριοις (παιδα- c) τοις τεσαρσιν b c cf dative construction of A 42 Lu | + τη [γραμματικη] c | πασει (-ση 2°) b | + [ορασει] αυτου b c 18 εισηγαγον (-εν) b * | αυτοις (αυτους 2°) a * 20 εζητησε(-ν) b c | + και [ευρεν] b c = 𝔊 | δεκαπλασιωνας (δεκαπλασιονας) b | om τους [μαγους] a | + και [τους οντας] c Chapter division begins at I 21 b c superscr ορασις β c 21 + του [κυρου] b c = 𝔊 (𝔏)

II 1 + και [εν τω ετει] b c = 𝔊 | + [βασιλειας] ναβουχοδονοσορ a b c = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | ενυπνιασθη (ην-) a b c = v 3 | om [απ] αυτου 3° c 2 om και τους χαλδαιους b c | ηλθον (ηλθαν) a 4 ειπον (ελαλησαν) a = A Q 26 89 233 | σριστη (συριστι) b συριστη c | βασιλευς (βασιλευ) c | πεσι (παισιν) b παισι c = v 7 | συγκρησιν (συγκρισιν) b | + [συγκρισιν] αυτου b c = Or^{C} Lu Hebrew MSS and best Massoretic editions vary here and elsewhere between פשרא and פשרה ה could be emphatic or could = αυτου 5 + και [απεκριθη] a = Lu | + [ο βασιλευς] και ειπεν (ειπε c) a b c = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | + [εαν] ουν a c νουν b = Or^{C} Lu | γνωρησεται (γνωρισητε) b γνωρισετε c | + [συγκρισιν] αυτου b c = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | απωλειαν (-λιαν) a b c 6 συνκρισιν (συγ-) bis b c | γνωρησειται (γνωρισητε) b | ληψεσθε (λημ-) a c ληψεσθαι b | + [ενυπνιον 2°] αυτου b c = 91 | αναγγειλατε (απαγγειλατε) a = 233 απαγγειλαται b 7 πεσιν (παισιν) b | απαγγελουμεν (αναγγελουμεν) a = Lu αναγγελουμιν b 8 απεριθη (απεκριθη) c | εγω οιδα (οιδα εγω) a = Lu om εγω b c | υμεις καιρον (καιρον υμεις) a | εξαγοραζεται (εξαγοραζετε) b c | ιδετε [ει-) a 9 απαγγειλητε (αναγγειλητε) a b c = Or^{C} Lu | + (μοι 1°] εν εστι δογμα υμων και b c = Lu 𝔊 | + [οτι 2°] και b c |

αναγγελειται (-τε) 𝔟 10 + και [απεκριθησαν] 𝔞 = 42 | + [απεκριθησαν] παλιν 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu | + του [γνωρισαι] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | καθωτι (καθοτι) 𝔟 | τοιουτον (τοιουτο) 𝔟 𝔠 | + παντα [επαοιδον] 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 | επαοιδων (-δον) 𝔠 * | + και [μαγον] 𝔟 𝔠 = 26 𝔊 | + [μαγον] φαρμακον 𝔞 + και φαρμακον 26

11 ως (ος) 𝔟 𝔠 | οι θεοι (η θεοι) 𝔠 | κατοικεια (-κια) 𝔟 | + [σαρκος] οθεν ουκ ενδεχεται γενεσθαι καθαπερ οιει (οιδε 𝔟 οι 𝔠) + (κατεναντι τουτου 𝔟 𝔠) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 𝔞 = 𝔊 Lu κατεναντι τουτου = 𝔊 (כל־קבל דנה) v 12 12 + [οργη] πολλη 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Q 42 Lu = 𝔊 + μεγαλη 106 𝔄 | + [σοφους] βασιλεως 𝔟 𝔠 13 εξηλθε(-ν) 𝔠 | om οι [σοφοι] 𝔟 𝔠 | απεκτενοντο (απεκτεννοντο) 𝔞 απεκτεινοντο 𝔟 απεκταινοντο 𝔠 14 βουλη και γνωμη (βουλην και γνωμην) 𝔞 = 230 15 + και επυνθανετο αυτου λεγων [αρχων] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 * | εξηλθε(-ν) 𝔠 | om η [γνωμη] η [αναιδης] 𝔟 𝔠 | αναιδεις (αν – δης) 𝔟 𝔠 | τοτε το ρημα εγνωρισεν (εγνωρισεν δε το ρημα) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 16 + (※ 𝔞) εισηλθεν (εισηλθε 𝔟 𝔠) και [ηξιωσεν] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | παρα του (※ above 𝔞) βασιλεως (τον βασιλεα) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 cf Or^{C} απο του βασ. | απαγγειλη (αναγγειλη) 𝔞 = Or^{C} Lu 17 εισηλθε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | μισαηλ (μει-) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | το ρημα εγνωρισεν (εγνωρισεν το ρημα) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 18 οικτιρμους (οικτει-) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | οπως αν δανιηλ μη απωλονται (οπως αν απο. δαν.) 𝔠 | απολονται (απολωνται) 𝔟 19 om τω [δανιηλ] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 26 230 | ευλογησε(-ν) 𝔠 20 + και απεκριθη [δανιηλ και ειπεν] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | + κῦ [θῦ] 𝔟 𝔠 κῦ (θῦ) Q Lu | εστι(-ν) 𝔠

21 μεθιστα βασιλεις και καθιστα (καθ. βασ. κ. μεθ.) 𝔟 𝔠 = Eus. *H. E. X.* 4,8 = 𝔊 | + [μεθιστα] βασιλεις 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | om διδους σοφιαν τοις σοφοις 𝔟 om τοις σοφοις 𝔠 | φρονησι(-ν) 𝔠 22 γινωσκον (-ων) 𝔟 | σκοτι (-τει) 𝔟 | τω (το) 𝔟 | εστι(-ν) 𝔠 23 συ (σοι) 𝔠 | εδωκας (δεδωκας) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 Or^{C} Lu | + νυν [εγνωρισας] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | εγνωρησας (-ρισας) 𝔟 | ονομα (οραμα) 𝔠 24 ηλθε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | om και ειπεν αυτω τους σοφους βαβυλωνος 𝔞 * haplography | απολεσεις (-σης) 𝔟 | om βασιλει 𝔞 25 + ουτως [ειπεν] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 * | + οτι [ευρηκα] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (ד׳) 26 ειπε(-ν) 𝔠 | ονομ (ονομα) 𝔞 | + [ει] συ 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | απαγγειλαι (αν-) 𝔞 | ειδον (ιδον) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 27 ειπε (λεγει) 𝔞 = Or^{C} Lu | επερωτα (ερωτα) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | εστι(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 28 om [αλλ] η 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu | εγνωρισε(-ν) 𝔠 | εγνωρησεν (-ρι-) 𝔟 = v 29 | γεινεσθαι (γενεσθαι) 𝔞 | τουτ εστι (τουτο εστιν) 𝔟 𝔠 29 εγνωριαι (εγνωρισεν) 𝔠

30 om δε 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu | om [τη] ουση εν [εμοι] 𝔠 | εμη (εμοι) 𝔠 | τω βασιλει γνωρισαι (γνωρισαι τ. β.) 𝔞 = 𝔊 τω βασιλει δηλωσαι (γνωρισαι τ. β.) 𝔟 𝔠

31 + [μεγαλη] πολλη [η εικων εκεινη] μεγαλη 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 conflate reading based on 𝔊 (רב) = Lu in the second clause | om υπερφερης 𝔠 υπερφερεις (υπερφερης) 𝔟 32 + [στηθος] αυτης 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | + [κοιλια] αυτης 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 | + [μηροι] αυτης 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 33 + και [αι κνημαι] 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu | + [κνημαι] αυτης 𝔟 𝔠 | + [ποδες] αυτης 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 | οστρακεινον (οστρακινον) 𝔟 οστρακηνον 𝔠 34 απεσχεσθη (-χισ-) corrected to απεσχεισθη 𝔞 | om εξ ορους 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 233 𝔊 | επαταξε(-ν) 𝔠 | + [ποδας] αυτης 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | + [ελεπτυνεν] αυτους 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 * 35 ο σιδηρος το οστρακον (το οσ. ο σι.) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} 𝔊 | εγενοντο (εγενετο) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | εξηρανεν (εξηρεν) 𝔠 | + αυτα [το πληθος] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | + πας [τοπος] 𝔟 𝔠 = c 𝔊 | εγενετο (εγενηθη) 𝔞 | + εις [ορος] 𝔞 = Lu 𝔊 | επληρωσε(-ν) 𝔠 | om πασαν 𝔞 𝔠 = 89 36 ερουμιν (-μεν) 𝔟 37 εδωκε(-ν) 𝔞 𝔠 | + [εδωκεν] σοι 𝔟 𝔠 = 26 𝔊 38 + και [εν παντι] 𝔟 𝔠 = 130 𝔊 | του (τε) 𝔠 | + του [αγρου] 𝔞 = 𝔊 | + του [ουρανου] 𝔟 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | κατεστησε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | + [κατεστησεν] σε 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 error in B by haplography 39 βασιλεια ετερα (ε. β.) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 * | η (ητις) 𝔟 𝔠 | κυριευση (-σει) 𝔟 𝔠 40 om ο [σιδηρος 1°] 𝔞 | + [ουτως] ο σιδηρος 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 subsequently crossed out in 𝔞 and αυτη written over it = 34

41 ειδες (ιδες) bis 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | + [οστρακινον] κεραμευουν 𝔞 𝔠 κεραμιους 𝔟 for κεραμεως a doublet cf κεραμευου 35 | διηρμενη (διηρημενη) 𝔟 | αναμεμηγμενων (αναμεμιγμενον) 𝔟 | + εν [τω οστρακω] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | + [οστρακω] τω πηλινω (θηλινω 𝔟) 𝔞 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 43 + και [οτι] 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 | ειδες (ιδες) 𝔞 𝔠 | + [οστρακω] πηλινω 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 | συνμιγες (-γεις) 𝔞 | προσκολλομινοι (-λωμενοι) 𝔟 -λομενοι 𝔠 | ουτως (ουτος) 𝔟 | αναμηγνυται (αναμιγ-) 𝔟 44 + [ημεραις] αυτων 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | αναστηση (-σει) 𝔠 | om [ο θς] του ουρανου 𝔟 𝔠 | om και η βασιλεια αυτου λαω ετερω ουχ υπολειφθησεται 𝔟 by haplography | εκλικμησει (λικμησει) 𝔞 = 61 ληκμησει 𝔟 | + ταυτας [τας βασιλειας] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 45 ειδες (ιδες) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | τον οστρακον (το οσ.) 𝔠 | το σιδηρον (τον σιδ.) 𝔟 | εγνωρησε (εγνωρισεν) 𝔟 εγνωρισε(-ν) 𝔠 | + [ενυπνιον] αυτου 𝔠 46 ναβουχονοδονοσορ (ναβουχοδονοσορ) 𝔟 | + [προσωπον] αυτου 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔄 𝔊 | το (τω) 𝔟 om τω [δανιηλ] 𝔠 | προσεκυνησε(-ν) 𝔠 | μαναα (μαννα)

𝔟 𝔠 = Q Lu | ευωδιαν (ευωδιας) 𝔞 | ειπε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 47 τω δανιηλ ειπεν (ε. το δαν.) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | οτι θ̄ς̄ (ο θ̄ς̄ 1°) 𝔟 + οτι [ο θ̄ς̄ 1°] 𝔠 = 𝔊 * | εστι(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | om και κυριος των βασιλεων 𝔟 by homoioteleuton om των [βασιλεων] 𝔠 | ηδυνασθης (ηδυνηθης) 𝔞 48 om και πολλα [εδωκεν] 𝔠 | ητισατο (ητη-) 𝔟 49 μισαχ (μει-) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠

III 1 superscr ορασις Γ 𝔠 | εικον (εικονα) 𝔞 | πηχων (πηχεων) bis 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | + και [ευρος] 𝔟 𝔠 | δεηρα (δεειρα) 𝔞 𝔟 δειρα 𝔠 2 + [και] ναβουχοδονοσορ ο βασιλευς [απεστειλεν] 𝔞 = Lu 𝔊 + [και] ναβ. ο βασ. και κυριευων της οικουμενης [απεστειλεν] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | + επι [συναγαγειν] 𝔟 𝔠 | + [συναγαγειν] παντα τα εθνη κ. φυλας κ. γλωσσας 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | + [τους] κατα την οικουμενην [αρχοντας] 𝔟 𝔠 αρχωντος (-χον-) 𝔟 cf 𝔊 | χρονων (χωρων) 𝔟 χορων 𝔠 | εγκαινια (ενκαινια) 𝔞 𝔠 εγκενια 𝔟 | + [εστησεν] ναβουχοδονοσορ ο βασιλευς 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 3 αρχωντες (αρχοντες) 𝔟 | + του ελθειν [εις τον ενκαινισμον] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 | εγκαινισμον (εν-) 𝔞 𝔠 εγκε- 𝔟 | ειστηκησαν (ιστηκεισαν) 𝔞 𝔠 ειστηκεισαν 𝔟 | + [εικονος 2°] ης εστησε ναβ. ο βασιλευς 𝔞 = Or^{C} 𝔊 + του βασιλεως ης εστησε ναβ. 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 4 + [λεγεται] εθνη 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 Or^{C} Lu doublet from 𝔊 | λαοι (λαοις) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 error in B 5 οι (η) 𝔠 | ωραν (ωρα) 𝔞 𝔠 𝔟 is doubtful because abbreviated at end of line | ακουσηται (-τε) 𝔟 𝔠 | + [σαμβυκης] τε 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | + [ψαλτηριου] και συμφωνιας 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | προσκυνειται (-τε) 𝔟 𝔠 | ην εστησε (η εστησεν) 𝔟 𝔠 6 + πεσων [προσκυνησῃ] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | προσκυνησει (-σῃ) 𝔟 𝔠 | + εν [αυτη τη ωρα] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | κεομενην (καιο-) 𝔟 𝔠 7 οτε (οταν) 𝔞 οτι 𝔟 𝔠 | ηκουσαν (ηκουον) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | + [σαμβυκης] τε 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | om παντες 𝔞 haplography | προσεκυνου (προσεκυνουν) 𝔟 | εστησε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 8 + κατεναντι τουτου [τοτε] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 34 𝔊 (כל־קבל דנה) | προσηλθον (προσηλθοσαν) 𝔞 -θωσαν 𝔟 𝔠 | διεβαλον (διεβαλλον) 𝔠 9 + και υπολαβοντες ειπον [τω βασιλει] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} 𝔊 | ναβ. τω βασ. (τω βασ. ναβ.) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 10 + του [παντα] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (ר׳) | + [σαμβυκης] τε 𝔞 | σαμβυκης κιθαρας (κ. σ.) 𝔟 𝔠 | + [ψαλτηριου] και συμφωνιας 𝔞 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | + [μουσικων] πεσειται και προσκυνησει τη εικονι (-νη 𝔟) τη χρυση 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊

11 + [και] ος αν [μη] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | om τη εικονι τη χρυση 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 12 + [εισιν] ουν 𝔞 106 Lu 𝔄 | εισι(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | + [εισιν] δε τινες [ανδρες] 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} 𝔊 𝔊 | + [κατεστησας] αυτους 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | μισαχ (μει-) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = v 14 | + [οι] ανδρες εκεινοι [ουχ υπηκουσαν]

𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | το (τω) 𝔟 | + και [τοις θεοις] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | λατρευουσι(-ν) 𝔠 | ην (η) 𝔟 | προσκυνουσι(-ν) 𝔠 13 + [και] οι ανοι [ηχθησαν] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 14 αλιθως (αλη-) 𝔟 | + και [αβδεναγω] 𝔞 = 𝔊 | λατρευεται (-ετε) 𝔟 | εικονη (-νι) 𝔟 | ην (η) 𝔟 | προσκυνητε (-ειτε) 𝔟 15 εχεται (-τε) 𝔟 | ος (ως) 𝔟 𝔠 | ακουσειται (-ητε) 𝔟 | + [σαμβυκης] τε 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | πεσειτε (πεσοντες) 𝔠 | + [πεσοντες] και 𝔠 = 𝔊 | προσκυνειτε (προσκυνησητε 1°) 𝔞 προσκυνητε 𝔟 | εικονη (-νι) 𝔟 | + [εικονι] τη χρυση 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} 𝔊 | προσκυνησειται (-ητε 2°) 𝔟 | εμβληθησεται (-σεσθε) 𝔟 | + ο [θς] 𝔠 | χειρων (χειρος) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 16 + και [αβδεναγω] 𝔞 = 34 230 233 𝔊 | εχωμεν (εχομεν) 𝔟 17 εστι(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | + [θς] ημων 𝔟 𝔠 | + [ημεις] αυτοι 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (אנחנא) | + [λατρευομεν] εν ουνοις 𝔟 𝔠 18 + [εστω σοι] τουτο 𝔞 | εικονη (-νι) 𝔟 | + [εικονι] τη χρυση 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 19 ειπε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | + του [εκκαυσαι] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (ל) | εκκαυσατε (εκκαυσαι) 𝔞 20 + τη [ισχυι] 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 (בחילה) | ειπε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | πεδησαντες (-τας) 𝔠 | om και 2° 𝔞 | + του [εμβαλειν] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (ל) | την καιομενην (της—ης) 𝔟 𝔠

21 + [τιαραις] αυτων 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | περικνημισι και τιαραις (τιαρ. κ. περι.) 𝔞 | περικνημισιν (-σι) 𝔞 𝔠 περικνημισον (-σι) 𝔟 + [περικνημισι] αυτων 𝔟 𝔠 | + [περικνημισι] και ενδυμασιν αυτων 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | om το [μεσον] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 22 + κατεναντι [επει] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 * | υπερισχυε(-ν) 𝔠 | + [περισσου] (* 𝔞) και τους ανδρας εκεινους τους βαλοντας (εμβαλλοντας 𝔞) σεδραχ μισαχ και αβδεναγω απεκτεινεν αυτους φλοξ του πυρος 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 23 + [και] οι ανδρες εκεινοι [οι τρεις] 𝔞 = 𝔊 | ανδρες (τρεις) 𝔟 𝔠 | εν μεσω (εις μεσον) 𝔟 𝔠 | + [καμινου] του πυρος 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | πεπεδεμενοι (πεπεδη-) 𝔠 24 (91) ηκουεν (ηκουσεν) 𝔟 𝔠 | om [υμνουντων] αυτων 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | + απεκριθη και [ειπεν] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | ειπε(-ν) 𝔠 | εβαλομιν (-μεν) 𝔟 | εν μεσω (εις μεσον) 𝔞 | αλιθως (αλη-) 𝔟 25 (92) + και ειπεν ο βασιλευς [οδε] 𝔞 = Or^{C} cf 𝔊 + απεκριθη και ειπεν ο βασ. [οδε] 𝔟 𝔠 | ιδε (οδε) α ωδε 𝔟 𝔠 | om ανδρας 𝔞 | τεσσαρεις (-ες) 𝔟 𝔠 26 (93) προσηλθε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | + και απεκριθη [και ειπεν] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | ειπε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | εκ μεσου του πυρος (και δευτε) 𝔟 𝔠 | εξηλθεν (-θον) 𝔞 | οι ανδρες (Σεδραχ Μεισαχ Αβδεναγω) 𝔟 𝔠 | + και εξηλθον οι ανδρες [εκ μεσου του πυρος] 𝔠 dittography 27 (94) om και τοπαρχαι 𝔟 𝔠 | εκυριευσε(-ν) 𝔠 | ηλλοιωθη και ουχ ην εν αυτοις οσμη πυρος (κ. οσ. πυρ. ουχ ην εν αυτοις) 𝔠 | + [αυτοις] και προσεκυνησεν ο βασιλευς ενωπιον αυτων τω κω̄ 𝔞 =

Or^{C} Lu 28 (95) + [θς] αυτων 𝔟 𝔠 | om και [μισαχ] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = A Q 𝔊 | απεστειλε(-ν) 𝔠 | εξηλατο (εξει-) 𝔟 | επεποιθησαν (-θεισαν) 𝔞 | εδωκαν (παρ-) 𝔟 𝔠 | om εις πυρ 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 | λατρευσωσι(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | προσκυνησωσι(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | εαυτων (αυτων 2°) 𝔞 | εαυτων θῶ (θῶ εαυτων) 𝔞 29 (96) om το [δογμα] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | η αν (εαν) 𝔞 + η [εαν] 𝔟 𝔠 | + και [αβδεναγω] 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 | εστι(-ν) 𝔞 | + του [ρυσασθαι] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (𝔏) | αυτους (ουτως) 𝔟 𝔠 30 (97) κατευθυνε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | + και [αβδεναγω] 𝔠 = 𝔊 | + και ηυξησεν (ηυξισεν 𝔠) αυτους [και ηξιωσεν] 𝔞 𝔠 doublet | + και [ηυξησεν αυτους αυτους [και ηξιωσεν] 𝔟 | + [των] οντων [εν τη βασιλεια] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊

31 (98) superscr ορασις Δ 𝔠 | om και [γλωσσαις] 𝔞 | ταις οικουσαις (τοις οικουσιν) 𝔟 𝔠 32 (99) μου (εμου) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 33 (100) μεγαλη (μεγαλα) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | + και [η εξουσια] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 and all except B IV 1 ημιν (ημην) 𝔟 | + [ευθαλων] επι του θρονου μου 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 Or^{C} 𝔊 mistranslation of 𝔊 2 ειδον (ιδον) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | εφοβερησε (εφοβερισεν) 𝔟 𝔠 | η ορασις (αι ορασεις) 𝔟 𝔠 | συνεταραξε (συνεταραξαν) 𝔟 𝔠 3 εμου (μου) 𝔞 𝔟 | γνωρησωσι (γνωρισωσιν) 𝔟 γνωρισωσι 𝔠 4 γαζαρινοι (γαζαρηνοι) 𝔟 | συνκρισιν (συγ-) 𝔟 | εγνωρησαν (-ρι-) 𝔟 5 + [εως] ου ετερος 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 | + εις [ηλθεν] ενωπιον εμου [δανιηλ] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 | αυτω (εαυτω) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | + [εχει] και το ενυπνιον ενωπιον αυτου 𝔞 𝔟 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 + [εχει] και το ενυπνιον αυτου 𝔠 6 om ω [ειπα] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | αγιου (αγιον) 𝔟 𝔠 | + [ενυπνιου] μου 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 7 + και ορασις (αι ορασεις 𝔞) (της 𝔞) κεφαλης μου [επι της κοιτης] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu Q al 𝔊

8 ισχυσε(-ν) 𝔠 | τα περατα (το περας) 𝔞 | πασης (απασης) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 9 πετεινα (ορνεα) 𝔞 | om και [εξ αυτου] 𝔞 = Lu 𝔊 11 ισχυει (ισχυι) 𝔟 𝔠 | εκκοψαται (-τε) 𝔟 | εκτειλατε (εκτιλατε) 𝔟 𝔠 | + [αυτου] και εκτειλατε τους κλαδους αυτου 𝔟 dittography | εκτιναξαται (-τε) 𝔟 | διασκορπισαται (-τε) 𝔟 12 εασαται (-τε) 𝔟 | αυλισθησεται (κοιτασθησεται) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu mistranslation 13 δωθησεται (δο-) 𝔟 14 συγκριματος (συν-) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | αγιον (αγιων) 𝔞 | δοξει (δοξη) 𝔟 𝔠 | εξουδενωμα (-νη-) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | om επ [αυτην] 𝔠 15 om ο [ιδον] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | ειδον (ιδον) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | ο βασιλευς Nαβ. (Nαβ. ο βασ.) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 al | + (※ 𝔞) κατεναντι [οτι 1°] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 | δυνηθησονται (δυναται) 𝔞 | om [το συγκριμα 2°] αυτου 𝔟 𝔠 = Q 230 233 𝔊 | + [συγκριμα 2°] ειπον κατεναντι 𝔟 |

om δηλωσαι μοι 𝔟 | om δανιηλ 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 | πν̄α θῦ (θῦ πν̄α) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 error in B solus 16 απηνεωθη (απε-) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | + συνεταρασσον [αυτον] και απεκριθη ο βασιλευς και ειπε(-ν 𝔞) βαλτασαρ το ενυπνιον και η συγκρισις (συνκρισις 𝔟) μη κατασπευσατω σε 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | om και [απεκριθη] 𝔟 𝔠 | ειπε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | om εστω 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | μισουσι(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 17 ειδες (ιδες) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | + το [μεγαλυνθεν] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 error in B | εφθασεν (εφθανεν) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 18 + τοις [πασιν] 𝔟 𝔠 | + [τα αγρια] της γης 𝔠 = 𝔊 | om εν [τοις κλαδοις] 𝔟 𝔠 * | om τα ορνεα του ουρανου 𝔞 * 19 κυρεια (κυρια) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 20 ειδεν (ιδεν) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | εκ (απο) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | εκτειλατε (-τι-) 𝔟 𝔠 | διαφθηραται (-θαι-) 𝔟 | αυτω (-το) 𝔟 | om [ριζων] αυτου 𝔠 = 𝔊 * | εν τη γη εασατε (εασ. εν τη γη) 𝔟 𝔠 | om εν [δεσμω] 𝔟 𝔠 | om εν [χαλχω] 𝔟 𝔠 21 συνκρισις (συγ-) 𝔟 22 κατοικεια (-κια) 𝔟 | ψωμισουσιν (ψωμιουσιν) 𝔞 ψωμοισουσιν 𝔟 ψωμισουσι 𝔠 | εαν (αν) 𝔞 23 αυτου (του [δενδρου]) 𝔟 = 𝔊 (ל) | om [σου] σοι [μενει] 𝔠 | εαν (αν) 𝔞 | βασιλειαν (εξουσιαν) 𝔞 24 λυτρωσε (-σαι) 𝔟 | + [αδικιας] σου 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | om ο θεος 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠̄ = Lu 𝔊 26 δωδεκαμινον (-μηνον) 𝔟 𝔠 | + [περιπατων] ην 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 cf Lu in a different position 27 εστι(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 28 λεγεται (λεγουσιν) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 29 εκδιωξουσιν (εκδιωκουσιν) 𝔞 𝔟 εκδιωξουσι(-ν) 𝔠 | ψωμισουσι (ψωμιουσιν) 𝔟 𝔠 | + [εως] ου 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | om ο [υψιστος] 𝔟 | αν (εαν) 𝔞 30 ησθενεν (-θι-) 𝔟 ησθιε(-ν) 𝔠 | εως αν (εως αι) 𝔟 𝔠 | + [αι τριχες] της κεφαλης 𝔞 31 om αι [φρενες] 𝔟 𝔠 cf 𝔊 syntax | του υψιστου (τω υψιστω) 𝔟 𝔠 32 εις ουθεν (ως ουδεν) 𝔞 | κατοικεια (κατοικια) 𝔟 | om και [ουκ εστιν] 𝔞 33 om [φρενες] μου 𝔟 𝔠 34 υπερδοξαζω (δοξαζω) 𝔞 | om τους [πορευομενους] 𝔠 | + αυτους [ταπεινωσαι] 𝔟 𝔠 V 1 superscr ορασις E 𝔠 | χιλεων (-λι-) 𝔟 2 om και [πινων] 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu al 𝔊 | om τη [γευσει] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | om αυτου 1° 𝔞 in error του (αυτου 1°) 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} (A Q 𝔄) = 𝔊 (ל) error in B | om τα [αργυρα] 𝔟 𝔠 | αι παρακοιτοι αυτου και αι παλλακαι (αι παλ. αυτου και αι παρ.) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu = v 3 23 3 om α εξηνεγκεν εκ του ναου του θεου του εν Ιερουσαλημ 𝔠 | + [εκ του ναου] εν οικω 𝔟 = 𝔊

4 ξιλινους (ξυ-) 𝔟 5 om επι το κονιαμα 𝔟 𝔠 possible obelus in margin | του οικου (και οικου) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 error in B 6 + [γονατα αυτου] τουτο τουτω 𝔟 + [γονατα αυτου] τουτω 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 | συνεκρουοντο (συνεκροτουντο) 𝔞 7 + τους [μαγους] 𝔟 𝔠 =

106 𝔊 | + (και 𝔄) απεκριθη ο βασιλευς [και ειπεν] 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu Or^{C} (106 𝔄) 𝔊 | + οτι πας ανος [ος αν αναγνω] 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 | om [ος] αν 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | + [συγκρισιν] αυτης 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 (συν-) 𝔟 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | αρξη (-ει) 𝔟 𝔠 8 συνκρισιν (συγκρισιν) 𝔟 possible obelus in margin 9 επ (εν) 𝔄 = Or^{C} Lu = 𝔊 10 και η βασιλισσα κατεναντι (※ 𝔄) των λογων του βασιλεως και των μεγιστανων αυτου εις τον οικον του ποτου εισηλθεν (om -ν 𝔠) και απεκριθη η βασιλισσα και ειπεν (om -ν 𝔟 𝔠) [και εισηλθεν η βασιλισσα et al] 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu Or^{C} The longer reading conforms more nearly to 𝔊 ※ in margin where plus ends 𝔄 | τους αιωνας (τον αιωνα) 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 11 + [θυ] αγιου εν αυτω 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 | + [καεστησεν αυτον] ο πηρ σου ο βασιλευς 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} 𝔊 12 μυστηρια (ενυπνια) 𝔟 𝔠 | + (※ 𝔄) ευρεθη (※ 𝔄) εν αυτω (εν 𝔟 𝔠) [δανιηλ] 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 a later hand corrects ευρεθη in 𝔄 to ονομα | + δανιηλ [κληθητω] 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 | om [συγκρισιν] αυτου 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 (פשרה) Kethib 13 om ο [απο] 𝔄 ∗ | om ης ηγαγεν ο βασιλευς ο πατηρ μου 𝔟 | + [ο πηρ μου] απο της ιουδαιας 𝔄 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊

14 + και [ηκουσα] 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu | + [γρηγορησις] και συνεσις 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 B solus ∗ 15 om γαζαρηνοι 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | συνκρισιν (συγκρισιν) 𝔟 | + του [γνωρισωσιν] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (ל) ∗ | γνωρισωσι(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | + συγκρισυν του λογου τουτου [αναγγειλαι] 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 16 + [και εγω] ουκ 𝔄 | συγ-(συν- 𝔟)κρινειν (συγκριναι) 𝔟 𝔠 | + [συγκριναι] και δεσμους του λυειν 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 | συνκρισιν (συγ-) 𝔟 | γνωρισαι (γνωρισης) 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 error in B 𝔄 26 | ενδυσει (-η) 𝔟 𝔠 | περι (επι) 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} | τον τραχηλον (τω τραχηλω) 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 | αυτου (σου) 𝔠 17 τοτε απεκριθη δανιηλ και ειπεν (και ειπεν δανιηλ) 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | αναγνοσομαι (-γνω-) 𝔠 | + [αναγνωσομαι] τω βασιλει 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 18 + σοι [βασιλευ] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | εδωκε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 19 + και [γλωσσαι] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 εβουλετο (η-) 1° 2° 3° 4° 𝔄 | om ους ηβουλετο αυτος ανηρει και 𝔟 homoioteleuton | υψου (υψοι) 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 20 υπερηφανευεσθαι (-σασθαι) 𝔄 | θρωνου (θρονου) 𝔟 21 δροσσου (δροσου) 𝔟| εγνω (γνω) 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 ∗ 22 om ουν 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 23 ηνεγκαν (ηνεγκας) 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 error in B | και σοι (και συ) 𝔠 | transpose χρυσους and αργυρους 𝔄 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 ∗ | βλεπουσι(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | ακουουσι(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠

24 + [προσωπο]-σωπου 𝔟 error 25 + και [φαρες] 𝔟 = 𝔊

26 εμετρισιν (-ρησεν) b 29 ειπε(-ν) b c | τραχειλον (-χη-) b | εκηρυξε(-ν) b c 30 superscr ορασις Z c | εν ταυτη (εν αυτη) a = Lu | ανηρεθη (αναιρεθη) b c | om ο βασιλευς b c + 7 mss * | χαλδαιος (χαλδαιων) a b c error in B VI 1 (V 31) παρελαβε(-ν) c | υιος (ετων) b c = 𝔊 but om שנין 2 (1) om και [κατεστησεν] a | κ̄ = εικοσι a 3 (2) του τους σατραπας (αστραπας) b (τουτους b c) αποδιδοναι αυτοις (possibly αυτους c) λογον (του αποδιδοναι αυτοις τους σατραπας λογον) a b c = 𝔊 | ενοχληση (ενοχληται) b ενοχληται c 4 (3) (* a) και ην (om ην b c) δανιηλ υπερ τους συνεκτικους (συνεκτους a) και τους σατραπας κατεναντι (και ην δανιηλ υπερ αυτους) a b c = 𝔊 cf Lu | + ην [εν αυτω] a b c = Or^{C} Lu dittography | προσεδοκα του καταστησαι αυτον (κατεστησεν αυτον) a b c = 𝔊 | επι (εφ) b c

5 (4) + [κατα δανιηλ] (και b c) εκ πλαγιων (πλαγειων b c) βασιλειας a b c = 𝔊 | απλακημα (αμβλακημα) a αμπελωκημα b | κση παραπτωμα (και παραπτωμα) c | om οτι πιστος ην b c = 𝔊 | + [οτι πιστος ην] (* a) και παν απλακημα ουχ ευρεθη κατ αυτου a = 𝔊 6 (5) ειπαν (ειπον) a b c | + οτι [ουχ ευρησομεν] b | ευρησομιν (-μεν) b -σωμεν c | + [κατα δανιηλ] οτι πιστος ην και παν αμπ-(?)-λακημα (αμβλακημα c) ουχ ευρεθη κατ αυτου και ειπαν οι τακτικοι οτι ουχ ευρησωμεν (-σομεν c) κατα δανιηλ τουτο πασαν την [προφασιν ει μη] ευρησωμιν (-ωμην c) επ αυτον [εν νομιμοις θῦ αυτου] b c = 𝔊 of v 5 otherwise omitted 7 (6) + [σατραπαι] ουτοι b c = 𝔊 | + ουτως [ειπαν] b c = 𝔊 | τους αιωνας (τον αιωνα) b c = 𝔊 8 (7) + του [στησαι] a b c = 𝔊 (ל) | om [οπως] ος c = 𝔊 | ως (ος) b | αιτη (αιτηση) a b c | λ̄ = τριακοντα a c = v 13 | αλλη (αλλ) a | εμβληθησετε (-σεται) b 9 (8) + [το δογμα] μη αλλοιωθη το δογμα b doublet | μηδων και περσων (περ. κ. μη.) a b c = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | + [μηδων] οπως ουχ υπερβησεται a b c = 𝔊 10 (9) επεταξε(-ν) b c 11 (10) ηνικα δανιηλ (δαν. ηνικα) a | προσευχομινος (-μενος) b | εξομολογουμινος (-μενος) b | + [εμπροσθεν] αυτου b c = 𝔊 12 (11) + εμπροσθεν [του θῦ αυτου] c = Lu al 𝔊 | om του θῦ αυτου b 13 (12) + υπερ του ορισμου [βασιλευ] b c = 𝔊 | + συν-[εταξας] b c | αιτησει (-ση) b c | λ̄ = τριακοντα a b c | κατα το δογμα (και το δογμα) a = 𝔊 error in B 14 (13) + οτι [δανιηλ] b c = 𝔊 (ד) | + [δογματι σου] υπερ (περι b c) του ορισμου ου εν εταξας a b c = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | αιτειται (αιτει) a b c | om [αιτηματα] αυτου c

15 (14) ηκουσε(-ν) c | ηγωνησετο (-νι-) b | om του [εξελεσθαι] b c | αυτων (αυτον) b | + [εξελεσθαι αυτον] και εως εσπερας ην αγωνιζομενος (-μινος b) εξελεσθαι αυτον a b c = 𝔊 cf Lu 16 (15) + [οι ανδρες εκεινοι] παρετηρησαν (παρεστησαν a) επι τον βασιλεα και [λεγουσιν] a b c = 𝔊 | γνωθη (-θι) b | om το [δογμα] b c = 𝔊 with 4 mss 17 (16) ειπε(-ν) b c | + [ενεβαλον] αυτον a b c | απεκριθη ο βασιλευς και ειπεν (ειπε c) (και ειπεν ο βασ.) b c = 𝔊 | om [θεος] σου a b c = Lu al | + [λατρευεις] αυτω b c = 𝔊 18 (17) + [λιθον] ενα a b c = Lu al 𝔊 | εσφραγησατο (-ισατο) b c | + [εσφραγισατο] αυτον b c = 𝔊 19 (18) το στομα (τα στοματα) a | om 18 b και εκλεισεν—τω δανιηλ b c = Lu 𝔊 20 (19) το πρωι ανεστη (ανεστη το πρωι) b c = 𝔊 | om τω [φωτι] b c | om εν [σπουδη] b 21 (20) αυτων (αυτον) b | (※ a) τω δανιηλ (= Or^{C} Lu) φωνη ισχυρα εβοησεν (※ above a) και (om b c) απεκριθη ο βασιλευς και ειπεν (ειπε b c) τω δανιηλ (εβοησεν φωνη ισχυρα) a b c = 𝔊 | + [λατρευεις] αυτω b c = 𝔊 ηδυνασθη (ηδυνηθη) a c (b doubtful ηδυν(?) θη) 22 (21) ειπε(-ν) b c 23 (22) απεστειλε(-ν) c | ενεφραξε(-ν) b c | ευρεθη (ηυ-) a | + [και] γε [ενωπιον] b c = 𝔊 (אף) | om [ενωπιον] δε b c 24 (23) ειπε(ν) c | om εν [τω θεω] b c = Or^{C} Lu haplography 25 (24) ηγαγον (ηγαγοσαν) a b c = Or^{C} Lu | + [τους ανδρας] εκεινους b c = 𝔊 | transpose οι υιοι and αι γυναικες a = 𝔊 26 26 (25) εγραψε(-ν) b c | + και [γλωσσαις] b c = 𝔊 | οικουσεν (-σιν) b 27 (26) + και [ετεθη] b | του (τουτο) a τοις b c = Or^{C} 𝔊 error in B | ζωντων (ζων) b c | κυρεια (κυρια) b c 28 (27) transpose τερατα and εν ουρανω a | om της [γης] a 29 (28) + [δανιηλ] ουτως a b c error for ουτος = 𝔊 (דנה) VII 1 superscr ορασις H c | εν τω πρωτω ετει (εν ετει τριτω) a b c = 𝔊 error in B solus | ειδεν (ιδεν) a b c | om αι [ορασεις] b c = 𝔊 | om [ενυπνιον] αυτου a b c = Or^{C} Lu | + [εγραψεν] αρχη λογων ειπεν a b c = 𝔊 cf Lu 2 + [εθεωρουν] εν οραματι μου της νυκτος a b c = Or^{C} 𝔊 3 ανεβαινον (-εν) a b c = Or^{C} Lu cf 𝔊 syntax 4 αυτης (αυτη 1°) a b c = Or^{C} Lu | εξετεινε (εξετιλη) c εξετιλι b 5 ετερον (δευτερον) a b c = Lu 𝔊 | + τη [αρκω] b c = 𝔊 (ל) | τρια πλευρα (τρεις πλευραι) a b c = Or^{C} Lu | εν μεσω (εν τω στοματι) a | + και [φαγε] b c = Lu 6 πετηνου (πετεινου) b | [εδοθη] αυτω (αυτη) a b c 7 + [εθεωρουν] (※ a) εν οραματι της (※ above a) νυκτος a b c = Lu 𝔊 |

+ [σιδηροι] μεγαλοι **b c** = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | εσθιων (-ον) **c** | λεπτυνων (-ον) **b c** | περιεπατει (συνεπατει) **b c** | αυτω (αυτο) **b c** | διεφερεν (διαφορον) **a** διεφερε **b c** | κερατα αυτω δεκα (κερατα δεκα αυτω) **a b c** = Lu 8 + εν [τοις κερασιν] **b c** = 34 𝔊 (ב) | κερας μικρον ετερον (κερας ε. μ.) **c** | ανεβαινεν (ανεβη) **a b c** = Lu | εξερριζωθη (εξεριζωθη) **b** | τουτο (τουτω) **b c** 9 ου (οτου) **c** = Or^{C} al = 𝔊 εως ου = (עַד דִּי) | ερειον (εριον) **a c** in **a** by erasure [ερ]ε[ιον] | φλεγων (-ον) **b c** 10 ηλκεν (ειλκεν) **b** | + [ειλκεν] εκπορευομενος **a b c** = Lu cf Or^{C} (in different order) 𝔊 | αυτον (αυτω) **b c** | παρειστηκεισαν (παριστη-) **a c** παρειστηκησαν **b** | + [παριστηκεισαν] (※ **a**) εμπροσθεν **a b c** = Or^{C} (Γ 35 42 106) Lu 𝔊 | αυτου (αυτω 2°) **a b c** | εκαθησεν (-θισ-) **a b** εκαθισε(-ν) **c** | ηνοιχθησαν (ηνεωχθησαν) **b** 11 + [απο] προσωπου [φωνης] **a** = 𝔊 | om [κερας] εκεινο **b c** = 𝔊 | + [ελαλει] θεωρων ημιν (ημην **b c**) **a b c** = Lu 𝔊 12 μετεσταθη η αρχη (η αρ. μετ.) **a b c** = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | χρονου (καιρου 1°) **a b c** = 𝔊 Q al | om [καιρου] και [καιρου] **c** haplography 13 om της νυκτος **b c** | ωσει (ως) **b c** | + [ερχομενος] αυτος ην **b c** = Or^{C} Lu (has ην) 𝔊 | εφθασε(-ν) **c** | + [και] ενωπιον αυτου [προσηχθη] **a b c** = Lu Or^{C} (34 42 𝔄) 𝔊 | προσηνεχθη (προσηχθη) **a b c** error in B 130 | om [προσηχθη] αυτω **a** = 𝔊 ※ 14 om και [γλωσσαι] **a b c** ※ | αυτω δουλευσου-(-σω- **b c**)-σιν (δουλευουσιν αυτω) **a b c** = 𝔊 the order in B = Q 89 130 233 δουλευουσιν = A 35 49 90 232 c 15 εγω δανιηλ εν τη εξει μου (εν τη εξει μου εγω δαν.) **a b c** = Γ + 14 mss 𝔊 | μου (με) **c**

16 εστικοτων (εστη-) **b** | ειπε(-ν) **b c** | συγκρισιν (συν-) **a b c** | εγνωρησε (-ρισεν) **b** εγνωρισε **c** 17 + [θηρια τα] μεγαλα **a b c** = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | τεσσαρα (τεσσερα) **b** | τεσσαρεις (-ες) **b c** | βασιλεις (βασιλειαι) **b c** = 230 | και (αι) **b c** 18 παραληψονται (-λημψον-) **b c** | + [εως αιωνας] και εως αιωνος **a** = Or^{C} (Q 34 106 𝔄) Lu = 𝔊 19 διαφερων (-ον) **c** διαφορον **a** | ονιχες (ονυχες) **b** ονοιχες **a** | εσθιων (-ον) **c** | λεπτυνων (-ον) **b c** 20 προτερων (πρωτων) **a b c** = Or^{C} (Q 𝔄) | + [πρωτων] (τα **c**) τρια κερας εκεινο (-νω **b c**) **a b c** = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 21 ισχυε (ισχυσεν) **b c** Or^{C} = 𝔊 participle 22 + των [ημερων] **a b c** = 𝔊 | εδωκε(-ν) **c** | + τοις [αγιοις] **b c** = 130 𝔊 (ל) | om οι [αγιοι] **b c** = 𝔊 23 ειπε(-ν) **b c** | + υπερ [πασαν] **b c** | + [κατακοψει] αυτην **b c** = Lu 𝔊 24 + [αναστησεται] ετερος **a b c** = 𝔊

error in B h by haplography 25 *αλοιωσαι* (*αλλ-*) 𝔟 | *δωθησεται* (*δο-*) 𝔟 | om *και* [*καιρων*] 𝔠 | + *εως* [*γε*] 𝔞 om *γε* 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 *γε* only in B 22 89 130 132 149 | *ημισει* (*-συ*) 𝔞 *ημησυ* 𝔟

26 *εκαθησεν* (*-θισεν*) 𝔟 *εκαθισε*(*-ν*) 𝔠 | om *αρχην* 𝔞 above is written *αι* | *μεταστησουσι*(*-ν*) 𝔟 𝔠 | *και αφανισαι* (*του αφ.*) 𝔟 𝔠 error for *του* | om *του* [*απολεσαι*] 𝔟 𝔠 27 om *η* [*μεγαλωσυνη*] 𝔠 | om *των βασιλεων* 𝔟 𝔠 | + *τω λαω* [*αγιοις*] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | *δουλευσωσιν* (*δουλευσουσιν*) 𝔟 *δουλευσωσι*(*-ν*) 𝔠 28 transpose *οι διαλογισμου* and *επι πολυ* 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} (A 34) 𝔊 | *πολοι* (*-λυ*) 𝔟 | + [*ηλλοιωθη*] *επ εμε* 𝔟 = Or^{C} 𝔊 (**עלי**) | *συνετηρησα* (*διετηρησα*) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 VIII 1 superscr *οῡρ* 𝔞 *ορασις* Θ H 𝔠 double enumeration | *ωφθησαν* (*οφθεισαν*) 𝔟 *οφθη-* 𝔠 2 + *και ειδον εν τη ορασει και εγενετο εν τω ιδειν* (*ειδειν* 𝔟) *με* [*και ημην* 1°] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 cf Or^{C} Lu (*οραματι*) | *σουσοι* (*σουσοις*) 𝔟 | *ει* (*η*) 𝔟 | + [*εν*] *τη* [*χωρα*] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 * | *ελαμ* (*αιλαμ*) 𝔟 𝔠 | + *και ιδον* (*ειδον* 𝔟 𝔠) *εν οραματι* [*και ημην* 2°] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | + [*και*] *εγω* [*ημην*] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 3 *ειδον* (*ιδον*) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = v 4 6 7 | + *και τα κερατα* [*υψηλα*] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | *υψηλοτερον* (*υψηλον*) = Or^{C} Lu | *εσχατων* (*-τω*) 𝔠 4 + *συν* [*τον κριον*] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (**את**) * | *βορραν* (*βορρα*) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | + [*βορρα*] *και λιβα* 𝔞 | om *ο* [*εξαιρουμενος*] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | *εποιησε*(*-ν*) 𝔟 𝔠 5 + *εν σουσοις* [*συνιων*] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔄 230 𝔏 | om *αιγων* 𝔟 𝔠 | om *πασης* [*της γης*] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 36 48 | + [*κερας*] *θεωρητον* 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} 𝔊 cf Lu | + *ανα* [*μεσον*] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | *εαυτου* (*αυτου*) 𝔟 𝔠 6 *εστωτος* (*εστως*) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 better Greek = Or^{C} cf Lu who makes another change in grammar 7 om *και* [*εξηγριανθη*] 𝔟 𝔠 | *εξηγριωθη* (*εξηγριανθη*) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu | om [*εξηγριανθη*] *προς αυτον* 𝔠 | *επεσεν* (*επαισεν*) 𝔟 *επεσε*(*-ν*) 𝔠 | + *συν* [*τον κριον*] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (**את**) | *συνετριψε*(*-ν*) 𝔟 𝔠 | + *συν* [*αμφοτερα*] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (**את**) | + *εν αυτω* [*τω κριω*] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (**ב**) | *ερριψεν* (*εριψεν*) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | *εξερουμενος* (*εξαιρου-*) 𝔟

8 + *ετερα* [*κερατα*] 𝔞 = Or^{C} 𝔊 | *τεσσαρα* (*τεσσερα*) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | *τεσσαρας* (*τεσσαρες*) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 9 *εξηλθε*(*-ν*) 𝔟 𝔠 | *εις* (*προς* 1°) 𝔞 | + [*νοτον*] *και προς ανατολην* 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 cf 𝔊 | *δυναμην* (*-μιν*) 𝔟 | + [*δυναμιν*] *της ανατολης και την δυσιν* 𝔞 (*δυσιν* = Q 230 232 233 𝔄 10 + *και* [*εμεγαλυνθη*] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | om *του ουρανου* 2° 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 11 om *ο* [*αρχιστρατηγος*] 𝔟 𝔠 | *ρυσεται* (*ρυση-*) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | *εταραχθη* (*εραχθη*) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 B is alone

correct | + [εραχθη] και εγενηθη 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔏 𝔊 12 + δυναμις [εδοθη] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | εδωθη (εδοθη) 𝔟 | εριφθη (εριφη) 𝔞 ερριφη 𝔟 𝔠 13 φελμωνι (φελμουνει) 𝔞 φελμουνι (-νει) 𝔟 𝔠 | ποται (ποτε) 𝔟 | om η [θυσια] 𝔟 𝔠 | αρθησα (αρθεισα) 𝔟 𝔠 | συμπατηθησεται (συν-) 𝔟 𝔠 14 τετρακοσιαι (τριακοσιαι) 𝔞 15 ειδειν (ιδειν) 𝔟 | + συν [την ορασιν] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (את) | μου (εμου) 𝔠 16 εκαλεσε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | ειπε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | + συν [την ορασιν] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (את) 17 ηλθε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | ειπε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | + συνες [υιε ανθρωπου] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 =𝔊 B Γ alone om

18 [ηψατο] με ([ηψατο] μου) 𝔠 | εστησε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | + [ποδας] μου 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 19 συν (σοι) 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (את) | εσωμενα (εσο-) 𝔟 𝔠 | γης (οργης) 𝔟 𝔠 cf 49 60 | om [περας] η ορασις 𝔞 = Q Lu al 𝔊 20 μηδων και περσων (περσων και μηδων) 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} 𝔊 21 βασιλληνων (βασιλευς ελληνων) 𝔟 22 om τεσσερα 𝔠 τεσσαρα (τεσσερα) 𝔞 𝔟 | κερατα υποκατω (υποκατω κ.) 𝔟 𝔠 | τεσσαρεις (-ες) 𝔟 𝔠 | αυτου (αυτων) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 αυτων an ancient error in B al 23 εσχατω (-των) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} | ανεδεις (αναιδης) 𝔟 𝔠 24 + [ισχυς αυτου] και ουκ εν τη ισχυι αυτου 𝔞 𝔟 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | + τα [θαυμαστα] 𝔟 | om ποιησει—κατευθυνει v 25 𝔟 𝔠 haplography 25 + [δολος εν] εν 𝔞 dittography | + τη [καρδια] 𝔠 | transposes χειρι and καρδια 𝔠 | + [δολω διαφερει πολλους] και δωλω διαφερει πολλους 𝔟 dittography | απωλειαν (απωλειας) 𝔞 απωλλειας 𝔟 26 ρηθησεις (ρηθεισης) 𝔟 ρηθησης 𝔠 | αληθης (-θως) 𝔞 𝔠 αληθεις 𝔟 | εστι(-ν) 𝔠 | σφραγιων (-ισον) 𝔟 27 + [εμαλακισθην] ημερας 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊

IX 1 superscr I Ā Θ 𝔠 | + του [δαρειου] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (ל) | om των [μηδων] 𝔟 𝔠 cf Q Lu 𝔊 | ως (ος) 𝔟 | + την [βασιλειαν] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Q Lu al 𝔊 2 + εν ετει ενι της βασιλειας αυτου [εγω δανιηλ] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | βιβλοις (βυβλοις) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | των αριθμων (τον αριθμον) 𝔟 3 δεησιν (δεησεις) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu | νηστεια (νηστειαις) 𝔞 = 𝔊 | σακκοις (σακκω) 𝔟 𝔠 | + [σακκω] και σποδω 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 4 εξομολογησεν (εξωμολογησαμην) 𝔟 εξο- 𝔠 | + ω δη [κυριε] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (אנא) | om [διαθηκην] σου 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 | αγαπωσι(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 5 ημαρτωμιν (ημαρτομεν) 𝔟 -τωμεν 𝔠 | ηδικησαμιν (ηδικησαμεν) 𝔟 | + [ηδικησαμεν] και 𝔟 | ησεβησαμεν (-μιν 𝔟) (ηνομησαμεν) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | εξεκλιναμιν (μεν) 𝔟 | om και απο των κριματων σου 𝔟 haplography 6 ηκουσαμεν (εισ-) 𝔟 𝔠

7 *συ* (*σοι*) 𝔟 𝔠 | om *η* [*αισχυνη*] 𝔞 = 𝔊 | + *τω* [*ανδρι*] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (𝔏) | + *τω* [*παντι*] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (𝔏) | *εν σοι κε* punctuated to go with v 7 𝔟 𝔠 = 42 51 106 230 𝔄 | 8 om *εστιν ημων η δικαιοσυνη και* 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu al 𝔊 error in B | *ημαρτωμιν* (*-τομεν*) 𝔟 *ημαρ τωσαμεν* 𝔠 9 om *τω* [*κυριω*] 𝔞 = 𝔊 | om *κυριω* 𝔟 𝔠 | *οικτιρμοι* (*οικτειρμοι*) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | *απεστημιν* (*-μεν*) 𝔟 10 *ηκουσαμιν* (*εισηκουσαμεν*) 𝔟 *ηκουσαμεν* 𝔠 * | om *του* [*κυριου*] 𝔟 * | *κυριου του θεου* (*του κυριου θεου*) 𝔞 𝔠 | *νομιμοις* (*νομοις*) 𝔞 = 42 106 al | *εδωκε*(*-ν*) 𝔠 | *χερσι*(*-ν*) 𝔠 11 om *εφ* [*ημας*] 𝔟 𝔠 | *μωυση* (*μωυσεως*) 𝔞 *μωση* 𝔟 *μωσει* 𝔠 | *ημαρτωμιν* (*ημαρτομεν*) 𝔟 *ημαρτωμεν* 𝔠 | 12 *εστησε*(*ν*) 𝔠 | *εποιησεν* (*ελαλησεν*) 𝔟 𝔠 | *εκριναν* (*εκρινον*) 𝔞 | *ουκ* (*ου*) 𝔟 𝔠 | *εγενηθη* (*γεγονεν*) 𝔟 𝔠 13 *μωση* (*μωυση*) 𝔞 𝔟 *μωσει* 𝔠 | + *συμ-* [*παντα*] 𝔟 = 𝔊 (את) | + *του* [*αποστρεψαι*] 𝔟 𝔠 = 42 𝔊 (𝔏) | om [*αληθεια*] *σου* 𝔞 = Q Lu 14 *εγρηγορησε*(*-ν*) 𝔠 | + [*κυριος* 1°] *ο θεος επι των κακων* (*την κακιαν* 𝔠 *την ακακιαν* 𝔟) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 Or^{C} Lu + *την κακιαν* | *εποιησιν* (*-σεν*) 𝔟 *εποιησε*(*-ν*) 𝔠 | *εισηκουσαμιν* (*-μεν*) 𝔟 15 *ημαρτωμιν* (*-τομεν*) 𝔟 | *ηνομησαμιν* (*-μεν*) 𝔟 16 om [*αποστραφητω*] *δη* 𝔠 | *ημαρτωμιν* (*-τομεν*) 𝔟 *-τωμεν* 𝔠 | om *και* [*εν ταις αδικιας*] 𝔟 𝔠 | *πασι*(*-ν*) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 17 *δεησεως* (*-ων*) 𝔠 18 + [*ακουσον*] *μου* 𝔠 | *επη* (*επι*) 𝔟 | + *ημεις αυτοι* [*ριπτουμεν*] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (אנחנו) Or^{C} Lu + *ημεις* | *οικτιρμον* (*-τειρ-*) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | *οικτιρμους* (*-τειρ-*) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 19 om *κυριε* 3° 𝔟 | + [*κυριε* 3°] (*και* 𝔟 𝔠) (※ 𝔞) *ποιησον και* 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | *χρονησεις* (*-νισης*) 𝔠 *-νησις* 𝔟 | *πολην* (*πολιν*) 𝔠 20 *μου* (*εμου*) 𝔟 𝔠 | *ενωπιον* (*εναντιον*) 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | *κυριου του θεου μου* (*του κυριου θεου μου*) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | + [*του αγιου*] *θεου μου* 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊

21 *μου* (*εμου*) 𝔟 𝔠 | + *ο* [*ανηρ*] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Q Lu 𝔊 | *ειδον* (*ιδον*) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | *πετομινος* (*-μενος*) 𝔟 | + [*πετομενος*] *εν πετασμω* 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 22 *συνετησε* (*συνετισεν*) 𝔟 𝔠 | *ελαλησε*(*-ν*) 𝔟 𝔠 | *ειπε*(*-ν*) 𝔟 𝔠 | + *του* [*συμβιβασαι*] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (𝔏) | *συναβασαι* (*συμβιβασαι*) 𝔠 23 + *ο* [*λογος*] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Q Lu 24 *το* (*του* [*συντελεσθηναι*]) 𝔠 | *σφραγησαι* (*-ισαι*) 𝔟 25 *γνωσει* (*γνωση*) 𝔠 | *λογων* (*λογου*) 𝔟 𝔠 | om *και* [*του οικοδομησαι*] 𝔞 | + *και* [*δυο*] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\beta}$ = *εξηκοντα δυο* 𝔞 = v 26 | om [*δυο*] *και επιστρεψει — εξηκοντα δυο* [*εξολοθρευθησεται* v 26] 𝔠 haplography | om *και* [*εκκενωθησεται*] 𝔟 26 + *και* [*δυο*] 𝔟 = 𝔊 | *πολην* (*πολιν*) 𝔟 | *και* [*εκκοπησονται*] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Clem Eus Tert 𝔏 𝔊 | om *τελους* 𝔟 𝔠 = 230 | om *ταξει* 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 Lu Clem Eus 𝔏 $\mathfrak{C}^{S}$ | *αφανισμοις* (*αφανισμοι*) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 27 *δυναμωσι*

(-σει) 𝔟 | + τοις [πολλοις] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 * | om εν τω [ημισυ] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 | + [εβδομαδος] καταπαυσει θυσιασμα και θυσιας και πτερυγιου απο αφανισμου και εως συντελειας και σπουδης ταξει επι αφανισμω και δυναμωσει διαθηκην πολλοις εβδομας μια (και εν τω ημισυ της εβδομαδος 𝔞) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 cf A Q | + [ερημωσεων] εσται 𝔞 | om και [εως] 𝔞 | om της [συντελειας] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 X 1 superscr ορασις IB I 𝔠 | + [ονομα] αυτου 𝔟 = 𝔊 | transpose επεκληθη and βαλτασαρ 𝔟 𝔠 = 34 90 𝔊 3 ειστομα (εις το στομα) 𝔟 | αλημμα (αλιμμα) 𝔟 𝔠 αλειμμα 𝔞 | + και [ουκ ηλειψαμην] 𝔟 = 𝔊 | ειληψαμην (ηλειψαμην) 𝔟 𝔠

4 + και εγενετο εν τω οκτω και δεκα τω ετει [εν ημερα] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔏 𝔄 | εχομενος (εχομενα) 𝔞 | ενδεκελ (εδδεκελ) 𝔞 5 ειδον (ιδον) 𝔟 𝔠 | βαδιμ (βαδδειν) 𝔟 | περιεζωσμινη (-μενη) 𝔟 | om εν [χρυσιω] 𝔠 ως (εν) 𝔟 | ωφατ (ωφαζ) 𝔟 αιφαζ 𝔠 6 ως (ωσει 1°) 𝔞 ως (ωσει 1° 2°) 𝔟 𝔠 | βραχιωνες (-ον-) 𝔟 | om [λογων] αυτου 𝔞 7 ειδον (ιδον) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | + συν [την οπτασιαν] bis 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (את) | om [οπτασιαν] και οι ανδρες οι μετ εμου ουκ ιδον την οπτασιαν 𝔞 = 106 haplography 8 transpose μονος and υπελειφθην 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 * | υπεληφθην (-λειφ-) bis 𝔟 𝔠 | ειδον (ιδον) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | + συν [την οπτασιαν] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (את) | + [μετεστραφη] εις εμε 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 9 om [ακουσαι με] αυτου 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | + και [ημην] 𝔟 = 𝔊 | + επι προσωπον μου [και το προσωπον μου] 𝔞 𝔠 = Lu επι προσωπον μου (και το προσωπον μου) 𝔟 = 𝔊 10 ηγειρε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | + [τα γονατα μου] και ταρσους χειρων μου 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} 𝔊 11 ειπε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | om εν [τοις λογοις] 𝔞 | + ειμε [εγω] 𝔟 = 𝔊 (אנכי) | + συν [τον λογον] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (את) 12 ειπε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | της ημερας της πρωτης (της πρωτης ημερας) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | το προσωπον (την καρδιαν) 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | συνιεναι (συνειναι) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 error in B | κακοθηναι (κακω-) 𝔟 𝔠 | + κυριου [του θεου σου] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} 13 βασιλεως (βασιλειας) 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | μιχαηλ (μειχαηλ) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | + [αρχοντων] των πρωτων 𝔞* 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | + και [ηλθεν] 𝔟 𝔠 | ηλθε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | βασιλεως (βασιλειας 2°) 𝔠 = 𝔊

14 om [οτι] ετι 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} haplography 15 + [την γην] και κατενυγην 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 16 [εναντιον] μου ([εναντιον] εμου) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | + [κυριε] μου 𝔟 = 𝔊 (אדני) 17 πνοη (πνευμα) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 error in B 89 cf 𝔏 = flatus 18 ενισχυσε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 | ειπε(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 19 λαλητω (λαλειτω) 𝔟 𝔠 20 + [και ειπεν] μοι 𝔞 = Or^{C} | om του [αρχοντος] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} 𝔊 | εξεπορευομην (εισε-

πορευ —) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 error in B 89 233 | + ιδου [αρχων] 𝔟 𝔠 = 230 𝔊 21 + συν [το εντεταγμενον] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 (את) | + ο [ουκ] 𝔠 | ο (εις) 𝔠 | μιχαηλ (μειχαηλ) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 XI 1 εστιν (εστην) 𝔞 | om εις [κρατος] 𝔟 | ισχυν και κρατος (κρατος και ισχυν) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Q al 2 περσιδη (-δι) 𝔟 | om [πλουτου] αυτου 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 4 τεσσαρας (τεσσαρες) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | κυριαν (κυρειαν) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | εκτιλισεται (-τιλη-) 𝔟 𝔠 | + τοις [ετεροις] 𝔟 𝔠 5 αυτου (αυτων 1°) 𝔠 = 𝔏 𝔊 error in B | επ αυτου (επ αυτων) 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 cf Lu (επ αυτον) | + [πολλην] επ εξουσιας αυτου 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} 𝔊 6 + η [θυγατηρ] 𝔞 | νομου (νοτου) 𝔟 | βραχιωνος (-ιον-) 𝔟 𝔠 7 αναστησεται (στησεται) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 B solus | om [ριζης] αυτης 𝔟 𝔠 | + επι [της ετοιμασιας] 𝔞 = Q 34 | 8 χωνευματων (χωνευτων) 𝔞 9 om του βασιλεως 𝔟 𝔠 original Greek omitted 10 ερρ (ερ- 𝔠) εθισθησονται και [συναξουσιν] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 | συνεξουσιν (συναξ-) 𝔟 | δυναμεων (ανα μεσον) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 error in B 130 | εισελευσεται (ελευσεται) 𝔞 | καθιειται (καθιεται) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | προσυμπλακησεται (συνπροσπλακησεται) 𝔞 προσσυμ (-συν- 𝔠) -πλακησεται 𝔟 𝔠 11 πολλυν (πολυν) 𝔟 | + ο [οχλος] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 error in B al 12 ληψεται (λημψ-) 𝔟 𝔠 | ουκ ισχυσει (ου κατισχυσει) 𝔠 13 + ο [βασιλευς] 𝔞 = Or^{C} | πολλυν (πολυν) 𝔞 𝔟 | πρωτερον (προτ-) 𝔟 𝔠 | om ενιαυτων 𝔞 𝔠 ετων (ενιαυτων) 𝔟

14 λοιμων (λοιπων) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 error in B 26 130 230 𝔄 | ασθενησουσι(-ν) 𝔟 𝔠 15 συλληψεται (συνληψ-) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | βραχιωνες (-ονες) 𝔟 | om του [βασιλεως] 𝔟 𝔠 = Lu 𝔊 | + ου [στησονται] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 error in B al haplography | om και [οι εκλεκτοι] 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 error in B | + η [ισχυς] 𝔞 16 om τη [γη] 𝔟 𝔠 = A al | σαβερ (σαβειρ) 𝔟 σαβηρ 𝔠 | συν τελεσθησεται (τελεσθησεται) 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 | om τη [χειρι] 𝔟 𝔠 = 𝔊 17 ευθεα (ευθεια) 𝔟 𝔠 | γυναικων — 𝔠 breaks off here 18 συλληψεται (συλλημψεται) 𝔞 𝔟 | κατακαυσει (καταπαυσει) 𝔞 𝔟 frequent error | + ο [ονειδισμος] 𝔞 = Or^{C} Lu + [επιστρεψει αυτω] και επιστρεψει αυτω 𝔟 dittography 20 στησεται (αναστησεται) 𝔞 𝔟 | om της [βασιλειας 1°] 𝔞 𝔟 = 𝔊 | + και [πρασσων] 𝔟 | + ετι [συντριβησεται] 𝔞 = 26 21 + και [στησεται] 𝔞 = c 𝔊 | εδωκεν (-καν) 𝔞 | ολισθημασιν (ολισθρημασιν) 𝔞 ολισθημασι 𝔟 22 + μετα [και] γε [ηγουμενος] 𝔟 = Lu 34 c 𝔊 23 ποιεσει (ποιησει) 𝔟 | αυτου (αυτους) 𝔞 𝔟 = Or^{C} Lu | εθνη (εθνει) 𝔟

24 ευθηνεια (-νια) 𝔟 | πιοσιν (πιοσι) 𝔞 ποιησε 𝔟 | οια (α) 𝔟 | δια-

σκορπισει (-πιει) 𝔟 | εις (επ) 𝔞 | + [λογισμους] αυτου 𝔞 𝔟 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 25 om η [ισχυς] 𝔞 𝔟 = 𝔊 | δυναμη (-μει 1° 2°) 𝔟 | + και [εν δυναμει 2°] a b = Or^{C} | στησεται (στησονται) 𝔞 = Lu al 𝔊 26 δυναμις (δυναμεις) 𝔞 27 om [οτι] ετι 𝔞 𝔟 29 + ως [η εσχατη] 𝔞 𝔟 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 30 + οι [εν αυτω] και [εκπορευομενοι] 𝔞 𝔟 = Or^{C} Lu | εκπορευομινοι (-μενοι) 𝔟 | κιτιεις (κιτιοι) 𝔟 | ταπειθησεται corrected by scribe to ταπεινοθησεται (-νωθησεται) 𝔟 | + και [επι διαθηκην] 𝔟 | καταλειποντας (καταλιποντας) 𝔟 31 βραχιονες (σπερματα) 𝔟 | βεβηλωσουσι(-ν) 𝔟 | δυναμεως (δυναστειας) 𝔟 = Or^{C} | μεταστησουσι(-ν) 𝔟 | δωσουσι(-ν) 𝔟 | + το [βδελυγμα] 𝔟 32 ολισθημασιν (ολισθρημασιν) 𝔞 𝔟 = v 34 | om και ποιησουσιν 𝔟 33 om του [λαου] 𝔞 𝔟 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | φλογη (φλογι) 𝔟 | om εν [διαρπαγη] 𝔟

34 εβοηθηθησονται (βοηθηθη-) 𝔟 | επ (προς) 𝔞 𝔟 35 om [οτι] ετι 𝔞 | καινον (καιρον) 𝔟 36 transpose υψωθησεται and ο βασιλευς 𝔞 𝔟 = 𝔊 | + [θεον] (※ 𝔞) και επι τον θεον των θεων (+ in margin 𝔞) 𝔞 𝔟 = 𝔊 B = 26 89 130 | om η [οργη] 𝔞 37 παντας (παντος) 𝔞 | + επι [επιθυμια] 𝔞 dittography | επι θυμιαν (επιθυμια) 𝔞 | παντα (παν) 𝔞 𝔟 38 θς (θεον) 𝔟 | μνεξιν (μαωζειν) 𝔟 | ει (οι [πατερες]) 𝔟 | επιθυμημασι(-ν) 𝔟 39 + [αλλοτριου] ου εαν (δαν 𝔟) επιγνω 𝔞 𝔟 = Or^{C} (Q 35 𝔄) 𝔊 40 συνκερατισθησετε (-ται) 𝔟 | μετ αυτου βασιλεως (μετα του βασιλευς) 𝔞 𝔟 | om ο [βασιλευς] ο [του βορρα] 𝔞 𝔟 = 𝔊 | αρμασι(-ν) 𝔟 | + εν [ιππευσιν] 𝔞 𝔟 = 𝔊 om B and 5 mss | ιππευσι(-ν) 𝔟 | ναυσι(-ν) 𝔟 | εισελευσεται (-σονται) 𝔞 𝔟 = 𝔊 pl in B 49 106 41 om και εισελευσεται 𝔟 = 233 | σαβαει (σαβαειν) 𝔞 σαβαιν 𝔟 42 + [χειρα] αυτου 𝔞 𝔟 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | + [εσται] αυτω 𝔞 𝔟 43 χρυσιου (χρυσου) 𝔞 𝔟 | αργυριου (αργυρου) 𝔞 𝔟 44 om και σπουδαι 𝔞 = 𝔊 | om απο [βορρα] 𝔟 = 7 mss | + [αφανισαι] και του αναδεματισαι 𝔞 𝔟 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊

45 μεσων (μεσον) 𝔟 | επ (εις [ορος]) 𝔞 | σαβα (σαβαειν) 𝔞 𝔟 | εσται (εστιν) 𝔞 al | ρυομινος (-μενος) 𝔟 XII 1 μηχαηλ (μιχαηλ) 𝔞 | + και [ο εστηκως] 𝔟 | om θλιψις 𝔞 𝔟 al after θλιψεως | οιος (οια) 𝔞 | αφ ου (αφ ης) 𝔞 𝔟 | om εν τη γη 𝔟 = 𝔊 επι της γης (εν τη γη) 𝔞 | + και [εν τω καιρω] 𝔞 𝔟 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 2 om εξ- [εγερθησονται 𝔞 = A | ονιδισμον (ονειδισμον) 𝔞 𝔟 | + [αιωνιον 2°] και ουτοι εις ονιδισμον και εις αισχυνην αιωνιον 𝔟 dittography 3 + εκ [·λαμψουσιν] 𝔞 𝔟 B solus | ως ει (ως η) 𝔞 4 λογους (λοι-

πους) 𝔞 𝔟 = 𝔊 error in B | διδαχθωσι(-ν) 𝔟 | πληθονθιει (-θυνθη) 𝔟 5 ειδον (ιδον) 𝔞 ιδων 𝔟 | ειστηκεισαν (ιστηκεισαν) 𝔞 ειστηκησαν 𝔟 | om και εις εντευθεν του χειλους του ποταμου 𝔞 = 𝔊 Lu al haplography | om του ποταμου 2° 𝔟 6 βαδδιν (βαδδειν) 𝔞 𝔟 = v 7 | ειρηκα (ειρηκας) 𝔟 7 + συν [του ανδρος] 𝔟 = 𝔊 (את) | ωμωσεν (ωμοσεν) 𝔟 | εις τους αιωνας (τον αιωνα) 𝔞 = Or^{C} Lu | και καιρους (καιρων) 𝔞 = 𝔊 Or^{C} Lu καιρου 𝔟 | ημησυ (ημισυ) 𝔟 | + [διασκορπισμον] χειρος λαου ηγιασμενου 𝔞 𝔟 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | ταυτα παντα (παντα ταυτα) 𝔟 8 [κυριε] μου 𝔟 = 𝔊 (אדני) 9 ειπε(-ν) 𝔟 | ευρο (δευρο) 𝔟 at beginning of line | εμπεφραγμενοι (εν-) 𝔞

10 εκλεγωσι(-ν) 𝔟 | εκλευκανθωσι(-ν) 𝔟 | πυρωθωσι(-ν) 𝔟 | ανομησουσιν (ανομησωσιν) 𝔞 𝔟 | συνησουσι(-ν) 𝔟 | + παντες [ανομοι 2°] 𝔞 𝔟 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 11 παραλλαξαιως (-εως) 𝔟 | δοθηναι (δοθησεται) 𝔞 𝔟 = Lu | αδελυγμα (βδελυγμα) 𝔟 | + και [ενενηκοντα] 𝔟 = 𝔊 | ενενικοντα (ενενη-) 𝔟 12 $\bar{\tau}$ (τριακοσιας) 𝔞 | λ$\bar{\epsilon}$ (τριακοντα πεντε) 13 + [δευρο] εις τελος 𝔟 = 𝔊 | + εισιν [ημεραι] 𝔞 + from 𝔊 | + [ημεραι] και ωραι 𝔞 = 𝔊 | αναπληρωσι(-ν) 𝔟 | + [συντελειας] και αναπαυση (-σει 𝔟) 𝔞 𝔟 = Or^{C} Lu 𝔊 | αναστησει (-ση) 𝔟

The following scribal corrections which occur in the MSS. are not noted above: II 24 τω (αυτω) 𝔞 + αυ above | II 26 βαλταρ (βαλτασαρ) 𝔞 above | II 46 επσεν (επεσεν) 𝔞 | II 49 τα ερχωρας (τα εργα χωρας) 𝔞 | III 21 αραβαροις (σαραβαροις) 𝔞 | IV 33 επεστρεψεν 𝔠 | V 23 παακαι (παλακαι) 𝔞 B spells παλλακαι | VI 8 βασιλεικη (βασιλικη) 𝔞 | VI 9 ου (νυν) 𝔞 | VI 16 παραλαξαι (παραλλαξαι) 𝔞 | VI 19 παρηνωσαν (παρηνωχλησαν) 𝔞 | VI 21 ηδυν(?)-θη 𝔟 doubtful because of erasure | VII 10 εμπροσ- (θεν added in abbreviation above) 𝔟 | VII 17 κ-(αι) κ added in margin 𝔟 | VIII 5 βος (λιβος) 𝔞 | VIII 5 αυτων (αυτου) 𝔞 | X 12 ηκουσθην (ηκουσθησαν) 𝔞 | X 21 εντεταμενον (εντεταγμενον) 𝔞 | XI 4 διερεθησεται (διαιρεθησεται) 𝔞 | XI 8 εστησεται (στησεται) 𝔞 | XI 17 γυνκων (γυναικων) 𝔞 | XI 28 πιστρεψει (επιστρεψει) 𝔞 | XI 30 [διαθηκην 1°] + αγιαν above 𝔞 | XI 44 ταξουσιν (ταραξουσιν) 𝔞 | XII 7 ενδυμενου (ενδεδυμενω) 𝔞

THE "POLYGLOT" ARABIC TEXT OF DANIEL AND ITS AFFINITIES[1]

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BOTH the Paris Polyglot (1645) and the London Polyglot (1657) contain an Arabic translation of the entire Bible. The fact that both Le Jay and Walton included this language

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in their two monumental works shows that in the judgment of both editors the Arabic versions were of considerable importance and had to be reckoned with in any comparative study of texts and translations. In this connexion we note in the *Instituti Operis Ratio* of the Paris Polyglot this extravagant and uncritical statement: *Arabicus contextus septima et postrema divini aedificii Columna est. Eum omnes Orientales Ecclesiae magnopere venerantur: vel hinc maximam mutuatur commendationem, quod S. Hieronymi saeculo, quidam e sacris libris hac lingua scripti reperirentur, quorum auxilio librum Iob in septingentis ferme aut octingentis versibus, ut ex praefixa huic libro praefatione manifestum est, restituit.* Indeed the mere fact that Arabic for many years has been the *lingua franca* of the East should have caused scholars to devote more attention to the Arabic translations of the Bible out of linguistic interest alone.

Walton in his *Prolegomena* XIV, 18, on the testimony of Augustinus Justinianus Episcopus Nebiensis, states that there were two Arabic versions of the Old Testament in vogue among the Christians. He had used both of them and calls the one recension the Syriac and the other the Egyptian from the two regions in which they were respectively read. Cornelius a Lapide

Rhode, Joseph Francis, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch in the Church of Egypt*, a Catholic University of America dissertation, 1921; this is an excellent monograph on the subject.

Ryssel, V., *Die arabische Übersetzung des Micha in der Pariser und Londoner Polyglotte*, Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 5ter Jahrgang, 1885, 102–138; this article is important philologically.

Schelling, Joseph Friedrich, *Die arabische Bibelausgabe von 1752*, Eichhorn's Repertorium, (1782), X, 154—164

Swete, H. B., *The Arabic Version*, Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, Cambridge, 1914, 110—111

Tychsen, O. G., *Über die Quelle, aus welcher die Handschrift der arabischen Version in den Polyglotten geflossen ist*, Eichhorn's Repertorium (1782), X, 95—110

Vaccari, Alb., *Le Versioni Arabe dei Profeti*, Biblica, II, 401—423; III, 401–423

Wald, Samuel Gottlieb, *Über die arabische Übersetzung des Daniel in den Polyglotten*, Eichhorn's Repertorium, (1784), XIV, 204—211

Walton, Brianus, *De Lingua Arabica et Scripturae Versionibus Arabicis*, Proleg. XIV, Biblia Polyglotta, Vol. I, 93—97, London, 1657

names the one the Antiochean and the other the Alexandrian. This view is quoted by Döderlein, Eichhorn's Repertorium, IV, 60—61. He adds, however, *Vermuthlich gab es noch mehrere*, and cites Franz Nazari who refers to an Alexandrian, Antiochean, Babylonian, and Syrian recension. Cornill, *opere citato*, p. 49, also makes reference to the Egyptian and the Syriac recensions in the Arabic.

Walton notes besides (*loc. cit.*) that there was a third Arabic version of the Scriptures prepared by Johannes Episcopus Seviliensis in 719 (*sic*). According to the Spanish Chronicle[2] this translation was made in the reign of Don Pelayo, the first year of whose reign was 719 A. D. and 99 (*sic*) according to the Mohammedan reckoning.[3] It appears that this rendering was made between the end of the fourth and the end of the sixth year of his reign. The chronicler, after mentioning the close of four years of this reign, says that he has nothing important to record for the fifth year[4], and in the course of his narrative he comes to the translation of the Bible into Arabic. Shortly after this he mentions the conclusion of six years of the reign of Don Pelayo. It seems, therefore, reasonable to assume that this Arabic recension[5] of the Bible was made in 724 A. D.

[2] *Primera Crónica General, Estoria de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289. Publicada por* Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1906. Tomo I, *sub* El Rey Don Pelayo.

[3] El primero anno del su regnado fue en la era de 757 quando andaua el anno de la Encarnacion en 719, e el dell imperio de Leon en 6, e del papa Gregorio en 9, e el de Carlos rey de Francia en 2, e el de Vlit rey de los alaraues en 11, e el de los alaraues en 99. He makes an error of about a year in the Mohammedan reckoning.

[4] Del quinto anno del regnado del rey don Pelayo non fallamos ninguna cosa que de contar sea que a la estoria pertenesca si non tanto que murio Omar rey de los alaraues e finco su hermano Yzid por rey et sennor del regno . . .

[5] *Op. cit.*, Tomo I, 326: En aquel tiempo otrossi fue en Seuilla el sancto obispo Johan, omne de mui grand santidad et de buena uida et santa, que era llamado de los alaraues por su arauigo Çaeyt *almatran*; et era mui sabio en la lengua arauiga e fizo Dios por el muchos miraglos; et traslado las santas escripturas en arauigo, at fizo las esposiciones dellas segund la santa escriptura, et assi las dexo despues a su muerte pora los qui uiniessen despues del.

Padre Juan de Mariana (1537—1624), *Historia General de España*, VII, 3, also says[6] that John, Bishop of Sevilla, translated the Bible into Arabic with the intention of helping the Christians and the Moors, since Arabic was widely and commonly used by all. Juan de Mariana adds that copies of this translation were preserved until his day and seen in some parts of Spain.

It is a marvel with what rapidity Arabic was adopted in the conquered territories; in fact it seems to have spread like wildfire. Now if there was need for an Arabic recension in Spain thirteen years after the conquest, we should think that the Christians of the Orient used one before this date. It seems clear from our Spanish references that this Arabic version produced in Spain was not a mere academic exercise. Graf (*op. cit.*) makes no reference to this work by the Bishop of Sevilla, but p. 27 he records an Arabic translation of the four Gospels. In this collection, Luke (and presumably the others also) was translated by Isaak Velasquez of Cordoba in A. D. 946. There is no doubt that the Christians in the East required an Arabic recension long before this edition of the Gospels appeared in Spain.

It is not improbable that there were Arabic versions of the Scriptures or at least of certain books of the Bible, during the seventh[7] and eighth centuries. When the Mohammedans became masters of Egypt in the seventh century, the connexions between the Melchite Church and Constantinople were disturbed and finally severed. Dr. Rhode very aptly suggests that the Melchite Church had no vernacular language to form a barrier, as it were, against the encroachments of the Arabic language which,

[6] Contemporáneo dellos fué Juan, prelado de Sevilla, que tradujo la Biblia en lengua arábiga con intento de ayudar a los cristianos y a los moros, a causa que la lengua arábiga se usaba mucho y comunmente entre todos; la latina ordinariamente ni se usaba ni se sabía. Hay algunos traslados desta traducción, que se han conservado hasta nuestra edad, y se ven en algunos lugares de España.

[7] Ṭabarī (Ed. De Goeje, II, 399) notes, A. H. 61, that ʿAbd Allah, son of the conqueror of Egypt, read the book of Daniel, while he was with his father in that country. Although he does not state what version it was, it may have been an Arabic translation.

with the beginning of the eighth century, was forced upon the conquered people. Under these conditions the Melchites at an early date would have adopted the language of everyday life, the Arabic, even in their liturgy. On the other hand, the native Egyptians were at first favoured by the Arabs and also, as is natural, clung more tenaciously to their Coptic vernacular. It was easier for the Greek settlers to adopt the language of the new rulers than for the native Egyptians to give up their national tongue. This explains why the Monophysites did not until a later date require an Arabic version of the Bible. If the Spanish Chronicler is correct in placing the Arabic translation of Sevilla at 724, there is no doubt that the Christians in the East who spoke the language of the Koran and who were in a thoroughly Arabic environment needed an Arabic Bible at just as early a date. In fact we should think that the Alexandrian and Antiochean Arabic recensions were made before that time.

The London Polyglot appeared in 1657, and in its *Praefatio*, p. 4, we note that the Arabic text of the Paris Heptaglotta is based on a manuscript which had been written three hundred years previously and brought to light by Gabriel Sionita who edited it for publication in Le Jay's Polyglot. On the following page, § 15, we are informed that in various places Sionita's manuscript had been defective and that consequently the editor used different manuscripts to correct and supplement the Arabic text for the London Edition. One of these manuscripts is now in the Bodleian Library.

Since the book of Daniel is our theme, we may in this connexion refer to an Arabic edition of this book that is not generally known. Eichhorn, *Einleitung* II, 262 — 263, makes mention of what he calls an unimportant translation of Genesis, Psalms, and Daniel directly from the Hebrew into Arabic by R. Saadias Ben Levi Asnekoth, a learned Jew of Morocco, who lived in the first half of the seventeenth century. Needless to say, this translation has no textual value, although it is interesting to know that such a piece of work was done; it is found in manuscript number 5503 in the British Museum.

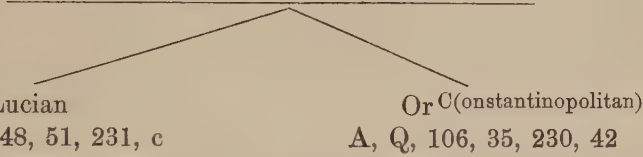
Without disparaging the work performed by scholars in this field, the Arabic versions still offer an unexplored region for

biblical students. Wald (*op. cit.*), in his comparison of the Polyglot text with the readings of the Sixtine edition, noticed that Daniel is a translation of the Alexandrian recension of Theodotion. He also found some passages where the Alexandrian text was not followed. Although he does not give us a detailed analysis and accurate study of the book, he started on a path which few scholars have followed. He saw the possibilities of the Arabic version, for he concludes (*op. cit.*, p. 211): *Aus diesen Anzeigen und der Diöces der alexandrinischen Recension läßt sich mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit mutmaßen daß diese arabische Übersetzung . . . zur kritischen Geschichte der Übersetzung des Theodotio viel beitragen werde.* Hyvernat, *Arabes* (*Versions*), *op. cit.* also sees the value of the Arabic translations: *Les versions arabes n'ont donc pas beaucoup d'autorité, cependant la critique y trouve parfois des variantes qui jettent une lumière inespérée sur la version syriaque et surtout sur la version alexandrine. En tout cas elles occupent une place importante dans l'histoire de la Bible.* We may also in this connexion note the observation of Vaccari, Biblica, II, 402: *Spero che il dotto lettore, se avrà la pazienza di seguirmi, crederà non inutile la mia fatica, e penserà con me, che le antiche versioni arabe della Bibbia, anche le fatte di seconda mano su altre versioni, non meritano poi quel disprezzo in cui generalmente le tengono gli eruditi.*

About a year ago my preceptor, Professor James A. Montgomery, suggested the advisability of making a study of the "Polyglot" Arabic version of Daniel. For the first seven chapters I compared the Paris and London Polyglots word for word with each other as I collated them with the Greek text as published by Swete. In every instance the two versions were the same, except that Walton omits 3 24–90, *τῶν τριῶν παιδῶν αἴνεσις*. Chapters 8–12 were collated from the London Polyglot, but all difficult or suspected passages were compared with the readings of the Paris edition. In all cases they were the same except in the case of one diacritical mark which will be noted below. Walton concludes with Chapter 12, while directly after this chapter Le Jay adds 14, حبر بيل الصنم. It is noteworthy that the London Polyglot makes such a faithful copy

of the book of Daniel from the Paris edition. This is in marked contrast to what Cornill observes on the Arabic texts of Ezekiel (*op. cit.*, pp. 49—56); in that case the Paris Polyglot represents the Egyptian recension, while the London edition reproduces the Syriac tradition.

All the collations have been compared with the variants listed in Holmes-Parsons, and in this labour Professor Montgomery generously aided me and also gave me access to his unpublished studies on the Book of Daniel. The results of his investigations[8] which have a bearing on the Arabic version may be summed up in this diagram:



The Arabic recension as published in the two Polyglot Bibles is a representative of the Origenian Constantinopolitan text. The evidence of the collations is so overwhelming that there is no doubt about this matter. In many cases it corrects A and also 106, but it consistently follows the group[8]. In fact it is one of the best representatives of the Or C group that we have; in making any study of the Constantinopolitan text the Arabic stands on a par with the Greek and cannot be left out of account. It is rather remarkable that the Arabic-speaking Melchite Church had such a pure representative of the group.

The misprints in the Arabic text are very few. In 4 (23) 20, both have يقضان for يقظان. In 9 19, the London Polyglot wrongly reads اعفر for اغفر which the Paris edition has correctly. In 10 5, both versions read متمنطق for متنطق; in 11 30, both texts have فيغتاض for فيغتاظ; also يتفظّن for يتفطّن. In 12 10, both Bibles have ومن زوّام which doubtless is a misprint for ومن زمان. These errors reveal how closely Walton reprinted Le Jay's text.

[8] See the preceding essay by Professor Montgomery, pp. 289 ff.

It is rather noteworthy how readily the Greek language lends itself to be turned into Arabic. We have in Daniel not only a faithful translation, but also an excellent and fluent rendering; it is literal without being literalistic. This is partly due to the genius of the Arabic tongue to express the spirit of the Greek, but also to the ability of the translator, who apparently was well acquainted with both languages. In this study I shall attempt not only to produce an array of facts and proofs, but also to visualize the translator at his task and present the psychology of his work.

It is hardly necessary to quote any verses to show how worthy the translation is. The excellency of a rendering can sometimes be felt, rather than be expressed by words or proved by haphazard excerpts; an estimate of its quality is gained rather by reading the work as a whole than by mechanically quoting extracts. The translator's method, however, can by appreciated by a few observations.

He is literal, but good. Among many examples take 7 26, *καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν μεταστήσουσιν τοῦ ἀφανίσαι καὶ τοῦ ἀπολέσαι ἕως τέλους*; وينقلون الرياسة ليفسدوا ويهلكوا إلي النهاية. It is interesting to note how the Arabic lends itself to be literal and yet idiomatic. Thus 7 13, *ἐρχόμενος ἦν* is rendered by كان اتيا. The translator does not always feel himself bound to interpret the cases literally; thus a preposition may be employed, as in 2 48; there *ἄρχοντα σατραπῶν* is turned into رييسًا علي عظماء الجيوش. Sometimes conjunctions are not rendered literally; in those cases the meaning remains apparent from the general context. Thus 4 (8) 5, *ἕως ἦλθεν Δανιήλ* is translated simply by فدخل دانيّل. On the other hand the failure to translate a conjunction literally may present a more graphic picture of the situation. Thus in 7 4, *ἐθεώρουν ἕως οὗ ἐξετίλη τὰ πτερὰ αὐτῆς*, the effect is heightened: ونظرت وإذا جناحاها تمعّطا Occasionally in passages where Theodotion is stiff and lifeless, the translator infuses a spirit into his work. As an example of this take 9 16, *ὅτι ἡμάρτομεν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν*

πατέρων ἡμῶν Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ ὁ λαός σου εἰς ὀνειδισμὸν ἐγένετο ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς περικύκλῳ ἡμῶν; لانّا اخطانا بظلاماتنا وبظلامات ابائنا الّذين باير وشليم وصار شعبك للعار عند الّذين حولنا

Sometimes the Arabic is more emphatic than the Greek: 4 (33) 30, αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ, بعينها السّاعة هذه في. Simple sentences of the Greek are rendered into Arabic expressions that are just as simple, but with the Arabic touch perhaps a little more attractive. 9 23, ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμιῶν συ εἶ, لانّك رجل لشهوات انت, is just as plain in the Arabic.

We meet also passages where the translator, in interpreting the meaning of the sentence, amplifies the expression. Thus in 2 31, καὶ ἡ πρόσοψις αὐτῆς ὑπερφερής reads in Arabic, وطلعتها كثيرة البهاء جدّا. Likewise in 2 34, καὶ ἐλέπτυνεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τέλος the translation is made very clear by a slight addition: ودقّهما ناعمًا إلي الغاية. In one instance the translation would have been clear without any supplementary phrase, but in spite of this it has been added. Thus 11 40 συνκερατισθήσεται is rendered by يتناطح بقرنه. This may be due to dittography of συνκερατι.

It is continually apparent that although the translator is literal, he is interpreting, not words, but ideas. Although the group in 12 6 reads εἶπον, he does not forget that two persons are speaking, and consequently he employs the dual, قالا. Likewise in 7 4, he has recourse to the dual: ἔχουσα πτερά, لها جناحان; πτερά αὐτῆς, جناحاها. On the other hand, in 11 27, for ἀμφότεροι οἱ βασιλεῖς, he feels free not to use a dual, والملوك معًا. This again reveals our translator as a man who allowed himself some flexibility in his renderings.

The translator does not feel obliged to use a standard form or expression for the same idea. In 3 21, καὶ ἐβλήθησαν εἰς τὸ μέσον τῆς καμίνου, the τὸ μέσον is not translated, والقوا في اتّون. There is a possibility that his manuscript did not have τὸ μέσον, since verses 11 and 15 both read, with a passive verb, εἰς τὴν

κάμινον, في اتّون; the same phrase is used in verse 20 with the active. On the other hand, he may have been influenced by his translation of verses 11, 15 and 20, and since the sense was the same, not have taken the pains to translate τὸ μέσον. We should note, however, that in verses 23 and 24 where we find εἰς μέσον τῆς καμίνου and ἐν μέσῳ respectively, the Arabic correspondingly has في وسط اتّون and في وسط. We are hardly justified in asserting that the absence of في وسط in verse 21 proves that τὸ μέσον was not in the Greek original which was in the hands of the author of our recension. On the whole, he impresses us as being a man of originality and with some independence of judgment. Now in 3 93 we read: τότε προσῆλθεν Ναβουχοδονοσὸρ πρὸς τὴν θύραν τῆς καμίνου τοῦ πυρὸς τῆς καιομένης. In the Arabic τὴν θύραν is not translated: حينئذ تقدّم بختنصّر إلي اتّون النّار المتوقّد. The meaning, of course, is practically the same, and accordingly the translator may have chosen not to be painfully literal.

To avoid a literal translation, the seventh conjugation with the nominative may be employed to render a direct object. Thus in 9 27 where A reads καταπαύσει θυσιαστήριον καὶ θυσίαν, the Arabic has تنكّف المذابح والذبايح. The ultimate sense is the same.

We should also note the device that Arabic has for rendering Greek compounds literally: 3 52, καὶ ὑπερυψούμενος, وفوق المتعالي; καὶ ὑπεραινετόν, وفوق المسبّح 3 53, καὶ ὑπερένδοξος, وفوق المتعالي; καὶ ὑπερυμνητός, وفوق المسبّح.

Although the author of the Arabic version was a good translator, he is not entirely free from literalism. In 11 22, καὶ βραχίονες τοῦ κατακλύζοντος κατακλυσθήσονται, where A, 106, and 230 of the group insert καὶ after the participle, the Arabic literally follows its original, وذراعا المغرّق فيغرّقان. In 10 4, he is so faithful to his manuscript that in Τίγρις Ἐδδέκελ he translates the former and transliterates the latter, الدّجلة اذذاكل.

Apparently he did not recognize in this doublet the gloss which had crept into his text; Τίγρις undoubtedly was originally a scholium on Ἐδδέκελ.

In the case of official terms, a compound word may be translated literally. Thus τοπάρχαι 3 2–3 is rendered exactly by رؤساء المواضع; in the same passages στρατηγοί is translated by الجند, just as we may refer to the army, not as a body of men, but as a department. We meet σατράπαι 'satraps' in 2 48; 3 94; and 6 1. Now this is an Old Persian word, *xšaθra-pāvan*, 'the lord or protector of a region, kingdom, or *imperium*'. In finding an equivalent for this word, the translator made a combination that emphasizes only one of the functions of a satrap, عظماء الجيوش i. e., the commander-in-chief of the army in his own district or satrapy.

In the case of the words 'kings' and 'kingdom', the translation of καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν βασιλέων ἐκείνων (2 44) by وفي ايّام تلك الممالك and τρεῖς βασιλεῖς (11 2) by ثلاث ممالك, does not imply that the translator had before him a different text. In his renderings he frequently displays some originality and by using the word for 'kingdom', he did not materially alter the sense.

Semitisms in the Greek have been correctly understood. Thus in 3 36, the reading of the group οἷς ἐλάλησας πρὸς αὐτούς, is turned literally into الّذين تكلّمت معهم. Of course the translator could not have done otherwise with this passage. In 10 18, we have another and more difficult Semitism; καὶ προσέθετο καὶ ἥψατό μου which is aptly represented by وعاد فلمسني. This does not imply that the translator had at his elbow the Hebrew or the Syriac versions and solved un-Greek idioms by referring to the readings in either of these languages. We may rather assume that the expression seemed so natural to him that he found no difficulty in accurately rendering it into Arabic. In 2 13, we apparently have another Semitism: καὶ τὸ δόγμα ἐξῆλθεν καὶ οἱ σοφοὶ ἀπεκτέννοντο. This the translator very neatly renders, وخرج أمره بقتل الحكماء.

Among Semitisms we may also classify *μαννά*, 2 46, which represents Aramaic מנחה; this is rendered by هدايا, a plural. It appears, accordingly, that *μαννά* was understood as a plural noun. Now it is possible that the translator recognized this word as Semitic, and by comparing it with منّ derived the correct meaning. On the other hand, he may have had a gloss in his manuscript; 36 has *δῶρον* in the margin in another hand.

Similarly, a Semitism is discernible in *Ἐφαδανώ*, 11 45, which in A and 106 appears as *ἐν φαδανώ*. To one knowing Arabic, this suggested فَدّان, and accordingly our translator rendered it by a synonym في مكان سهل.

When we come to the three Aramaic words, *Μανή*, *Θεκέλ*, *Φαρές*, in 5 25, we notice that they are not transliterated, but rendered into Arabic by passive participles, مقيس موزون مقسوم. Now it is quite probable that our translator arrived at this interpretation from the explanation of these words in verses 26, 27, and 28. We may wonder whether he knew Aramaic or Syriac and recognized in *Μανή* the Qal passive participle of מנה; then by analogy he may have translated the other two by the passive. On the other hand it is just as likely that because the second and third are defined in Greek by the passive, the first by analogy was also rendered into the same voice. We hardly have a right to expect our translator to recognize the *double entente* that is latent in these three Aramaic words. What he has given us is a fluent and approximately correct translation of the passage.

It seems, indeed, rather conclusive that the translator had no Hebrew or Syriac manuscript by means of which he could discover the original meaning of a passage which is ambiguous in Greek. In 11 19, *καὶ ἀσθενήσει καὶ πεσεῖται καὶ οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται*, there is a difficulty, since the Greek verb has no gender. The translator here probably took *ἡ ἰσχύς* to be the subject, as the form of the verb indicates: فتضعف وتسقط ولا توجد. If he had consulted either the Hebrew or the Syriac, he would not have fallen into this error.

Personal names are not simply transliterated but turned

into the native idiom; e. g. Ναβουχοδονοσόρ, بختنصّر; Μωυσῆς, موسى; Γαβριήλ, جبرئيل. The only name that requires explanation is the rendering of Ἀμελσάδ 1 11. Professor Montgomery appears to have solved this name; מלצר is for original מנצר, probably Pael ppl.; it is not a name but an official title. The reading of the Syriac according to the Urmia and Ceriani editions, ܡܨܪ and the Arabic مناصر, agree in having the correct tradition of the root נצר. The word, therefore, means 'protector, keeper'. This is due rather to a tradition than to Syriac influence.

In the case of geographical names we find that they are not slavishly transliterated, but rendered accurately into their Arabic equivalents. Thus 1 2, Σενναάρ is العراق (Irak); 3 97, ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ βαβυλῶνος is في كورة بابل; 8 2, ἐν χώρᾳ Αἰλάμ is في كورة الاهواز (Ahwāz). Another instance that our author of the Arabic version knew his geography is found in 9 43; here καὶ Λιβύων καὶ Αἰθιόπων is represented by ولنّوبة والحبش. Naturally he experienced no difficulty in 11 41: Ἐδὼμ καὶ Μωὰβ καὶ ἀρχὴ υἱῶν Ἀμμών; ادوم ومواٴب وبدوٴ بني عمّون. But note that he correctly writes the ع in Ἀμμών (עמון).

Once, however, we note an error in his interpretation of a geographical name. In 11 16, for ἐν τῇ γῇ τοῦ σαβείρ, where A and 106 have σαββείρ, it seems that his manuscript read σαβαείν, σαβαεί, or σαβείν, as in 11 41. At any rate the Arabic translation is في ارض صابيين, 'in the land of the Sabaeans.' In 11 41, for σαβαείν, the margin of 36 has Σαβαεί and V, σαβείν. In this verse he likewise translates, ارض صابيين. Apparently the strange word offered him no serious difficulty, since his rendering, 'Sabaeans', takes advantage of a name which sounded approximately like σαβαείν.[9] The Sabaeans, of course, were a well-known people, and so he naturally lighted upon this interpretation. Now it is possible that in 11 16 his text read σαβείρ; in that case he came to his rendering by a comparison with verse 41.

9 Cf. also 11 45, εἰς ὄρος σαβαειν ἅγιον.

On the whole the Arabic version is a faithful and accurate translation. Still we come across passages where the rendition is influenced by the translator's individual interpretation. In 8 25, *καὶ ὁ ζυγὸς τοῦ κλοιοῦ αὐτοῦ κατευθυνεῖ*, ونير إصْره يستقيم, it appears that he explained the verse by a reminiscence of Isaiah 9 (4) 3, *διότι ἀφῄρηται ὁ ζυγὸς ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῶν κείμενος* for which the Hebrew has על סבלו.

In 11 24, we have another instance where the translator's interpretation shows that his work was based only upon the Greek and that he did not refer to the Hebrew or the Syriac; *καὶ ποιήσει ἃ οὐκ ἐποίησαν οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ πατέρες τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ· προνομὴν καὶ σκῦλα καὶ ὕπαρξιν αὐτοῖς διασκορπιεῖ* ✻ ويصنع ما لم تصنعه أباؤه وآباء ابائه ✻ نهْبًا وغنايمَ ويفرّق لهم مالاً. According to this reading we see that the translator understood *προνομὴν καὶ σκῦλα* as in apposition with the preceding, i. e. *ἃ οὐκ ἐποίησαν*. If he had known Hebrew or Syriac, he would have construed the three nouns as the direct objects of يفرّق. The syntax of the Greek, however, allowed him to solve the apparent difficulty in this manner.

It appears that in 6 (18) 17, *ὅπως μὴ ἀλλοιωθῇ πρᾶγμα ἐν τῷ Δανιήλ*, the meaning was not clear to the translator, or the literal significance of *ἀλλοιωθῇ* made nonsense to him. So he evades the difficulty and does not commit himself to a definite meaning: كيلا يحدث امر بدانيّال.

There are, however, instances which are not merely coloured by individual interpretation, but errors due either to misreading the text or to actual mistakes in the Greek original. We cannot, of course, in every case determine who made the error, the scribe of the Greek manuscript or the translator. In 2 47, occurs a mistake in the Arabic of the third person for the second; *ὅτι ἠδυνήθης ἀποκαλύψαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο* is rendered by لانّه اقتدر ان يكشف هذا السّرّ. Probably we can exonerate our translator from the error, since manuscript 130 also has the third person, *ἠδυνήθη*. For *ἐξήρθη*, 7 4, we have خرجت.

Evidently this interpretation is based on taking *ἐξήλθεν* for *ἐξήρθη*, a reading also found in manuscripts 148 and 232. Another misreading is found in 7 25, where يضلّ represents *πλανήσει*, a reading occurring also in 33, 36, 89, 90, 91, and 238. This is an error for *παλαιώσει*. An error not found in any manuscript according to Holmes-Parsons is met in 9 23, where for *ἐν τῷ ῥήματι* the Arabic has بقوّ تك; evidently this is founded on misreading *ῥώματι* for *ῥήματι*.

It is rather noteworthy how many of these errors accumulate in Chapter 11. In 11 14 for *ἐπαρθήσονται* we find ينتزعون which represents *ἀπαρθήσονται*. Was it carelessness on the part of the translator or an error in his manuscript? In 11 15 the meaning has been lost by wrongly dividing *πρόσχωμα* into *πρὸς χῶμα*; *καὶ ἐκχεεῖ πρόσχωμα* is rendered by ويهرق علي التراب. Holmes-Parsons notes that the same mistake is found in the Aldine edition. This, however, does not imply that this reading was represented in any manuscript; our translator may have made a similar wrong division independently. For the error in 11 18, we cannot hold our translator responsible; *καταπαύσει* is rendered in the Arabic by ويحرق. This goes back to *κατακαύσει*, a reading found in A, Q, and 35 as well as V. Furthermore in 11 23, *ἀναβήσεται* is interpreted by a plural verb, يصعدون. This may be due either to misreading *ἀναβήσονται* or to having a manuscript with this reading. The addition by Q in 11 39 of *οὓς ἂν ἐπιγνῷ* is turned into لِكَيْ يعرف, which implies that *οὕς* was taken for *ὅπως* or *ὡς*. Of course we cannot determine who is responsible for the error.

In 11 20, we have a passage which savours of an individual interpretation or we may have a text which is not represented in our present Greek manuscripts; *καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης αὐτοῦ φυτὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτοιμασίαν αὐτοῦ παραβιβάζων πράσσων δόξαν βασιλείας*; ويقوم من أصله غرس مملكة علي تهيئته * ويزيل متعمّدًا شرف المملكة * We may ask, Did the translator have a different text with *καὶ παραβιβάζων τὸν πράσσοντα*, or in trying to make sense out of the passage, did

he arbitrarily make a change? In view of his faithfulness and honesty in other instances, we shall not lay this solecism to his account.

Although the Arabic frequently corrects A, it does not always do so. In 8 11, A rightly reads *ἐταράχθη* instead of *ἐράχθη*. In this instance the Arabic has رتّبت which represents a false reading *ἐτάχθη* that is actually found in manuscripts 22 and 231. Likewise in 11 14, A correctly has *λοιμῶν* instead of *λοιπῶν*; here the Arabic reads بقايا. This was hardly the fault of our translator, since one manuscript of the group, 230, is represented by *λοιπῶν*, an ancient error also found in B.

An error may creep into the text through the influence of an adjacent passage or one still freshly in the mind of the translator. In 2 34, we have an increment in النّحاس. The name of this metal probably found its way into this verse through the proximity of verses 32 and 35, where it occurs. In 3 3 we have another instance of the influence of one verse upon another. Verse 2 has *τυράννους καὶ τοὺς ἐπ᾽ ἐξουσιῶν*, while 3 reads *τύραννοι μεγάλοι οἱ ἐπ᾽ ἐξουσιῶν*. The Arabic in 3 has a solecism which is probably due to the influence of verse 2: والمتملّكون والعظماء الّذين لهم السّلطان. Likewise in 3 22, *ἑπταπλασίως ἐκ περισσοῦ* was added from the nineteenth verse; accordingly the Arabic has, كثيرًا جدّا سبعة أضعاف. Similarly *ἐν τῇ γῇ* of 4 (23) 20, is somehow carried into verse (26) 23, and the Arabic adds في الارض.

In 5 11, there is no Arabic equivalent for *μάγων*; perhaps this is not an inexplicable omission, since in a series of four nouns which are practically synonyms, it was easy for one to fall out either in the Greek original or in the translation. On the other hand verse 15, which has only three nouns, may have aided in reducing the four of verse 11 to the same number. In this connexion we may note that while in 5 15, Q adds *χαλδαῖοι*, the Arabic does not in this instance follow Q, which here departs from the group.

At this point we may turn to 9 15, *ἡμάρτομεν, ἠνομήσαμεν*; in verse 5 occur *ἡμάρτομεν, ἠδικήσαμεν, ἠνομήσαμεν*. None of

our group has the three verbs, but it occurs in a number of manuscripts, among which are 130 and one of the Lucianic group, 48. In both verses the Arabic goes, أخطانا اثمنا ظلمنا. It is easier to suppose an influence from verse 5 than dependence on a manuscript outside our group.

Another difficulty may be solved by supposing the influence of an adjacent passage. In 9 26, *καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἑβδομάδας τὰς ἑξήκοντα δύο*, it appears that the translator had the Greek of the previous verse in mind: *ἑβδομάδες ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομάδες ἑξήκοντα δύο*. This probably explains the Arabic: وبعد السّبعة اسابيع والإثنين وستّين اسبُوعًا *.

The use of glosses in the task of translating into Arabic is also significant. One scholium ran an interesting course; 4 (13) 10, *ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης μου, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐῖρ καὶ ἅγιος*. In the margin of 36 *ἐῖρ* is defined by *ἐγρήγορος*. This annotation eventually found its way into the text, and in A, 106, and 35 is inserted after *μου*. The Arabic, however, represents a better text and translates *ἐῖρ καὶ ἅγιος* by يقظان وقدّوس.[10]

In 8 13, it appears that a marginal note or a variant reading came to be incorporated into the text: *καὶ ἤκουσα ἑνὸς ἁγίου λαλοῦντος*. Manuscript 103 has *ἀγγέλου* for *ἁγίου*. The Arabic contains both: وسمعت واحدًا من الملايكة الاطهار متكلّمًا. Evidently the source of our version had both *ἀγγέλου* and *ἁγίου*.

In 10 9, *ἤμην κατανενυγμένος*, the Arabic has an easy rendering صرت متخشّعًا. One may wonder whether this is a direct translation of *κατανενυγμένος* or whether it was influenced or aided by a gloss, *καταφερόμενος*, as is found in the margin of 36.

In 11 38, we meet what, at first thought, may appear to be influence from the Peshitta: *καὶ θεὸν μαωζεὶν* (A, *μαωζεί*); 𝔖 ܚܩܦܠ. It is just as reasonable, however, to believe that Arabic عزيز is derived from a gloss based on 𝔐 מעזים. It is interesting

10 Cf. 4 (23) 20, where we have the accusative of the same words.

to note in this connexion that the Arabic employs the same root as the Hebrew.

In 1 3, we have *ἀπὸ τῶν φορθομμείν* (A, *πορθομμείν*), where the Septuagint fitly interprets the Hebrew מן־הפרתמים by *ἐκ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων*. Theodotion's transliteration of this word, however, utterly disguised its meaning, and if our translator had no gloss in his manuscript on this word, we need not be surprised that he missed the point. Again it is evident that he did not have recourse either to the Hebrew or to the Syriac. If the latter, he might have translated it 'Parthians'. Is it going too far afield to suppose that our translator made out of it or tried to read into it *ἀποροττομένων*? At any rate, he rendered it من الأكرة, 'diggers', 'farmers.'

As stated before, the Polyglot "Arabic" text belongs to the Or^{C} group; the evidence is so consistent and conclusive that it is not necessary to publish all the points of agreement between our text and the group. It is more important to note the exceptions and the solecisms which have no counterpart in the original. I have also deemed it advisable to note certain apparent exceptions which in themselves do not necessarily imply that they go back to a different text or were represented in any manuscript. In a subsequent list of these words and pronominal suffixes, we shall observe that they are due to the translator's ability to make a smooth and fluent rendering. It is not probable that the author of the Arabic version had before him a number of manuscripts with various readings representing different groups. Nor do I believe that he selected what in his mind was the more likely reading from several manuscripts and thereby left us a conflate text. I should rather think that he had one manuscript and that on the whole it was a good one; on this he exerted himself to his utmost ability to produce an accurate and fluent rendering. In this he has succeeded admirably.

As has been observed before in this essay, we do not have a literalistic version. Consequently we may allow our translator freedom of various kinds in minor details. We are not justified in expecting that every Arabic word should have its exact counterpart in the Greek. We find, accordingly, a number of

expressions which cannot be used as representing a definite reading in the Greek original. Thus in 2 11, مع كلّ ذي لحْمٍ for *μετὰ πάσης σαρκός* hardly has any textual value. Nor does the demonstrative for the definite article mean anything; e. g., 2 44, في ايّام تلْك, *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις*; 12 9, هذه الكلمات, *οἱ λόγοι*. The use of the conjunction 'and' proves nothing; the translator may insert it occasionally for a smoother reading; e. g., 3 1, وفي السّنة الثّامنة عَشر for *ἔτους ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου*. In 3 4, instead of the asyndeton *ὑμῖν λέγεται ἔθνη, λαοί, φυλαί, γλῶσσαι*, the Arabic uses the conjunction, الامم والشّعوب والقبايل والالْسن *. Examples of the addition or insertion of 'and' could be multiplied, but there is no profit in quoting more specimens. In 11 29, where A and Q^{mg} and 106 read *καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὡς ἡ πρώτη καὶ ὡς ἡ ἐσχάτη*, the Arabic has, وليس يكون مثل الاولي ولا مثل الاخيرة. When the translator adds لا, he introduces no new idea; no doubt he made this addition independently for the sake of clearness.

In 9 3, *τὸν θεόν* is rendered by إلهي; in 9 4, *τὸν θεόν μου* is likewise translated by إلهي. This hardly means that the writer of the Arabic had a text in which both verses contained *τὸν θεόν μου*; he may have been influenced by verse 4, or he may have added the pronoun because to him it made a smoother reading. In fact the presence of a pronominal suffix does not *per se* connect a passage with a certain group of manuscripts nor justify us in assuming a colouring from an extraneous group. When 3 41, *καὶ νῦν ἐξακολουθοῦμεν ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ* is represented by والان نتبعك بكلّ قلب we have a reading found in 51 and 231, but this does not necessarily imply a Lucianic connexion or influence. In the same verse *φοβούμεθα* takes as a direct object *σε*; the Arabic has the same pronoun as the object of the first verb *ἐξακολουθοῦμεν* as well; a faithful translator may make this slight addition, even though the original does not have it.

A preposition with a pronominal suffix as لهـ with قال in 4 (19) 16 where the Greek simply has εἶπεν, has no textual significance; it may have been added to make a more polished reading.

In 11 26, δυνάμεις is modified by αὐτοῦ in 22, 36, 48, 51, 231 of the Lucianic group and by 34 and c; here the Arabic has جيشه. Again, I believe that this does not prove any Lucianic influence, but that our interpreter was a man of good judgment and with the addition of the possessive improved his style. For some other cases of the addition of pronominal suffixes which cannot be regarded as solecisms, we may note the following examples: 2 13, τὸ δόγμα, امره; 2 38, ἔδωκεν دفعها; 5 20, ἡ τιμή, كرامته: 5 23, both τοὺς θεούς الهتك, and τὸν θεόν, إلهك; 7 8, στομα, فمه; 11 35, καὶ τοῦ ἐκλέξασθαι, ويختاروهم. In all these cases we are probably dealing, not with different readings in the Greek, but rather with idiomatic renderings. It is evident that our interpreter, while faithful in his work, could add little touches and thereby embellish his product.

Now in 3 12, we find عَلَي جميع أعمال for ἐπι τὰ ἔργα; this certainly is not a literal translation. At first I took it as indicating a different text, but probably the word جميع should not be taken too seriously. Perhaps the translator only gave an emphatic touch to his rendering. Conversely in 6 (4) 3, ἐφ' ὅλης τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ is turned into عَلَي مملكته. As we noticed before, our translator is not bound by stereotyped forms in reproducing the thought in Arabic. Did he allow himself a slight liberty? It is possible that he did, since the general sense has not been altered.

In the τῶν παιδῶν ἁγιῶν αἴνεσις, we note the following peculiarities of the arrangement of the verses. In the Arabic, 3 64 is left out by parablepsy. Who is responsible, the Greek scribe or the author of the Arabic version? 3 69 = Arabic 71; 3 70 = Arabic 72; 3 71 = Arabic 69; 3 72 = Arabic 70. A transposes verses 73 and 74, but the Arabic does not.

Among the solecisms, there is one case of the transposition

of a word; 11 35, *ἕως καιροῦ πέρας. ὅτι ἔτι εἰς καιρόν* * إلى الزمان لانّ الإنتهآء ايضًا إلى زمانٍ *.

We have simplification in 3 9; A, *καὶ ὑπολαβόντες εἶπον* N. *τῷ βασ.*; Q, 130, *τῷ βασ.* N. *καὶ εἶπαν.* Here the Arabic reads وقالوا للملك. In omitting N*αβουχοδονοσόρ* it has a simplified reading which is also found in 33 and 149.

In 6 (22) 21, *καὶ εἶπεν Δανιὴλ τῷ βασιλεῖ βασιλεῦ,* by haplography the Arabic omits the dative; فقال دانيّال ايّها الملك.

There are also a few additions which are unique to the Arabic text and which deserve our consideration: 11 20 has been considered above; 12 8, وما هذه الامثال.

There is also a list of omissions which are unique to the Arabic text:

1 12, *καὶ ὕδωρ πιόμεθα*;
2 11, *βαρύς*
3 64, omission of the whole verse by parablepsy;
5 11; *μάγων* has been treated above;
7 27, *καὶ ὑπακούσονται*
8 18, *ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν*
11 35, *καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συνιέντων*
12 4, *καὶ σφράγισον τὸ βιβλίον.*

Although the Arabic recension is a good representative of the Or^{C} text, there are some readings that must be explained from another source. For Θ 3 13, *καὶ ἤχθησαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως*, the Lucianic group as represented by 22, 36, 48, 51, and 231 reads: *καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι ἤχθησαν.* On the other hand, the Or^{P} group as is indicated by 23, 62, and 147 reads: *καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἤχθησαν.* The following is the Arabic rendering: واولئك الرّجال قدّموا امام الملك. I cannot stress the demonstrative in the Arabic, as we have previously noted, but here we have either an Or^{P} reading or Lucianic influence.

In two cases we meet distinct traces of the Or^{P} group. Thus in 8 5, the addition في السوس is represented by *ἐν Σούσοις,* an ancient dittograph for the following *συνίων,* in 62 and 147; also in 130 with which 𝔄 frequently agrees. In 10 4, there is

a plus في السّنة الثّامنة عشر, which is also found in 62 and 147, *ἐν τῷ ὄκτω καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει*; this probably came in from 3 1, *Ἔτους ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου*. In this connexion compare the Vetus Latina,[11] *in XVI anno*, which doubtless is a corruption of the above.

In 4 (9) 6, we have a Lucianic addition: *καὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν αὐτοῦ εἰπόν μοι* + *καὶ αἱ ὁράσεις τῆς κεφαλῆς μοῦ*: وقل لي تاويله ومناظر راسي. This plus is found Q[1] (*subt. lineas*) and the following members of the Lucianic group: 22, 36, 48, and 231. Holmes-Parsons cites no other manuscripts as having this reading.

The Septuagint, as we should expect, has not been without its influences on our text. Let us note the following instances: 8 2, Θ, *ἐπὶ τοῦ Οὐβάλ*; 𝔖 ܒܝܬ ܐܚܦܟܐ; 𝔊 *πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ Αἰλάμ*; 8 3, Θ, *ἑστηκὼς πρὸ τοῦ Οὐβάλ*; 𝔊, *ἀπέναντι τῆς πύλης*; 𝔖, ܦܬܚ ܕܡܝܐ ܐܚܦܟܐ; 8 16, Θ *ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ Οὐβάλ*. We need not assume in these passages any influence of 𝔖; 𝔊 translates אובל by *πύλη* which is similar in meaning to אחפכא. From this rendering of the Septuagint, which probably appeared as a gloss in our translator's manuscript, we have in the three verses, الدّهليز, 'a hall, passage, antechamber.'

Next in order comes 10 21, Θ, *καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν εἷς ἀντεχόμενος μετ' ἐμοῦ*; 𝔊, *καὶ οὐθεὶς ἦν ὁ βοηθῶν μετ' ἐμοῦ*; 𝔄 وليس أحد يساعد معي من أجل هذه. Now while Theodotion's *ἀντεχόμενος* is a translation of 𝔐 מתחזק עמי, it is extremely doubtful whether the author of 𝔄 could have made such a lucid rendering without *ὁ βοηθῶν* of the Septuagint which, if not in the text of the translator's manuscript, existed at least in a marginal note.

Let us now consider 11 4, Θ *καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα αὐτοῦ*; 𝔊, *οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀλκὴν αὐτοῦ*. No doubt in turning *εἰς* into Arabic كا, the translator was influenced by 𝔊, *κατά*.

There may also be some 𝔊 influence which is represented in Q. No doubt it had found its way into the group and so has

[11] Ranke, *Par Palimpsestorum Wirceburgensium*, Vienna, 1871.

left its traces in 𝔄. In this category, let us turn to 5 14, *ὅτι πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐν σοί.* Q and the Lucianic manuscripts, 22, 36, 48, 51, 231 insert *ἅγιον* after *θεοῦ*. No new idea, in fact, is added here; the meaning of *πνεῦμα θεοῦ* necessarily implies *ἅγιον* as a matter of course. The supplementary word may have found its way into the text from a gloss which was a self-evident definition or possibly a reminiscence of 𝔊, 5 12, *καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐν αὐτῷ ἐστι.* At any rate Arabic renders it as follows: ان روح الّله القدّوس فيك.

In 10 10, A and Q* read *ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατά μου καὶ ταρσοὺς χειρῶν μου.* Instead of *χειρῶν μου*, the margin of Q has *ποδῶν μου*, which no doubt is derived from 𝔊, *ἐπὶ τὰ ἴχνη τῶν ποδῶν μου.* This is represented in the Arabic, علي ركبتيّ وأمشاط رجليّ. Three passages, however, cannot be satisfactorily explained without Peshitta influence; 10 5, Θ, *ἐνδεδυμένος βαδδείν*; 𝔊, *ἐνδεδυμένος βύσσινα*; 𝔖 ܒܚܫܐ ܕܚܫܚ; 𝔄 لابس اثواب كرامة; 12 6, Θ, *τῷ ἐνδεδυμένῳ τὰ βαδδείν*; 𝔊, *τῷ περιβεβλημένῳ τὰ βύσσινα*; 𝔖 ܒܚܫܐ ܕܚܫܚ; 𝔄 للّابس اثواب الوقار. Cf. also 12 7. There is no doubt that we are confronted by a literal translation from the Peshitta. *βύσσινα* of the Septuagint in itself alone could hardly be the basis of the Arabic rendering.

In this case I believe that the translator did not refer to the Peshitta. Several observations previously stated in this essay have confirmed me in this opinion. We may wonder whether the Syrian Arabic recension to which reference has been made in this article, existed before this time and whether he was acquainted with that version. Doubtless he had access to an Arabic edition which originated in Syria. The Arabic translations of the Scriptures certainly did not have only a local influence. For example, the translation of the Gospels by Isaak Velasquez of Cordoba had found its way to the East.[12] The literary intercourse between the various portions of the Arabic-speaking world is remarkable.

While A is a member of the Or^{C} group, it is far from being

[12] Graf, *op. cit.*, 28-30.

its best representative; 106 usually agrees with A. This study has conclusively revealed the fact that 𝔄 has fewer errors than A and is a better representative of the group. In many instances 𝔄 corrects serious errors in A. In two instances, however, 8 11, and 11 14, as we have seen above, where A is correct, the Arabic errs in departing from it. A list of the cases where 𝔄 does not agree with A will be given below; in all these examples 𝔄 follows the group. This enumeration of important readings where 𝔄 and the group coincide, but differ from A, shows at a glance the unique importance of 𝔄 in making any textual study of Or^C: 1 10; 2 34, 35; 3 1, 9, 15, 17, 28; 4 (9) 6, (14) 11, (33) 30, (34) 31; 5 3, 8, 9, 16, 21, 23; 7 4, 7, 10, 13, 17; 8 10, 20; 9 3, 12, 21; 10 12, 16, 19, 36, 37, 40, 45; 12 4; 12 10, omission of ἐκλευκανθῶσιν by A.

The position of Q in the Or^C group has also been reenforced by this study of the Arabic version. Although Q shows some independence of readings, it is a member of the Or^C group. In 2 5, its addition of ἀπαγγείλητέ μοι is not represented in 𝔄; in 5 15, its insertion of Χαλδαῖοι is not translated in 𝔄; in 5 3, Q^{mg} agrees with A in omitting τοῦ θεοῦ, which 𝔄 translates. These, however, are only a few instances in comparison with the overwhelming number of agreements between 𝔄 and Q. Thus, for example, in 3 9, and 4 (9) 6, 𝔄 agrees with Q 1 (*subt. lineas*); Q^{mg}, 12 10, adds ἐκλευκανθῶσιν, which A omits, but 𝔄 translates. In 8 9, the change of δύναμιν to δῦσιν was easy enough on account of the other two directions, νότος and ἀνατολή, found in this verse according to the reading of the group. Here Q and 230 both have πρὸς τὴν δῦσιν, which is also found in 𝔄. إلى الغرب. In 8 10, Q, 42, and 230 correctly have καὶ συνεπάτησεν αὐτά, which 𝔄 renders by وداسهم. Cf. 𝔏 *conculcavit*.[13] Thus the correct reading has been perpetuated in a few widely separated texts. In 9 5, the word order of Q agrees with Or^P in 23, 62, and 147 and with the Lucianic group in 22, 36, 48, and 231. In this case, however, 𝔄 and Q also agree. The figures before the verbs show how literal the Arabic is, even in the word order: Q, (1) ἡμάρτομεν, (2) ἠνομήσαμεν, (3) ἠδικήσαμεν,

[13] Ranke, *op. cit.*

(4) ἠσεβήσαμεν, (5) καὶ ἀπέστημεν, (6) καὶ ἐξεκλίναμεν; أخطانا (1) اثمنا (2). ظلمنا (3) نافقنا (4) وتباعدنا (5) وحدنا (6).

This study of the "Polyglot" Arabic text of Daniel proves that the Arabic recension is a member of the Or^{C} group. It is vastly superior to A and beyond a doubt is the best representative of the group that we now possess. In the past the value of the Arabic Bible was not appreciated because it is a version of a version. It is evident, however, that such a prejudice has no foundation and that not much has been lost in this translation. The Arabic language is in its spirit so well adapted for making an exact rendering of the Greek that we have in this book a faithful model of the Or^{C} group. It is an excellent translation, and while it is literal, it is not literalistic. For this reason the text of the Melchite Church has a unique value in Old Testament textual criticism.

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ON THE NAME YAHWEH

F. C. BURKITT
CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND

MR. Albright's two interesting and learned papers on the *Tetragrammaton*[1] have shown me that the views of Prof. A. van Hoonacker, of Louvain, on this subject are not as widely known as I venture to think they deserve to be. They are to be found in his Schweich Lectures (*Une Communauté Judéo-Araméenne à Éléphantine*, London, 1915, pp. 67—73), but I shall attempt to describe the theory in my own words.

The essential point of van Hoonacker's theory is a frank recognition that to derive יהוה from יהו, or from היה, is contrary to the regular phonetic laws of Hebrew. But the God of Israel is a very peculiar Deity and the origin of His Name may have been correspondingly peculiar.

Let us begin by recapitulating a few very familiar facts, in order to formulate the problem. (1) The name of the God of Israel really was יהוה in pre-exilic times. This is proved by the occurrence of the name on the Moabite Stone, though it should be remembered that A. E. Cowley has proposed an ingenious reading of the passage according to which the letters are only a form of the substantive verb. But be that as it may, it is surely difficult to suppose that *all* the instances of the name יהוה in the older literature are the result of textual revision: if the Tetragrammaton were invented for the first time in the days of Josiah or Zedekiah or Zerubbabel, would not the fact of the invention have left some trace on surviving literature? David, then, and Deborah, as well as Jeremiah

[1] *JBL*, XLIII, pp. 370 ff.; XLIV, pp. 158 ff.

and Ezekiel, really did call their God יהוה, however they may have pronounced it.

But (2) there are difficulties. No proper name is found except with the shorter forms יה and יהו. The Israelite community of Elephantine write יהו (once יהה), never יהוה. At a later period, when the actual naming of Divine names was avoided by the Jews, the true pronunciation was actually forgotten. There must be something non-natural, artificial, in the Name, so Dr. van Hoonacker holds, for this to have come about.

(3) The name as it stands does not satisfy the discovered rules of philology. It is too archaic. "If we regard *Yahwéh* as an imperfect verb, it is most naturally to be derived from *hwy* (as still in Aramaic), later *hayah,* 'to be.' The preservation of an archaic form with *waw* in proper names is illustrated also by *Ḥawwah,* 'Eve'" (Albright, p. 374). Certainly the writer of Genesis thought that *Ḥawwah* was connected with the verb 'to live,' but it is not quite certain that he is historically right, and one great Semitic scholar has connected 'Eve' with *ḥewya,* 'serpent.' But at least it is true that יהו and 'to be' look as if they might have something to do with one another, and יהוה is still more like some form of 'to be.'

(4) On the assumption that "that is not first which is spiritual but that which is natural, and afterwards that which is spiritual," what were the original characteristics of יהוה, from which the name was derived? As we all know, the answer is not easy. 'Yahweh' is associated with the thunderstorm, with a bull, with war, but not in such a way that we feel that any of these things is the essential, the natural object or idea which was deified. 'Yahweh' remains obstinately political, nationalistic, Israelite.

With these considerations in our mind let us turn back to the tradition, to Exodus 3. Here we find what is really a very surprising story. Moses meets in the desert the God of his ancestors, who promises to deliver Israel from Pharaoh; but Moses does not know His name, the name of his ancestors' God! Nor do the Israelites in Egypt know His name (v. 13). God answers Moses by an enigmatic saying that (as the story

stands) does have something to do with the verb 'to be,' and goes on to speak of Himself as יהוה.

This is the old familiar tale; what does it mean? Neither I nor Dr. van Hoonacker are concerned to 'rationalize' an old national saga after the manner of the 18th century and say that Moses 'invented' the Tetragrammaton, but I do think that as a matter of actual fact Moses was the first to use it. I think it very likely that the real, historical Moses spent some time in exile in the Desert, that he came back with new ideas, and I think they took this form:—all the tribes of the Israelites one nation, and this new unity symbolized and embodied in a new Name for a God who shall be the God of them all, without distinction of tribes or families. No doubt he, Moses, felt himself inspired: the New Name had been revealed to him. It was something like that of the old God *Yaho* (or *Yeho*), but not quite the same—and by its very form it meant that certainly this God would be with Moses and with Israel (Exod. 3 12).

It seems to me that this view resolves all the difficulties. It assumes indeed the historicity of Moses, and that under his leadership the Israelite tribes, or a majority of them, did leave the borders of Egypt in search of a new home, but it leaves other details of the Exodus undetermined. So much would, I imagine, be conceded by most modern historians as possible. What is to me the most attractive part of the theory is that it explains the essentially political, social, characteristics of Yahweh-worship. All through the pre-exilic period the struggle is between national religion and nature-religion, Yahweh on the one hand and the Baalim on the other. Yahweh stands for patriotism, for social justice, the Baalim for good harvests and the immemorial agricultural festivals. On this theory the opposition is no accident, for from the very beginning of the time when men "called upon the Name of Yahweh" (as distinct from Yaho) that worship had meant political loyalty, not nature-magic.

Further, a new-formed name like Yahweh, brought into use by a great and thoughtful leader, might very well have had from the first a somewhat philosophical and noble significance.

"He who makes to be" may have been what Moses considered the full Name to mean: he may have regarded 'Yaho' (or however it was pronounced) as a degraded corruption of the true syllables. Once we regard the Tetragrammaton as artificial, as a new coinage brought in by a single leader, the rules of philology do not rigorously apply. "C'est par une modification, une adaptation du nom Jahou préexistent, qu'une forme nouvelle fut forgée en vue de faire exprimer au nom divin l'idée *d'être.* La forme *Jahvèh* n'est pas le résultat d'une conjugaison régulière ou naturelle du verbe היה, elle est le résultat d'une transformation de *Jahou* sur le modèle de *Jihjèh;* ainsi s'explique-t-on la présence de la voyelle *a* dans la préformante et du *v* (*w*) à la place du *j* radical" (Hoonacker, p. 71).

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

A Philological Note On Mark 16 8

THE conclusion of Mark continues to interest students of the Synoptic Gospels. While the matter certainly admits of argument and speculation, undue emphasis is still placed on the formal insufficiency of the termination *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ* found in ℵ, B, k, syr. sin, arm. codd, eth. codd (So Westcott-Hort, *The New Testament* [1882], appendix p. 47 "... such a final clause as v. 8. craves and craves in vain"; *cf.* also Swete, *The Gospel acc. to St. Mark* [1908], *ad loc.*). Streeter, following the established precedent, suggests that the last words of Mc. 16 8 lead us to expect a clause beginning with *μή*, e. g., "They were afraid—lest they should be thought mad", or something to that effect (*The Four Gospels* [1925], p. 337).

A direct parallel to the mooted expression, taken at random from the papyri, should at least establish the literary and philological self-sufficiency of *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*. Pap. Oxy. no. 1223 (4 c. A. D.), a business document containing an order for certain goods, and incidentally quoting the current rate of exchange, reads in part as follows:

> "... Send and tell your people to hand over to me the remainder of the wine and one and a half units of the general account. *ὁ ὁλοκόττινος νῦν μυ(ριάδων) βκ̀ ἐστιν. Κατέβη γάρ.* Do not neglect to send the boat or the sailor to-day. Fare-well".

The reference to the rate of exchange is parenthetical. *Κατέβη γάρ* terminates this element of the thought-structure. The final *γάρ* is by no means remarkable. Dr. Montgomery has kindly called my attention to the fact that it occurs also in the Peshitta, of course as ܓܝܪ, for instance in John 13 13: ܐܝܠܝܢ ܡܢܝ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܟܕ ܐܢܬ ܡܫܟܚ. ܡܥܩܒ ܐܢܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ. ܐܠܐ ܓܝܪ. *Cf.* also Acts 16 37.

Formally then ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ is not objectionable. The question concerning the conclusion of Mark must therefore be stated differently, to wit, could the first Gospel have concluded with the story of the empty tomb, the tale which comes to a close with ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ. Certainly there is room for inquiry at this point. The answer will depend upon the interpreter's conception of the growth of the Easter tradition and the position of Mark and the tale of the empty tomb within the development of that tradition.

Lutheran Theological Seminary
Philadelphia

Carl H. Kraeling

The Reverend Professor John Skinner, D D.

In place of the article they had expected to publish, the Editors present to our members this communication, dated shortly before his lamented death, from our esteemed Honorary Member, the Reverend Professor John Skinner, D. D.

Dear Dr Dahl, Cambridge, 15 February, 1925

I am ashamed of having left your letter of Dec. 9th so long unanswered. When it came I was fairly free from engagements, and although I had nothing on hand to offer, and could not have promised you an article for your next number, I was considering the matter, and thought of proposing to write something on Sellin's theory of Moses as the Servant of the Lord. Just then, however, a demand came from the publishers for a revised edition of my commentary on Genesis; and I have been working at that ever since. I am bound to give all my time to this, as I cannot work very hard now, and with me the night is coming when no man can work. If I should survive—well, I shall remember your request and if possible comply with it.

With kindest regards, I am

yours very sincerely
John Skinner

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Origin and Evolution of Religion. By Albert Churchward. New York: Dutton, 1924. Pp. XV + 422. $ 15.

Kritische Untersuchungen zu den Büchern Samuelis (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, 16. Heft). By H. Tiktin. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1922. Pp. 71.

Hundert deutsche Fliegerbilder aus Palästina. By G. Dalman. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1925. Pp. 158. M. 20.—, geb. M. 25.—.

A novel, ingenious and, withal, extremely effective method of representing the geography and topography of Palestine.

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER 29, 30, 1924

THE sixtieth meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis was held at the University of Chicago, December 29 and 30, 1924, in conjunction with the Chicago Society of Biblical Research. The first session was called to order promptly at 2 p. m. on Monday, December 29, President Bowen in the Chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary the President appointed Prof. T. J. Meek to act as Recording Secretary *pro tem.*

The address of welcome to the Society was given by President F. C. Eiselen of the Chicago Society.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. Reports of the Corresponding Secretary, of the Recording Secretary, and of the Treasurer were read and ordered to be filed. To audit the Treasurer's books the President appointed Professors Price, Berry and Leavitt. Professors J. M. P. Smith, Fullerton and Waterman were appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

The Committee on Arrangements through Professors Smith and Case made a verbal report.

The Secretary was instructed to send a letter of thanks to the University of Chicago and the Chicago Society of Biblical Research in appreciation of the hospitality extended to the Society at this meeting.

A supplementary report of the Committee appointed to prepare the list of Biblical Manuscripts in America, prepared by the Chairman, Prof. H. P. Smith, was read and ordered to be filed. (See above, p. 188.)

The Nominating Committee nominated the following officers for 1925, who were forthwith elected by the Society:

Prof. J. A. Bewer	*President*
Prof. S. J. Case	*Vice-President*
Prof. H. J. Cadbury	*Recording Secretary*
Prof. M. I. Hussey	*Treasurer*
Prof. E. Grant Prof. J. A. Montgomery Prof. F. C. Porter Prof. M. Buttenwieser Prof. L. Waterman	*Associates in Council*
Prof. W. J. Moulton	*Representative among the Trustees of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By C. R. Bowen: "Why Eschatology?" (Presidential Address).
By N. Schmidt: "The Numen of Penuel."
By W. E. Barton: "The Textual and Historical Criticism of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address as Illustrating Biblical Study."
By W. N. Stearns: "A New Witness to the Didache."
By B. W. Robinson: "The Popular Quality of the Gospel of John."
By L. Waterman: "The Vineyard of Solomon."

The Society adjourned at 5.30 p. m. to attend the dinner tendered by the University of Chicago.

Monday Evening, December 29. The second session of the Society was held on Monday evening at 8 p. m., with the President in the Chair. The following papers were presented:

By M. I. Hussey: "Report of Field Secretary of American Schools of Oriental Research."
By O. R. Sellers: "Galilee of the Gentiles."
By M. G. Kyle: "The Story of Ancient Sodom in the Light of Modern Science" (Illustrated).
By J. A. Maynard: "Recent Light on the Origin of the Alphabet" (Illustrated).
By C. W. Votaw: "The Locations of Jesus' Ministry."
By D. D. Luckenbill: "The Name of Esarhaddon among the Stars" (Illustrated).

Tuesday Morning, December 30. The Society convened for its third session Tuesday, December 30, at 9 a. m. Report was made of the proceedings of the Council. Their report

was accepted and the persons named by them were elected to membership in the Society. At their suggestion it was voted that the rule governing the payment of dues be emended to read: "Members two years in arrears in the payment of dues will be dropped from membership in the Society." It was voted that the Society hold its next annual meeting on the Tuesday and Wednesday following Christmas at some place in the East, to be decided later by the newly elected Council.

The Auditing Committee reported that they had examined the books of the Treasurer and found them correct. They recommended that the account of the Society be transferred from Meadville, Pa., to the Hadley Falls Trust Company, and the recommendation was adopted.

The following papers were read and discussed:

By J. M. P. Smith: "The Difficulties of a Translator."
By J. V. Madison: "New Testament Translations into English since Tyndale."
By E. J. Goodspeed: "The Influence of Tyndale upon New Testament Translations."
By M. Buttenwieser: "The Use of the Perfect in the Psalms."
By K. Fullerton: "A Poetical Analysis of Psalm 29."
By A. H. Forster: "Sidelights on the Life of an Egyptian Workingman in the Days of Jesus of Nazareth."
By G. R. Berry: "The Ritual Decalog."
By H. R. Willoughby: "The Mysticism of Philo."
By D. E. Thomas: "Unity and Progress in the Poem of Job: Some Psychological Observations."

Tuesday Afternoon, December 30. The last session of the Society was held on Tuesday afternoon at 2 o'clock. The following papers were read and discussed:

By T. J. Meek: "Light from the Old Testament on Primitive Religion."
By D. A. Leavitt: "Some Aspects of David's Career."
By B. R. Downer: "The Possibility of Referring to an Assyrian Background the So-called Cyrus Passages of the Book of Isaiah."
By S. J. Case: "Josephus' Anticipation of a Domitianic Persecution."
By I. M. Price: "Swine in Old Testament Taboo."
By L. E. Fuller: "The Book of Jubilees: A Priestly Recension of Genesis."
By G. B. Smith: "What Does Biblical Criticism Contribute to the Modern Preacher?"

By A. P. Kelso: "The Mysticism of the Prophets."
By J. A. Maynard: "Early Judaism and Mazdayasna."
By M. Buttenwieser: "בְּכָלִי עִז לַיהוָה in 2 Chron. 30 21."
By T. J. Meek: "Yahwism in Israel."
By W. N. Stearns: "τοῦ πονηροῦ in Matt. 6 13."

The following papers were read by title because of the absence of the writers:

By P. Haupt: "Habbakuk's Paean After the Battle of Adasa."
"Deutero-Zephaniah."
"Assyrian, *duru*, wall, in Isaiah 45 2."
By J. A. Kelso: "A Pilgrimage to Petra."
By F. P. Ramsay: "The Virgin Birth."
By S. Zeitlin: "Origin of the Discrepancy in the Gospels as to the Day of Jesus' Crucifixion."
By E. W. Burch: "The Kingdom of Heaven According to the First Evangelist."
By L. Waterman: "The Origin of Jotham's Fable."
"The Song of the Bow as Literature."
By R. P. Dougherty: "Additional Data Concerning the Shirkûtu of Babylonian Deities."
By J. A. Montgomery: "The Prior Hexaplaric Group, Holmes-Parsons 23 (Venetus)-62-147 in Daniel."
By C. D. Benjamin: "Collation of Holmes-Parsons 23 (Venetus)-62-147 in Daniel from Photographic Copies."
By H. S. Gehman: "The 'Polyglot' Arabic Text of Daniel and its Affinities."
By L. I. Newman: "Biblical Exegesis of Medieval Heretical Sects."
By M. Burrows: "The Origin of the Term 'Gospel'."
By G. L. Robinson: "The Messianic Implications in Isaiah 53 12."
By W. F. Albright: "Further Observations on the Name Yahweh and its Modifications in Proper Names."
By P. Haupt: "The First Poem on the Servant of JHVH."
By J. A. Kelso: "The Development of the Prophetic Doctrine of Sacrifice."
By K. Fullerton: "Some Notes on the Text of 2 Kings 18 13—20 21."

THEOPHILE J. MEEK, *Recording Secretary pro tem.*

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

During the past year the current volume (XLIII) of the Journal appeared. Following recent custom it was published in two sections, the first comprising Parts I and II and the second Parts III and IV. Speed in publication has been considerably facilitated by the efficient cooperation of Professor Budde of Marburg in reading second proof. Even so it is essential that the Editors receive material as soon as possible after our annual meeting if the Journal is to be completed during the year. An encouraging increase in the number of articles offered by members deserves to be noted. It is to be hoped that the number may be still further increased during 1925, to the end that the Society may be enabled to issue a larger and a better JOURNAL.

GEORGE DAHL, *Corresponding Secretary.*

December 29, 1924.

REPORT OF RECORDING SECRETARY

The membership of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis appears at present to number 359, which is an increase of 14 over the number reported last year.

33 new members have joined during the year upon nomination and election.

The death of the following members has been reported:

Miss Helen Sherbert, joined in 1923, died December 6, 1923.
Prof. F. O. Norton, joined in 1923, died February 29, 1924.
Prof. Benzion Halper, joined in 1920, died March 21, 1924.
Prof. Adelaide I. Locke, joined in 1903, died May 3, 1924.
Mr. Halsey A. Rine, joined in 1924, died May 23, 1924.
Prof. Charles C. Stearns, joined in 1921, died May 25, 1924.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY J. CADBURY, *Recording Secretary.*

December 24, 1924.

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1924

Receipts

Jan. 1, Balance from 1923	$ 1216.49
June 1, Interest on Savings Acc't	1.74
Nov. 1, Reprints	9.85
Dec. 1, Interest on Savings Acc't	3.24
„ 22, „ „ Trust Acc't	79.10
Dues in 1924	1233.20
	$ 2543.62

Disbursements

Expenses of the Secretary for 1923		$ 51.95
„ „ „ „ „ 1924		52.06
„ „ „ Editors „ 1924		94.14
„ „ „ Treasurer „ 1923		4.86
„ „ „ „ „ 1924		41.54
B. W. Bacon, 129 copies Symposium on Eschatology		96.75
W. Drugulin for Printing:		
Reprints of vol. XXXIV (1915)		43.70
Printing of vol. XLIII, 1—2		501.22
Postage of vol. XLIII, 3—4		98.50
Cash on hand Dec. 22:		
Checking Account	$ 110.35	
Savings Bank	219.45	
Trust Account	1150.00	
Interest on Trust Acc't	79.10	1558.90
		$ 2543.62

MARY I. HUSSEY, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct, December 30, 1924.

IRA M. PRICE
GEORGE L. BERRY
DARWIN A. LEAVITT

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY[1]

HONORARY MEMBERS

Prof. K. Budde, D.D., Marburg, Germany.
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Prof. Ernst von Dobschütz, D.D., Halle, Germany.
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Prof. A. Jülicher, D.D., Marburg, Germany.
Prof. Rudolf Kittel, D.D., Leipzig, Germany.
Prof. Marie Joseph Lagrange, Jerusalem (care of M. Gabalda, 90 Rue Bonaparte, Paris).
† Prof. Karl Marti, Theol. D., Berne, Switzerland.
Prof. James Moffatt, D.D., Glasgow, Scotland.
Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., Oxford, England.
† Rev. John Skinner, D.D., Cambridge, England.
Prof. G. A. Smith, D.D., Aberdeen, Scotland.

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(693) '22 Rev. G. Abbott-Smith, D.D., D.C.L., Westmount, P.Q., Canada.
(628) '21 Rev. Prof. Howard C. Ackerman, B.D., M.A., 138 Clifton Place, Syracuse, N.Y.
(593) '20 Prof. Arthur Adams, Ph.D., Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
(496) '13 Miss Charlotte Adams, 135 E. 52d St., N.Y. City.
(242) '92 Pres. Cyrus Adler, Ph.D., 2041 North Broad St., Phila., Pa.
(731) '22 Rev. Abel Ahlquist, Ph.D., New Britain, Conn.
(576) '17 Wm. Foxwell Albright, Ph.D., American School of Oriental Research, P.O.B. 333, Jerusalem, Palestine.
(466) '11 Prof. Herbert C. Alleman, D.D., Gettysburg, Pa.
(415) '07 Prof. Frederick L. Anderson, D.D., Newton Centre, Mass.
(711) '22 Rev. Prof. S. Angus, Ph.D., St. Andrew's College, Sydney, Australia.

[1] This list has been corrected up to Oct. 1, 1925. Members are requested to notify the Recording Secretary, H. J. Cadbury, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge 38, Mass., of any change of address.

[2] The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

(305) '96 Prof. Wm. R. Arnold, Ph.D., 17 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
(184) '88 Prof. B. W. Bacon, D.D., 244 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn.
(373) '04 Dean Wm. Frederic Badé, Ph.D., Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal.
(690) '22 Prof. Moses Bailey, S. T. M., 6 Norfolk Terrace, Wellesley, Mass.
(594) '20 Prof. Roland H. Bainton, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.
(712) '21 Lieut. C. C. Baker, care Dominguez Land Corporation, Torrance, Calif.
(722) '22 Prof. J. F. Balzer, M.A., Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.
(210) '91 Prof. George A. Barton, 3725 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(211) '91 Prof. L. W. Batten, Ph.D., 6 Chelsea Sq., N.Y. City.
(561) '16 Prof. John W. Beardslee, Jr., Ph.D., D.D., Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N.J.
(694) '22 Prof. Irwin R. Beiler, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
(718) '22 Rev. C. D. Benjamin, Ph. D., Somerton, Philadelphia, Pa.
(568) '16 Rev. C. Theodore Benze, Lutheran Seminary, Mt. Airy. Pa.
(326) '99 Prof. George R. Berry, D.D., Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N.Y.
(318) '98 Prof. Julius A. Bewer, Ph.D., D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y City.
(792) '24 Rev. E. H. Blackard, A. M., B. D., 1179 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.
(618) '21 Pres. James A. Blaisdell, Pomona College, Claremont, Cal.
(551) '15 Rev. Joshua Bloch, Ph.D., 346 E. 173th St., N.Y. City.
(604) '20 Rev. P. F. Bloomhardt, Ph. D., Wittenburg College, Springfield, Ohio.
(751) '23 Father A. M. Bolduc, S.M., S.T.L., Marist College, Brookland, D.C.
(380) '05 Prof. Edward I. Bosworth, D.D., Oberlin, O.
(795) '25 Prof. Clarence Bouma, A.M., Th.D., Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Mich.
(423) '08 Prof. Clayton R. Bowen, Th.D., Meadville Theol. School, Meadville, Pa.
(370) '03 Rev. Lester Bradner, Ph. D., Box 25. Summit, N. J.
(311) '97 Miss Emilie Grace Briggs, 521 Madison Ave., Lakewood, N.J.
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Free Public Library, 486 Jersey Ave.,	Jersey City, N.J.
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Libreria de Augustin Bosch, 5 Ronda de la Universidad,	Barcelona, Spain.
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McCormick Theol. Seminary,	Chicago, Ill.
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Western State Normal School,	Kalamazoo, Mich.
Western Theological Seminary, Ridge Ave.,	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Yale University Library,	New Haven, Conn.

LIST OF EXCHANGES

(To be sent to Professor George Dahl, 1116 Yale Sta., New Haven, Conn., and ultimately to go to the American School of Archæology in Jerusalem.)

American Journal of Religion, Univ. of Chicago,	Chicago, Ill.
Anglican Theological Review,	Gambier, Ohio.
Bibelforskaren,	Upsala, Sweden.
Biblica,	Istituto Biblico Pontifico, Piazza Pilotta 35, Roma I., Italy.
Biblische Zeitschrift,	Freiburg i. B., Germany.
Canadian Journal of Religious Thought, 73 Queens Park,	Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
Expository Times,	Edinburgh, Scotland.
Harvard Theological Review, Andover-Harvard Theological Library,	Cambridge, Mass.
International Index to Periodicals, 958 University Ave.,	New York City.
Jewish Quarterly Review, Dropsie College,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Journal of Theological Studies,	London, England.
Journal of Transactions of the Victoria Institute,	London, England.
Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift,	Haarlem, Holland.
Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft,	Berlin C 2, Schloß, Portal 3.
Princeton Theological Review,	Princeton, N.J.
Review and Expositor (So. Bapt.),	Louisville, Ky.
Revue Biblique Internationale, 90 Rue Bonaparte,	Paris, France.
The Expositor,	Warwick Square, London, E. C., 4, England.
Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,	Berlin-Schlachtensee, Friedrich-Wilhelm-str. 55.
Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,	Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Berlinerstr. 65.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901 and Dec. 28, 1923)

CONSTITUTION

I

THIS association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

Each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, *for the purpose of presentation*, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of $1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

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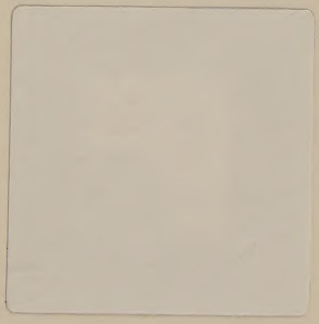

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